

पाकिस्तान के नये झण्डे में ओ३म् —एक सुझाव

" सिन्ध अल्प संख्यक संघ ने ७ अगस्त को पाकिस्तान के गवर्नर जनरल मियां जिन्ना को एक स्मृति पत्र देने का निश्चय किया है जिसमें पाकिस्तान के झण्डे के सम्बन्ध में एक सुझाव उपस्थित किया जायगा। झण्डे के इस नमूने में तीन त्रिकोणात्मक पट्टियां हैं। बीच वाली पट्टी हरी है और उस पर यह सूचित करने के लिए कि इस देश में मुसलमानों का प्राधान्य है अर्ध चन्द्र और तारक के चिन्ह हैं। ऊपर की पट्टी में ओ३म् का चिन्ह है और पट्टी का रंग लाल है, जो देश के हिंदू अल्प संख्यकों का द्योतक है। नीचे की तीसरी पट्टी सफेद है, जो पाकिस्तान के अन्य अल्प संख्यकों का चिन्ह है। इस झण्डे का अर्थ यह होगा कि पाकिस्तान के सब निवासियों के साथ न्याय और औचित्य का व्यवहार किया जायगा " क्या पाकिस्तान की सरकार इतनी उदार बन सकेगी !

हिन्दी दिवस

हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन के आदेशानुसार सारे भारत में हिन्दी राष्ट्र भाषा दिवस मनाया गया। राष्ट्र भाषा का जो प्रश्न आज भारत के सामने है उसका एक मात्र हल हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा बनाकर ही किया जा सकता है। सारा राष्ट्र आज हिन्दी माता को इस गौरव पूर्ण पद पर बिठाना चाहता है। राष्ट्र कर्णधार जनता की भावना को समझ कर उचित निर्णय देंगे।

देश भरमें गो-वध निषेध आन्दोलन—

भारतीय विधान निर्माण के महत्व पूर्ण समय मे देश के कोने कोने से मांग की जा रही है कि भारत में गो-हत्या को कानून विरुद्ध घोषित कर दिया जाय। आज का सन्त्रस्त भारत एक स्वर से अपने दुख दर्द को इस आवाज के रूप में प्रकट कर रहा है। दूध-घी की नदियों वाले देश में आज घी-दूध के लिए लोग तरस रहे हैं। वर्तमान सन्तति का स्वास्थ्य इन पौष्टिक पदार्थों के अभाव में चिन्ता का विषय बना हुआ है। इन सब दुखों का स्रोत आज समय पाकर फूट चुका है। राष्ट्र की अनेकों संस्थाओं तथा ५० हजार से अधिक व्यक्तियों ने तार और पत्र भेज कर विधान परिषद् के प्रधान से इस ओर क्रियात्मक कदम उठाने की मांग की है।

तिलक दिवस—

" स्वराज्य हमारा जन्म सिद्ध अधिकार है" के उद्घोषक श्री लोकमान्य बाल गंगाधर तिलक की पुण्य स्मृति में १ अगस्त को सारे राष्ट्र में स्मृति दिवस मनाया गया। सारा राष्ट्र आज लोकमान्य के सूत्रों पर चलकर वास्तविक अधिकार पा रहा है। लोकमान्य तिलक की आत्मा को अपने राष्ट्र की मुक्ति देखकर कितना आनन्द हो रहा होगा। हम उस चिरन्तन देवता के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित करते हैं।

दिनांक ३ अगस्त ४७
मूल्य ३) वार्षिक

सम्पादकः— स्नातक उमेशचन्द्र

अंक सं. २०
एक अंक =)

—•○—दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दोर का मुखपत्र—•○—

आर्य राष्ट्र-गान

आर्य राष्ट्र का कण-कण सारा प्रेम पुनीत पुकार उठे।
जल से, थल से, अम्बर से आर्यों का जय-जयकार उठे।
जननी का जय-जयकार उठे।

रंजित है इतिहास पुराने त्याग पूर्ण बलिदानों से,
अंकित है अक्षर-अक्षर अक्षय सुचि स्वर्ण प्रमाणों से,
वीरों की वर वीर कथाएं, भरे व्यथित अरमानों से,
भारत के भू खण्ड खड़े हैं अमर दिव्य बलिदानों से,
एक बार फिर आर्य वीर विजयी सेना हुंकार उठे।
कर में चम-चम तलवार उठे।

भारत की प्रिय पुण्य मही में महावीर बलवान हुए,
इसी देश में राम कृष्ण से पुण्य पुरुष भगवान हुए,
धर्मराज प्रिय प्रजा हितैषी उज्ज्वल रत्न महान् हुए,
वीर शिवा, राणा प्रताप से भारत के अभिमान हुए,
भारत भाल हिमाचल गुण गौरव गा संसार उठे,
जय आर्यावर्त पुकार उठे।

आर्य संस्कृति की रक्षा में निज सर्वस्व गवाना है,
आर्य जाति की सेवा में अपना बलिदान चढाना है,
वेदों का सन्देश अमर जगति को आज सुनाना है,
माता की बलिवेदी पर हंस-हंस कर सीस चढाना है,
माता तेरे चरणों पर हंस-हंस जग जन मन बलिहार उठे।
फिर जय-जयकार पुकार उठे।

अमर हुतात्म समाधिस्थल पर जीवन-दीप जलाना है,
पराधीनता के बन्धन से देश स्वतन्त्र बनाना है,
सुखद,स्नेह-सरिता सरसा सुखशांतिसुधा बरसानाहै,
ओऽम् ध्वजा'कमलेश'सहर्षित ले मानव परिवार उठे।
मानवता का फिर प्रिय प्यार उठे।

आर्य राष्ट्र का कण-कण सारा प्रेम पुनीत पुकार उठे।
जलसे, थलसे,अम्बरसे आर्यों की जय-जयकार उठे।
जननी का जय-जयकार उठे।

आयुर्वेद के छात्रों के लिए सूचना

संयुक्त प्रान्तीय बोर्ड आफ इंडियन मेडीसिन ने प्रान्त के प्रत्येक ग्राम में शिक्षित वैद्यों के यथा संभव शीघ्र पहुंचा देने के लिए अपने पिछले अधिवेशन में दो वर्ष का एक आयुर्वेद कोर्स प्रचलित करने का निश्चय किया है। बोर्ड के अनुरोध से गुरुकुल विश्व विद्यालय वृन्दावन के आयुर्वेद महा-विद्यालय मे इसी वर्ष से दो वर्ष के इस आयुर्वेद कोर्स के अध्यापन का प्रबन्ध किया जा रहा है। कोर्स की समाप्ति होने पर बोर्ड की परीक्षा होगी और बोर्ड की ही ओर से उपाधि तथा प्रमाण पत्रादि देने की व्यवस्था की जायगी।

प्रवेशार्थी संस्कृत की प्रथमा या मिडिल परीक्षा उत्तीर्ण या उनके समकक्ष अन्य परीक्षोत्तीर्ण होने चाहिए और उनकी आयु १६ वर्ष से कम नहीं होनी चाहिए गुरुकुल के आयुर्वेद महाविद्यालय में जो विद्यार्थी इसमें प्रविष्ट होना चाहें उनके निवास के लिए स्थान की व्यवस्था की जायगी परन्तु स्थान के अतिरिक्त चारपाई भोजनादि की सब व्यवस्था विद्यार्थियों को स्वयं करनी होगी इसके अतिरिक्त प्रथम वर्ष में तीन तथा द्वितीय वर्ष में चार रुपया मासिक शुल्क देना होगा। इस कक्षा की पढाई १६ अगस्त से प्रारम्भ होगी। अतएव जो विद्यार्थी इस कक्षा में प्रविष्ट होना चाहें उन्हें अपने प्रार्थना पत्र बहुत शीघ्र भेजने चाहिए इस कक्षा में इस वर्ष २० विद्यार्थी ही प्रविष्ट होंगे अतः शीघ्रता करनी चाहिए।

आचार्य-गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय, वृन्दावन

卐 ॐ 卐

आर्यावर्त

सृष्टि १९७२९४९०४७] दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर का मुखपत्र [दयानन्द जन्माब्द १२३

वर्ष २] इन्दौर, रविवार दिनाङ्क ३ अगस्त १९४७, श्रावण वदी २ वि. सं २००४ [संख्या २०

गौ रक्षा का प्रश्न

हमने कुछ समयपूर्व इ हीं प क्तियों में गौवध निषेध कानून के सम्बन्ध में विधान परिषद् का ध्यान आकृष्ट किया था। हमें यह भी सूचना प्राप्त हुई थी कि मध्यप्रान्त के मुसलमान मन्त्री श्रीहसन ने इस सम्बन्ध में प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करने की सूचना विधान-परिषद् के प्रधान को दी है। पिछले कुछ दिनोंसे भारतीय राजनीति में गोवध-निषेध का विषय अत्यन्त प्रमुख विषय बना हुआ है। जहां तक गौ की धार्मिकताका प्रश्न है इसको स्वीकार नहीं किया जासकता है धार्मिक सिद्धान्तों मे अगर सचाई है तो वे एक दूसरे से सर्वथा विपरीत कैसे हो सकते हैं ! एक गौरक्षा को, गौ पूजा को अपना धर्म समझता है तो दूसरा ठीक इसके विपरीत गौकुशी को अपना धर्म बताता है। अगर दोनों ही धर्मों की सत्ता स्वीकार कर ली जाय तो एक बडी विचित्र अवस्था पैदा हो जायगी। वास्तवमें गौ का प्रश्न विशुद्ध आर्थिक एव राष्ट्रीय है। प्राचीन भारत में गौ एक सिक्के के रूप में प्रयोग में आती रही है। उसकी इस व्यवहारिकता के मूल में उसकी आर्थिक उपयोगिता ही ती थी और वही आज भी मानी जानी चाहिये। इसी उपयोगितावाद को दृष्टि में रखकर भारतीय जनता ने गौ को धार्मिक रूप प्रदान किया था और उसकी निरन्तर पूजा की है। गौ की व्यवहारिक उपयोगिता को स्वीकार करते हुए और उससे शारीरिक लाभ उठाते हुए भी उसको जिबह करने का जो घृणित कार्य धर्म में परिणत किया गया उसमें विद्वेष की भावना ही अधिक है धर्म की नहीं मुस्लिम देशों में भ्रमण कर आये कई बडे बडे विद्वानोंने इस बात का उल्लेख किया ह कि अरब आदि में गौ कुशी की प्रथा भारत की तरह प्रचलित नहीं है वहा तो गौ के स्थान पर भेडों या बकरियों का उपयोग होता है। तब यह कहने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं कि धर्म के नाम पर इस हत्या को न रोका जाय। जब अरब के मुसलमान इस हत्या के बिना अपना कार्य चला लेते हैं तब भारत के मुसलमान ऐसा क्यों नहीं कर सकते। अब रहा प्रश्न धर्म की वास्तविकता का, कहा जाता है कि यदि किसी के धर्म में गौकुशी का उल्लेख है तो कानूनन उसे बन्द नहीं किया जा सकता। हम महात्मा गांधीजी के इस मन्तव्य से सहमत नहीं हो सकते। यदि धर्म के नाम पर किसी को गौ हत्या का अधिकार दिया जा सकता है तो जिन धर्मों में [मजहबों में] व्यभिचार, अपहरण, ऋण लेकर न देना, शराब पीना और दुनियाँ भर के सब पापों का उल्लेख हो उसे कानूनन क्यों रोका जा सकता है। क्या कोई व्यभिचारी यदि यह कह कर दुराचार बलात्कार करे कि यह तो मेरा धर्म है तो उसको निर्दोष कहा जा सकता है इसी प्रकार ऋणं कृत्वा घृतं पिबेत् आदि के आधार पर वाम मार्ग को कैसे रोका जा सकता है। शराब बन्दी को रोकने के लिए कानून बना कर कांग्रेसी सरकारों ने जनोद्धार का श्रीगणेश किया है, पर क्या उस व्यक्ति की धार्मिक वेदना का किसी को ख्याल हुआ जो शराब पीना अपना धर्म कहता था। इस प्रकार यह बात बिलकुल स्पष्ट है कि किसी ऐसी चीज को धर्म के नाम पर स्वीकृति नहीं दी जानी चाहिये जो समाज के ऊपर आर्थिक एव विद्वेषात्मक हानिकर प्रभाव डालने वाली हो।

हां, म गांधीजी की इस राय का हम जोरदार समर्थन अवश्य करेंगे कि गो रक्षा का प्रश्न सबसे पहले हिन्दुओं को स्वय हल करना पडेगा। यदि प्रत्येक हिंदु अपना कर्त्तव्य गो के सम्बन्ध में पूरा करे तो गोवध-निषेध का प्रश्न गौण बन जाता है।

राष्ट्रीय सरकार देश के गिरते हुए स्वास्थ्य की सुरक्षा और विकास को ध्यान में रखते हुए फौज के लिए गौ मांस का उपयोग तत्काल बन्दकर सकती है। और इस प्रकार इस समस्या का व्यवहारिक हल निकल सकता है। यह बात निर्विवाद सिद्ध है कि गौ कुशी के धार्मिक रूप में फौजी उपयोग की अपेक्षा हजारवाँ भाग भी प्रयुक्त नही होता। इस दिशा में सरकार साहसपूर्ण निष्पक्षपात होकर कानून बनाकर जनता की आवाज का आदर कर सकती है।

धार्मिक दृष्टि काण से हिंसा का कभी समर्थन नहीं किया जा सकता भारत

को अनवति के मूल में भी पशुवध का ही प्रधान हाथ था। याज्ञिक हिंसा ने भारत को आज की दशा में पहुंचाया था क्या अब जब हम पूर्ण सत्ताधिकारी बन रहे हैं अज्ञानान्धकार से दूर न होंगे प्रभु राष्ट्रीय नेताओं को सद्बुद्धि दें जिससे इस समस्या का वैज्ञानिक एवं शान्ति पूर्ण हल हो सके। ऋषि दयानन्द का यह महान आदर्श जो उन्होंने अपनी गोकरुणा निधि में रक्खा था और जिसके आधार पर वे तत्कालीन अंग्रेज अधिकारियों से भी मिले वे आज के इस स्वतन्त्र युग में प्रेरणा का विषय बन सकता है। आशा है इस गम्भीर प्रश्न को उदार चेता विधान विशेषज्ञ इस सम्बन्ध में अवश्य वैधानिक प्रतिबन्ध लगा कर जनता जनार्दन की सच्ची सेवा कर सकेंगे। ★

विचार-कण——

प्रजातन्त्र या राजतन्त्र

"जनतन्त्रीय शासन प्रणाली भारत वर्ष के लिए एक विदेशी देन है। यहां के लिए राजतन्त्र प्रणाली ही उपयुक्त रही है"। (हिन्दुस्तान, ८ जुलाई ४७)

ये शब्द हैं हिन्दुत्व अभिमानी हिन्दु राष्ट्र के नव जागरण के प्रणेता, हिन्दु संस्कृति के लिए राष्ट्र के नव युवकों का बृहद संगठन करने वाले दल राष्ट्रीय स्वयं सेवक संघ के सरसंचालक श्रीगुरुजीमहाराज के जो उन्होंने भरतपुर नरेश के सभापतित्वमें हुई संघकी एक रैलीमें भाषण देते हुए कहे-थे।

भारत वर्ष को इस बात का गौरव है कि संसार में सर्व प्रथम प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना भारतवर्ष में हुई थी। वेद जो हिन्दु धर्म के आधारभूत ग्रन्थ हैं स्थान स्थान पर प्रजा तन्त्र, जन राज्य, और प्रजा के महान आदर्श की दुहाई दे रहे हैं। पाश्चात्य इतिहास के इस घृणित प्रचार का कि जनतन्त्र का प्रादुर्भाव ग्रीस से हुआ, विरोध करने के लिए भारतीय विद्वानों ने न जाने कितने प्रयत्न कर यह प्रमाणित कर दिया कि भारत में सदैव जनता के आधार पर राज्य व्यवस्था थी। माण्डलिक राज्य प्रणाली तथा जनतन्त्र के अन्य प्राचीन भेदों का उल्लेख कर यह प्रमाणित किया जा चुका है कि भारत जनतन्त्रीय राष्ट्र रहा है। तब हम इस उक्ति को सुन चकित रह गये हैं। क्या इसी प्रकार के हिन्दुत्व और उसकी संस्कृति की रक्षार्थ संघ प्रयत्नशील है। वर्तमान में देशी राज्यों में प्रजा की जो दुर्दशा है उसको देखकर भी यदि कोई राजतन्त्र को भारत के लिए उपयुक्त बतलाने का प्रयत्न करे तो उसे दुस्साहस और संस्कृति के नाम पर किया जाने वाला प्रतिगामी गठ बन्धन ही कहा जा सकता है। क्या संघ के उच्चाधिकारी इस वक्तव्य की यथार्थता अथवा अन्य आवश्यक बातों का समाधान कर संघ के सम्बन्ध में फैलने वाली भ्रान्ति को दूर करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे।

आर्य, हिंदू, ब्राह्मण बनाम डाकखाना—

हमारे पास एक युवक ने पत्र भेज कर डाकखाने में चलने वाली साम्प्रदायिक प्रवृत्ति का भण्डाफोड करने को लिखा है घटना निम्न है— "मैंने सुपरिन्टेन्डेन्ट आफ जनरल पोस्ट आफिस इन्दौर के पास अपनी सर्विस के लिए प्रार्थना-पत्र भेजा था। वहां से एक व्यक्ति द्वारा सूचना भेजकर मुझे बुलाया गया कि ९ बजे से ११ बजे के भीतर आफिस में आकर मिलो। मैं वहां ठीक समय पर पहुंचा। भेंट के समय सुपरिटेंडेंट साहब ने मेरा प्रार्थना-पत्र देखकर मुझसे प्रश्न किया कि यह आर्य क्या होता है (मैंने अपने नाम के आगे लिखा था) और फिर मुझसे कहा गया कि सम्भवतः आर्य से अर्थ हिन्दू ही है। मैंने उन्हें आर्य शब्द के सम्बन्ध में बताया तब फिर उन्होंने कहा, हां,इस सबका अर्थ हिन्दू ही है और अगर हिन्दुओं में भी तुम ब्राह्मण हो तो तुम्हारे लिये डाकखाने में स्थान नहीं है। उनका अभिप्राय यह था यदि तुम आर्य हो तो आर्य होने के कारण इसी प्रकार हिन्दू होने के कारण और ब्राह्मण होने के कारण तुम्हें यहां सर्विस नहीं दी जा सकती।"

—आपका........

इस घटना के गोरख धन्धे को समझना सहज नहीं कहा जा सकता। पूर्ववर्ती अन्तरिम सरकार के समय में यह घटना होती तो तब इस पर कुछ कहना व्यर्थ का अरण्यरोदन कहा जा सकता था पर आज नई अन्तरिम सरकार के समय इस घटना का घटित होना आश्चर्य की बात है। हम सर्विस में योग्यता के समर्थक हैं किसी जाति विशेष को और उसमें प्रतिगामी वर्ण व्यवस्था का तो कोई प्रश्न ही नहीं परन्तु जहां तक इस घटना का सम्बन्ध है हम डाकखाने की इस नीति का विरोध करेंगे। ★

(पृष्ठ १० का शेष)

का चिन्ह है। नगर के अन्य भागों में सर्व साधारण जनता इस दिशा में मिल एरिया की जनता का अनुकरण कर इस क्रान्ति में पूर्ण सहयोग दे सकती है। होटल वालों के धैर्य व साहस की परीक्षा में प्रत्येक समाज प्रेमी उनके साथ है। क्रान्ति चिरजीवी हो, मौलिक अधिकार व्यापक हों।

स्वतन्त्रता के अग्रदूत : रवीन्द्रनाथ

आचार्य गुरुदयाल मल्लिक

विश्व-बन्धुत्व के उपासक रवीन्द्रनाथ— जिनके भौतिक अवसान की [illegible] पुण्यतिथि अगस्त की सातवीं-तारीख को पड़ी है— अपने ज्वलन्त विश्वास की सचाई के कारण स्वाधीनता के अग्रदूत थे। स्वतंत्रता को वे संपूर्ण भाव से स्वीकार किए हुए थे; उनके मन-प्राण मनुष्य के पूर्णावयव व्यक्तित्व की खुशबू से सुरभित हो उठे थे। एक बार सन् १९३३ में आंध्र विश्वविद्यालय के एक एक्सटेंशन लेक्चर का उपसंहार करते हुए उन्होंने कहा था:

मनुष्य जीवन का एक मात्र उद्देश्य मुक्त करना और मुक्त होना है—उस मुक्ति को प्राप्त करना जिससे वरेण्य जीवन का पथ आलोकित होता है।

किंतु उन्होंने अनुभव किया कि उनकी अपनी जन्मभूमि स्वतंत्र और मुक्त नहीं है और जिन देशों को स्वातंत्र्य तथा मुक्ति का उपभोग सहज है वे उसे जीवन की सेवा और एकता में नियोजित नहीं कर रहे हैं। इसी से क्षण भर चुप रह कर उन्होंने तीक्ष्ण प्रश्न किया— कौन है जो विश्राम पाना चाहता है, जो आराम की खोज में है और उसे विश्राम मिलेगा ही क्योंकर ?

आज स्वतन्त्रता के व्यापक युद्ध और संघर्ष के दिनों में हम भारतवासियों के लिये ऊपर के संदेश से बढ़कर और कौनसा महान् संदेश हो सकता है; अपनी इस पुरानी विराम-प्रिय आलस्य की कठिन शृंखला को आज छिन्न-भिन्न कर देने का दुर्लभ क्षण क्या हमारे जीवन में नहीं आ गया है ! क्या यह मनुष्य का निमार्ण करने वाली मुक्ति को ध्रुव तारिका के निर्देश पर बढ़े चलने की बेला नहीं है ! 'मनुष्य का निमार्ण'— कारण, इस निविड परतंत्रता के अधम वातावरण में रहनेवाला व्यक्ति आज एक आत्मशून्य, यांत्रिक पुतला ही तो है; भगवान् की दी हुई स्वतन्त्रता से उज्वल और महिमान्वित मनुष्य कहां है ?

कवि का निजी जीवन अपने आप में उन सब बाधाओं के खिलाफ कठिन और अशेष युद्ध की एक सजीव कहानी है, जो बाधाएं मनुष्य के गौरव और गति को पग-पग पर अवरुद्ध कर रखती हैं। स्कूलमास्टर अपने विदेशी स्वामियों को प्रसन्न करने के लिये शिशु के मन को किसी जड़ साम्प्रदायिकता के बन्धन में बांध रहा था। रवीन्द्रनाथ ने उसके खिलाफ मानो धर्म-युद्ध आरम्भ कर दिया। शांतिनिकेतन में उन्होंने शिक्षा का केन्द्र स्थापित किया, जहां तरुणों को अबाध मानसिक और अध्यात्मिक विकास के लिये अनुकूल आबहवा मिल सके। धनोन्मत्त व्यवसायी 'सुन्दर' के ऊपर अपने व्यापार की जड़ता की छाप बिठा रहा था। जो नित्यकाल का आनन्द वहन करता है, उसे ही लोभ से प्रत्याशित होकर बाजार की अपवित्रता का वाहन बनाये दे रहा था। रवीन्द्रनाथ ने वर्तमान सभ्यता की इस दुर्निवार प्रवृत्ति का विरोध किया और शिल्पियों के लिये एक ऐसा मुक्त स्थान दिया जहां लाभालाभ की धारणाएं प्रवेश ही न सकें। मानव हृदय-मन्दिर पर आसीन भागवत सत्ता को धर्म का बाह्य आडम्बर अपमानित कर रहा था। रवीन्द्रनाथ ने उस महान संदेश को उदात्त स्वर से घोषित किया जिसके द्वारा मनुष्य अपने गौरव को समझ सके— अपनी शाश्वत पवित्रता का अनुभव कर सके ! हमारा जीवन और साहित्य दोनों पश्चिम का अंध और हास्यकर अनुकरण कर रहे थे। रवीन्द्रनाथ उठ खड़े हुए अपनी निजस्व सचाई और सादगी लेकर, जिसमें वाणी का वरदान आ मिला। राष्ट्रीयता ने मनुष्य-मनुष्यके अन्तरकी सहज प्रेमधारा को रोक रखा था। रवीन्द्रनाथ ने दिखाया कि पूर्व और पश्चिम दोनों के हृदय में एक ही प्राणों की धड़कन बजा करती है—दोनों उस प्रकाश के लोकतन्त्र में रह रहे हैं जहां द्वैत का अंधकार नहीं है।

कवि होने के कारण रवीन्द्रनाथ के प्राण छन्दोमय थे; वे इस ब्रह्माण्ड के छन्द को सर्वत्र सुन पाते थे। आकाश की सुदूरस्थ तारिका का प्रकाश किस तरह घास के अन्तराल में छुपे जुगनू के भीतर प्रतिफलित हो रहा है, पथ के किनारे का उपेक्षित फूल और मनुष्यका विकासोन्मुख जीवन किस तरह एक ही छन्द में गुथे हैं, इसे वे अनुभव कर पाते थे। उस छन्द को जो भंग करता था उसकी वेदना उनके मर्म में आ लगती थी। स्वतन्त्रता तथा मुक्ति—के भीतर ही छन्द का सारा रहस्य निहित है। पांवों में बेड़ियां जकड़कर कोई नहीं नाचता, नृत्य का अर्थ ही आजादी है। इसीलिए मनुष्य अपनी दैवी सत्ता का प्रकाश तब तक नहीं कर सकता जब तक वह दासता के मलिन वस्त्रों से अपने को ढाके हुए है—फिर वह दासता राजनैतिक हो, सामाजिक हो, आर्थिक हो, नैतिक हो, अथवा अध्यात्मिक !

इसीलिए आज मानवीय महिमा के अन्वेषक और प्रचारक उस रवीन्द्रनाथ को हम अपने भक्ति पूर्ण प्रणाम अर्पित करें, जिन्होंने उस महिमा का भागवत स्वरूप हमारे निकट उद्भासित किया।

★

जाति भेद का घुन—

चोर यहां छिपा है

(१) मद्रास प्रान्त के तिनेवला जिलेके अन्तर्गत अपूरा कुलम गांवका सूफियांवर नामक एक सवर्ण युवक एक दिन नादूवाक्कुलम के डिस्ट्रिक्ट बोर्ड स्कूल में गया। वहां वह स्कूल के अछूत मास्टर के एक चार साल के अबोध बालक से छुआ गया। सूफिया वेवर ने एक अछूत लडके द्वारा स्पर्श किये जाने से अपने को भ्रष्ट समझा और गुस्सेमें आकर उसने लडके को बुरी तरह पीटा। लडके का पिता स्कूल मास्टर उस समय स्कूल से बाहर गया हुआ था। जब वह लौटकर आया तब उसने यह सब घटना सुनी। मास्टर ने सूफिया वेवर को स्कूल से बाहर चले जाने के लिए कहा। सूफिया ने स्कूल से जाते हुए मास्टर को धमकी दी कि उसको इसका फल चखना पडेगा। इसके अनुसार वह तीसरे प्रहर अपने अन्य छः साथियों को लेकर आया। उन सबके हाथ में लाठियां और अन्य हथियार थे। उन्होंने स्कूल मास्टर और आदि द्रविड समाज [अछूतों] को धमकाया। इसी बीच पार्टीके एक आदमीने स्कूल मास्टर के मुंह पर जोरका प्रहार किया। स्कूल मास्टर और उसकी गरीब पत्नी ने यह समझ कर कि वह पार्टी उनकी हत्या करने आई है हल्ला मचाया, और भाग जाने का प्रयत्न किया, पर आक्रान्ताओं ने उन को घेर लिया। उनकी चीख पुकार गांव के दूसरे भागमें पहुंच चुकीथी और वहां लोग आगये और तब उनके प्राण बच पाये। बचाने वालों में से भी एक सख्त घायल हुआ।

(२) बुलन्द शहर के एक गांव में सवर्ण जमींदार ने एक चमार को अपनी बैलगाडी अपने एक सम्बन्धी के यहां भेजने को कहा। चमार ने जमींदार का कहा नहीं माना क्योंकि उसी दिन वह अपने भाई को दूरके रेल्वे स्टेशन पर पहुंचाने जा रहा था। जमींदार ताव में आगया और चमार के घर पहुंचा और चमार को घरसे घसीटते हुए बाहर निकाला और खूब पीटा, इससे चमार के कई गहरे घाव हो गये। इस भय से कि चमार थाने में रिपोर्ट लिखाने न पहुंच जावे उसको रस्सी से बांध कर रक्खा गया। बाद में उसको यह धमकी देकर छोड दिया गया— यदि भविष्य में ऐसा करेगा तो उसको मार दिया जायगा।

(३) पंजाब रोहतक जिले के एक गांव के सवर्ण हिन्दुओं ने चमारों से कहा कि वे जूता ३) जोडा दें और यदि ६ मास से पहले जूता फट जाय तब जूते की दूसरी जोडी मुफ्त में उसे देनी पडेगी जब चमारों ने कहा कि ३) में जूते में लगने वाला सारा माल भी नहीं आता तब उन पर ५०) जुर्माना किया गया। और जुर्माना तत्काल भरने के लिए कहा गया। जुर्माना न भरने पर उनको बुरी तरह से पीटा गया और उनका सामाजिक और आर्थिक बहिष्कार किया गया। इसका मतलब यह था कि वे स्थानीय बाजार से कुछ खरीद नहीं सकते थे उनके पशु गांव के चरागाह में नहीं जा सकते थे, न उनको कोई गांव वाला अपने यहां नौकरी देगा। चमारों ने सबसे सहायता मांगी मगर किसी ने मदद न दी।

(४) अलीगढ जिले में लेरिया गांव के हरिजनों ने बेगार करने से इन्कार कर दिया। इससे सवर्ण हिन्दू नाराज होगये और ७ मार्च होली के दिन जब वे जमा हुए हरिजनों के इलाके को फूंकना शुरू कर दिया। हरिजनों पर भालों और अन्य घातक हथियारों से हमले किये गये। घरों को फूंक दिया गया। इस आग में दो हरिजन और दो जानवर जीते जी जल मरे घायल हुए सो अलग। इस घटना पर केन्द्रीय असेम्बली के विगताधिवेशन में काम रोको प्रस्ताव भी उपस्थित करने का प्रयत्न किया गया था।

[६] बुलन्दशहर जिले के अम्बका गांव में कुछ सवर्ण हिन्दुओं ने बेगार मे काम करने इंकार कर दिया, इस पर उन हिन्दुओं ने भालों, राइफलों और पिस्तौलों से हमला किया, ८ हरिजन घटनी स्थल पर मारे गये १२ बुरी तरह घायल हुए।

(६) मास पूर्व मदुरा जिले के एक हरिजन ने अपने पुत्र का सार्वजनिक म्यूनिस्पल स्मशान में अन्त्येष्टि संस्कार किया वहां के सम्पूर्ण हिन्दुओं ने इस पर आपत्ति की उस पर फौजदारी मुकद्दमा चलाया गया और उसको छः मास की, कडी कैद की सजा दिलाने में वे समर्थ हुए।

ये घटनाएं हैं जिन पर हमें गम्भीर विचार करना चाहिए और अपने सामाजिक स्तर को उन्नत बनाने के लिए मानवताकी इन दर्दनाक कहानियों का जड मूल से नष्ट कर देना चाहिये। हम राजनैतिक स्वतन्त्रता का हर्ष मनाने जा रहे हैं पर याद रखिये राजनैतिक स्वतन्त्रता सामाजिक स्वाधीनता के रहते ही जीवित रह सकती है। क्या हम पाकिस्तान के विष वृक्ष को सींचने वाली अस्पृश्यता की इस बुराई को नष्ट करने का साहसिक कदम उठाने में अब भी संकोच करेंगे! यदि हम अब भी हिचकिचाये तो विनाश का दानव हमे सदैव के लिए नेस्तना बूद कर देगा।

★ —"स्नातक"

सामाजिक अभिशाप—

पाकिस्तान कैसे नष्ट हो सकता है

(लेखक— श्री श्यामजी पाराशर एम. ए.)

— गतांक से आगे —

भारतमाता—' हजारों बीघे जमीन को कैसे समेटें।'

भगवान—'एक जमीन ही वहां रहने दें। जिन हिन्दुओं की अपनी जमीन नहो उन्हें भागीदार बनाकर चार पांच जने मिलकर अपने हाथों से खेती बाड़ी करें। जब तक निभे निभायें, परन्तु बाल बच्चों को हिन्दुस्तान में ही सुरक्षित स्थान पर रक्खें'।

'आपभी अजब बातें करते हैं। महीना दो महीना काटने हों तो यह बात हो भी सके, वर्षों तक ऐसा होना असम्भव है'।

'परन्तु इसके बिना कोई चारा नहीं। यदि हिन्दू एक वर्ष तक डटकर ऐसा कर जांय तो पाकिस्तान में भी उन्हें कोई कुछ नहीं कह सकता। आखिर हिन्दुस्तान में भी तो ४करोड़ मुसलमान हैं। हिन्दुओं की आराम तलबी,उनकी अमीरी की शान, उनका राजसी ठाट, उनकी बड़ी २ कोठियाँ गुण्डों के लिए आकर्षण हैं। हिन्दू अपनी शान हिन्दुस्तान में बनाये और हिंमत और बहादुरी से रहें पाकिस्तान में तभी उनका कल्याण हो सकता है। परन्तु इस बात में हिन्दुस्थान के हिन्दुओं को अपने भाइयों की दिल खोलकर सहायता करनी होगी। मन्दिरों, धर्मशालाओं, गुरुकुलों, ऋषिकुलों, स्कूलों, कालिजों, होटलों में जितनी भी जगह है सभी उनके लिए रिजर्व कर देनी चाहिए। जिससे वे अपने परिवारकी निवास समस्या से मुक्त हो जांय'।

'तो क्या इससे पाकिस्तानी समस्या हमेशा के लिए समाप्त हो जायगी।

'हां मेरा ऐसा ही विचार है। आज यदि हिन्दुओं में अपने भाइयों के प्रति सच्चा प्रेम पैदा हो जाय, आज यदि हिन्दू रुपये की ममता को छोड़ दें, आज यदि वह अपनी, सामाजिक त्रुटियों को दूर कर संगठित हो जांय तो हिन्दुस्तान के मुसलमान को इससे बड़ा हौसला मिलेगा। वह अपने पूर्वजों द्वारा पाले गये धर्म की गोद में फिर आसकेगा। तभी तो देश में सच्ची स्वतन्त्रता हो सकेगी।

"परन्तु अंग्रेज तो १५ अगस्त को भारत छोड रहा है।"

"परन्तु अंग्रेज का हिन्दुस्तान से चला जाना ही तो स्वतन्त्रता नहीं। जब अंग्रेज हिन्दुस्थान में नहीं था उस समय क्या हिन्दुस्तान स्वतन्त्र था? अंग्रेज को हिन्दुस्तान में आये कुल तीन सौ वर्ष हुए। क्या तेरी गुलामी का इतिहास केवल तीन सौ वर्ष का ही है। औरंगजेब और अल्तमश का जमाना क्या गुलामी का जमाना नहीं था। अगर दस करोड मुसलमानों के रहते तू स्वतन्त्र कहा सकती है तो १लाख अंग्रेज भी तेरी गोदी में रह लें तो क्या?"

"परन्तु मुसलमान तो मेरे पुत्र हैं अंग्रेज तो मेरे पुत्र नहीं।"

ऐसा कहकर तू अपना अपमान कर रही है। जगम्माता विश्वम्भरा की पदवी से विभूषित हो आज विश्व के केवल एक ही खण्ड की माता बनने में तू अपना गौरव समझ रही है। संसारमें जितने भी प्राणी हैं तू उन सबकी माता है। पुत्र मां को भले ही भूल जायं परंतु मां अपने पुत्र को कभी नहीं भूलती। पूत कपूत भले ही हो जाय माता विमाता कभी नहीं होती।"

"तो क्या स्वतंत्रता की देवी १५ अगस्त को नहीं आयगी?"

"न तो यह १५ अगस्त को आयगी और नहीं जून ४८ को। सामाजिक सुधार स्वतन्त्रता का पहला कदम है। बिना सामाजिक सुधार किए स्वतंत्र भारत की कल्पना केवल कल्पना ही है।"

"परन्तु यह हिंदु-मुस्लिम झगडे अंग्रेज ने ही पैदा किए हैं। इनके चले जाने पर ये झगडे स्वतः शांत हो जायेंगे।"

"कदापि शांत न होंगे, बल्कि और भी बढेंगे। अंग्रेज तो केवल इन झगडों के लिए व्यर्थ में ही बदनाम था। इस सारे झगडे की जड बिगडे हुए दिमाग वाले तेरे ही धर्माचार्य हैं। मुसलमान के हाथ का पानी पीने से तो इनका धर्म बिगड खराब जाता है परंतु पानी की बर्फ पी जाने से धर्म बराबर बना रहता है। सादी रोटी खाने से तो धर्म भ्रष्ट होजाता है, परंतु डबल रोटी दूध में डाल कर पी जाने से धर्म को चार चांद लग जाते हैं। अपना भाई जब तक उसके सिर पर चोटी है तब तक उसकी छाया से भी दूर रहेंगे, उसीके मुसलमान बन जाने पर उसका जयजयकार गायेंगे।'

'ये कट्टर पन्थी लोग अब तक न समझे तो अब क्या समझेंगे'

'नहीं समझेंगे तो नष्ट-भ्रष्ट हो जायेंगे। आजाद होकर भी दूसरों के गुलाम बने रहेंगे।'

'तो क्या अंग्रेज के स्थान पर कोई दूसरा आ जायगा?'

"अंग्रेज अभी गया कहां है भोली बेटी! अंग्रेज कहीं नहीं जायगा। कुछ दिन तक अलग खड़ा होकर वह हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान का तमाशा जरूर देखेगा। उसकी गुरखा और गोरी फौजें पाकिस्तान तथा हैदराबाद में डटी रहेंगी। पाकिस्तान को हमेशा अंग्रेज की शह मिलती रहेगी। हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के संघर्ष मे अंग्रेज सदैव मुसल्मान का ही साथ देगा"।

"परन्तु भगवन् यह तो बताइये मेरा बनेगा क्या। आप घटघटवासी सर्वान्तर्यामी हैं, चाहें तो जल में थल बना दे, चाहें तो थल में जल बहा दें। संसार की बुद्धियों को प्रेरित करनेवाले आपही हैं। प्रभो मेरी यह दुर्दशा आप कबतक देखते रहेंगे।

"तेरा कल्याण होगा और बहुत शीघ्रही होगा। तेरे पुत्र अवश्य चेतेंगे। यद्यपि मैं भी सब कुछ कर सकता हूं,

आर्य युवकों का कर्तव्य

[गो-वध-निषेध आन्दोलन]

(लेखक— पं. धर्मदेवजी विद्यावाचस्पति
प्रधान— अखिल भारतीय आर्य कुमार परिषद्, सम्पादक 'सार्वदेशिक' देहली.)

अपने गत लेख में मैंने आर्य युवकों का ध्यान उनके कुछ कर्तव्यों की ओर आकर्षित करते हुए बताया था कि उन्हें अपने प्रिय देश आर्यावर्त के भविष्य निर्माण मे अपने उत्तरदायित्व को विशेष रूप से अनुभव करते हुए अपनी सब शक्तियों के विकास, आर्य वीर दलों के प्रबल संगठन, स्वाध्यायादि द्वारा आर्य संस्कृति के तत्वों का ज्ञान प्राप्त कर उसके अनुसार आचरणादि की ओर विशेष ध्यान देना चाहिये। अब कुछ अन्य आवश्यक कर्तव्यों की ओर आर्य युवकों और कुमारों का ध्यान इस लेख द्वारा आकर्षित करना चाहता हूं।

सबसे प्रथम मैं गोरक्षा तथा गो-वध निषेध के विषय को लेता हूं। गोरक्षा के विषय में किसी का मतभेद नहीं हो सकता किन्तु यह सचमुच दुःख की बात है कि इस आवश्यक विषय की ओर आर्य जनता का पर्याप्त ध्यान नहीं है। महर्षि दयानन्दजी जिस रूप में गो-रक्षिणी सभाओं का देश व्यापी संगठन बना कर उनके द्वारा गो वंश की रक्षा और उन्नति का प्रबन्ध करना चाहते थे तथा अंग्रेज शासकों पर भी जनमतका दबाव डालकर उनके द्वारा गोवध निषेध का कानून बनवाना चाहते थे खेद है कि उस रूप में इस आवश्यक विषय के सम्बन्ध में कार्य किया नहीं गया। कुछ गोशालाएं कई स्थानों में अवश्य स्थापित की गई किन्तु उन के संचालकों ने अधिक तर अधमरी दुबली पतली गौओं को आश्रय देना अथवा दूध की थोडी सी व्यवस्था कर देना मात्र अपना कर्तव्य समझा। गोवंश को उन्नत करने के लिये अनेक परीक्षण जो इन संस्थाओं द्वारा हो सकते थे तथा अब भी हो सकते हैं, उन्हें आर्थिक दृष्टि से अधिक स्वावलम्बी बनाने के लिए और जो कुछ कार्य हो सकता था तथा स्वयं हिन्दुओं के द्वारा बूढी हो जाने पर जो गौएं कसाईयों को बेच दी जाती हैं उन को रोकने के लिये पर्याप्त व्यवस्थादि नहीं की गई। महात्मा गान्धीजी ने पिछले दिनों जनता का ध्यान इस विषय की ओर आकृष्ट किया है जो उचित ही है।

किन्तु उसके साथ कानून द्वारा गो-वध को अपने स्वतन्त्र आर्यावर्त में बन्द कराने के लिये भी प्रबल आन्दोलन करना आवश्यक है। बाबर, हुमायूं, अकबर जैसे कई मुगल बादशाहों तक ने जिस गोहत्या को कानून द्वारा बन्द करा दिया था उसे भी देश के स्वतन्त्र होने पर हम आर्यावर्त में न बन्द करा सकें यह अत्यन्त अनुचित तथा लज्जास्पद बात होगी। आर्य युवकों को इस विषय में विशेष भाग लेना चाहिये। समस्त प्रान्तीय आर्य कुमार परिषदें इस विषय में आर्य कुमार सभाएं तथा आर्य युवक संघादि संस्थाएं इस विषयक प्रस्ताव पास करके भारत के राष्ट्रीय शासकों के पास भेजें कि गो हत्या को कानून से भी अवश्य बन्द करना चाहिये क्यों कि गो वंश के ऐसे नाश के कारण ही दूध आदि की दुर्लभता से समस्त देश वासियों को हानि पहुंचती है। यह केवल धार्मिक प्रश्न ही नहीं है आर्थिक व साम्पत्तिक भी है जैसे कि मैंने महात्मा गान्धीजी, सरदार वल्लभ भाईजी पटेल तथा देश रत्न डा. राजेन्द्र प्रसादजी आदि को लिखा है। महात्मा गान्धीजी ने कानून बनाने के विरुद्ध जो युक्ति दी है वह ठीक नहीं है कि इस से हिन्दुओं के अतिरिक्त अन्यों पर जबर्दस्ती होती है। इस जबर्दस्ती की युक्ति को मानना हो तो चोरी व्यभिचार, शराब, बाल्य विवाह अस्पृश्यतादि किसी भी चीज के विरुद्ध कोई कानून नहीं बन सकता क्योंकि उससे चोरों, व्यभिचारियों, शराबियों, बालविवाह, अस्पृश्यतादि को धर्म मानने वाले पौराणिक भाइयों पर जबर्दस्ती होती है। जिस से समस्त देशवासियों को हानि पहुंचती हो और इस लिये जिसको हटवाने के लिए जनता इतनी उत्सुक हो कि हजारों पत्र, तार आदि नेताओं के पास भेज रही हो जैसे कि म. गांधीजी ने माना है। उसे कानून द्वारा बन्द कराना राष्ट्र नेताओं का कर्त्तव्य है। इस विषयक प्रबल आन्दोलन आर्य युवकों को विशेष रूप से चलाना चाहिए।

परन्तु तेरे पुत्रोंद्वारा किया हुआ कार्य अधिक फलदायक होगा। आओ देवी अपने पुत्रों को ढाढस दो उन्हें कहो वे अपने दोषों दूर करें, उन्हें कहो वे प्रेम और प्यारसे रहना सीखें आर्य वीर दल जैसे संगठन को सुदृढ बनायें सैनिक संगठन अधिक न हो सब एक सूत्र में आबद्ध हो जाय। साधुओंकी जमातों को कानून-विरुद्ध (Un Lawful) घोषित कर दिया जाय। कांग्रेस सच्ची राष्ट्रीयता को अपना ले और राष्ट्रीयता विरुद्ध समझौता प्रिय नीति को तिलांजली दे दे। आर्य समाज को चाहिये, वह अपनी सारी शक्ति शुद्धि के काम में लगा दे, सनातन धर्म आर्य समाज की इस काम में पूरी सहायता करे। हिन्दू राजा अपना कर्तव्य पहचानते हुए हिन्दु राष्ट्र के सेनानायक बनें। तेरा कण-कण हिन्दुत्व [आर्यत्व] के रंग में रंग जाय, कण-कण से यही आवाज गुंजे— "नहीं बनेगा पाकिस्तान, बोलो सब हो एक जबान। बच्चा बच्चा हो बलिदान, मार भगा दो पाकिस्तान" तू धीरज रख, तेरा अवश्य कल्याण होगा।.........

पाकिस्तान का विषवृक्ष से
सामार उद्धृत

★ ★ ★

सामाजिक अभिशाप——

पाकिस्तान की पृष्ठ-भूमि

(गतांक से आगे)

भारतमाता—"प्रभो ! आप मेरे सपूतों को बुद्धि प्रदान कीजिये ताकि वे अपने संख्याबल को घटाना बन्द करदें। अपने गरीब भाइयों से मनुष्यों का सा व्यवहार करें। अपने सामाजिक ढांचे में समयानुकूल परिवर्तन लावें। अमीरी की शान दिखाने का भूत जो मेरे पुत्रों के सिर पर सवार हुआ है उसे जलांजलि दें। अपनी दौलत को गरीबों की राह का कांटा न बनावें। मुझे इस बात का पूरा विश्वास है कि यदि आज हिंदुसमाज अपने दोषों को दूर करदे तो अलग हुआ पाकिस्तान पुनः हिंदुस्तान माना जाय"।

भगवान—"हां ! तेरा विचार बिल्कुल ठीक है तेरे देश का जो महात्मा गांधी है उसका विचार भी ऐसा ही है। तभी तो वह कहता है, अलग हुआ छोटा हिंदुस्तान बहुत जल्दी बड़े हिंदुस्तान में आ मिलेगा"।

"तो आप गांधीजी की विचार धारा को अच्छा समझते हैं ? आजकल वे जिस मार्ग पर चल रहे हैं क्या आप उस मार्ग को मेरे लिये श्रेयस्कर समझते हैं। अपनी प्रार्थना सभाओं मेंजो कमजोर विचार वे प्रकट करतेहैं क्या आप इन विचारों की सराहना करते हैं"।

"गांधीजी के शब्द कुछ भी हों, परन्तु अपनी भावनाओं को व्यक्त करने का उनका अपना मार्ग है। गांधी जी की भावना केवल एक है। वे हिंदू समाज से अपने सामाजिक पापों के लिये प्रायश्चित करना चाहते हैं और सचमुच यदि हिंदुसमाज में यह प्रायश्चित की भावना जागृत हो जाय तो आज ही पाकिस्तान को समद हो जाय"।

'परन्तु गान्धीजी तो मेरे इन कपूतों के सामने झोली फैलाते हैं'।

तेरे लिए-अपने लिए नहीं। इस बुढापे में जब कि उत्तराखण्ड में आकर उसे तपस्या करनी चाहिए वह बुढा फकीर दर दर भटकता है। तेरे ही लिए, अपने लिए नहीं !

'परन्तु महात्मा की इस उदार ताको मेरे कपूत उसकी कायरता समझते हैं ! उनका दिमाग और भी बिगडा जारहा है'।

'दस करोड कीसमस्या कोई छोटी मोटी समस्या नहीं। न तो ये बाहर भेजे जासकते हैं न धरती में ही समा सकते हैं। यहां स्वर्ग में पहले ही ओवर क्राउडिंग हो रहा है-रहना उन्होंने तेरी ही गोदी में है। शुद्धि तेरे पुत्र करेंगे नहीं, फिर तो ये १० करोड से अपने आप १५ करोड बनेंगे। गांधीजी चाहते हैं कि इन्हें प्रेम और प्यार से शुद्ध करके अपने में मिला लिया जाय।

'परन्तु गान्धी ऐसा कहते तो नहीं'

जिस पोजीशन पर वह आज है, जिस वातावरण में उसे बोलना और काम करना पडता है उस अवस्था में वह ऐसा कह सकता ही नहीं। वह तो सफर मैना का आदमी है। उसका काम है रास्ता साफ करना। यह काम आर्य समाज और सनातन धर्म का है कि वे आगे बढें और जितने भी नेशनलिस्ट मुस्लिम हैं उन्हे हिन्दू समाज की शरण में ले लें।

'पाकिस्तान बन जाने पर क्या अब भी भगवान को मुसलमानों के उद्धार की आशा है'

हां पाकिस्तान अभी मुसलमानों के हृदय तक पहुँचा है। उनकी आत्मा में अभी तक भी पैतृक सम्पत्ति के रूप में प्राप्त किया हिन्दुत्व का प्रेम छिपा है।

'परन्तु जब तक हिन्दुस्तान का धूम्रकेतु जिन्ना जिन्दा है तब तक तो ऐसी आशा करना नितान्त व्यर्थ है, तथापि इसके पश्चात् यदि कोई अच्छा मुसलमान उसका स्थान सम्हाल सका तो भले ही यह बात सम्भव हो सके। यह पाकिस्तान का झगडा भी तो केवल जिन्ना काही खडा किया हुआ है। प्रभो आप इसे कब तक जीवित रक्खेंगे।

बुढापे में इस शख्स को इज्जत नसीब हुई। दस वर्ष पहिले जिसे किसी भी प्रान्तीय असैम्बलीमें एक भी साथी न मिल सका था आज वही व्यक्ति गवर्नर जनरल पाकिस्तान बना है। अब तो यह कम से कम पन्द्रह साल और जियेगा।

"तबतो मेरे उद्धार की कोई आशाही नहीं। पन्द्रह वर्ष में तो पाकिस्तान के लोग शायद पंजाब का नाम भी भूल जायगे। इस प्रदेश में रहने वाले हिन्दुओं का तो सर्व नाश हो जायगा"।

इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं। हिन्दुओं को चाहिए पाकिस्तान को छोडकर रावी के पार आ जांय" "कहना बहुत आसान है, प्रभो परन्तु अपना घर-बार छोडकर दर दर भटकना सहज बात नहीं। मेरे पुत्र मैं उनके लिए रोती तो हूं परन्तु वे ऐसे स्वार्थी और निर्दयी हैं कि अनेक बार तो मैं जीवन की आशा ही छोड बैठती हूं। स्वार्थ हिन्दू का धर्म है, रुपया हिन्दू का इष्ट देव है। अगर पाकिस्तानी पिशाचों ने

— लेखक —

श्री श्यामजी पाराशर,
एम. ए.

मेरे पुत्रों के कपडे उतारें तो ये मेरे पुत्र उन्हीं आश्रितों, पीडित भाइयों की चमडी तक उतारने को तय्यार हैं। दया धर्म तो उन्हें छूतक नहीं गया"।

' पशुओं से प्रेम करना ईंटों और पत्थरोंपर फूल चढाना और मनुष्य की खाल खैंचना यह इनका धर्म है। मेरे धर्मवीर पुत्रों ने हरिद्वार, देहरादून तथा अन्यत्र जो जो कष्ट सहे इन्हीं वीरों की हिम्मत थी। जिन लोगों पर आशा रखकर ये लोग इतनी दूर से भागे हरिद्वार आये थे उन्हीं लोगोंने इनके साथ वह दुर्व्यवहार किया कि देखते ही मेरा हृदय टुकडे २ हो गया। जिस मकान का किराया ४ रुपया था इन लोगोंने उसके४० मांगे। जिन लोगों

के बाप दादाने पंडों को मकान बनाकर दिये। अच्छी अवस्था मे आने पर जो पंडे यजमान को सौ सौ बार झुक झुक कर प्रणाम किया करते थे-विपदाके दिनों में इन पण्डों ने अपने इन यजमानों की बात तक नहीं पूछी। धर्म शालायें किराया शालाएं बन गई। मुन्शी ने सब कमरों को ताले लगा लिए हैं। जिसके पास तन ढकने को कपड़ा न था वह बेचारा सर्दी गर्मी आंधी वर्षा में सड़कों पर पड़ा। यह शरणार्थी लोग जो अपने घरों में बादशाह थे, लाखों में खेलते थे, उन की हरि द्वार में वह दुर्दशा हुई क्या बताऊं, परन्तु धन्य हैं वे धर्म वीर! इस कदर अपमान सहते हुए भी वे अपने धर्म-पथ से विचलित नहीं हुए। प्रभो! आप क्या इसी व्यवहार पर आबादियों के तबादले की सलाह देते हैं।

"आप क्या पश्चिमी पंजाब को छोड़ देने में ही हिन्दुओं का कल्याण समझते हैं। गांधीजी का तो ऐसा विचार नहीं"। "आज नहीं तो कल हो जायगा। बुद्धिमान वही है जो आने वाले भय का पहले ही प्रबन्ध कर ले। आग लगने पर कुआ खोदना कोई बुद्धिमत्ता की बात नहीं। गांधी और कृपलानी आकाश में उड़ते हुए बातें करते हैं, हमें तो पृथ्वी पर चलने वालों की सोचना है। महीनों से सहस्त्रों शरणार्थी यू. पी. और राजस्थान में पड़े हैं। अगर गांधीजी और कृपलानी जी में हिम्मत था तो फिर से इन लोगों को बसा क्यों न लिया। बिहार वाले भी तो अपने घरों में बस गये। दो ही उपाय हैं या तो यू. पी. और बिहार के १०, १२ लाख किसान पंजाब में रह कर हिन्दू जमींदारों का अन्त करें, या यह न हो सके तो जितने भी साधु-सन्त हैं वे सब पश्चिमी पंजाब में जाबसे और खेती बाड़ी करें। हिन्दू जमीदार के नीचे मुसलमानी मजारे काम करें, पाकिस्तानी सरकार इसे सहन न करेगी। प्रत्येक मुसलमान अपने आपको पंजाब का हाकिम समझेगा। फिर वह अपने गुलाम की जमीन क्यूं जोते। हिन्दू लालाजी आज तक जिन्होंने हलको छुआ तक नहीं वे क्या खेतीबाड़ी करेंगे। पाकिस्तान में न तो लेन-देन का ही काम हो सकता है न बटाई पर खेतीबाड़ी का। तिजारत पर इतनी पाबन्दियां होंगी कि उसमें बचत सब सरकार ले जायगी। नौकरी के द्वार हिन्दुओं के लिए सर्वथा बन्द होंगे, जिस- पर दिन-रात गुण्डों की मार, अपहरण, अपमान, झगड़े और फसाद। मैं तो इसी में इनका कल्याण समझता हूं कि जितनी जल्दी हो सकता है वे अपनी सम्पत्ति को समेट लें और हिन्दुस्तान में उसे सुरक्षित रक्खें।

—क्रमशः

भा····र····त·········का

धूम्र केतु — 'जिन्ना'

ले०——श्री इन्द्र विद्या वाचस्पति

मियां जिन्ना में मस्तिष्क की मात्रा बहुत अधिक और हृदय की बहुत कम शायद शून्य के आस पास है। इसका प्रमाण यह है कि मुस्लिम लीग के आन्दोलन से देश में जो भयंकर हत्या काण्ड मचा उसने कभी मियां जिन्ना के हृदय का स्पर्श नहीं किया। हजारों कुनबे तबाह हो गये, पुरुष मारे गये, स्त्रियों का अपहरण हुआ बच्चे मौत के घाट उतारे गये पर इस पत्थर की मूर्ति में द्रवता पैदा नहीं हुई न हृदय ही पसीजा और न आंखों में आंसू ही छलके अपनी हृदय हीन नीति के उन शिकारों को मि. जिन्ना ने दूसरे ऐसे देखा, जैसे शिकारी अपनी गोलियों के परिणामों को जंगल में पड़े देखता और सन्तुष्ट होता है। जब महात्मा गांधी हृदय की आवाज को सुनकर पूर्वी बंगाल और बिहार में पैदल मारे-मारे फिर रहे थे, तब मि. जिन्ना औरंगजेब रोड के सजे सजाये बंगले में बैठकर ठण्डे दिमाग से पाकिस्तान की स्कीम बना रहा था। ऐसा आदमी राजनीति की शतरंज का सफल खिलाड़ी होता हुआ भी संसार के लिए कल्याण कारी नहीं सिद्ध होगा। जिस मनुष्य का हृदय दूसरे के दुख को देखकर पसीजता नहीं, वह मनुष्य जाति के लिए अभिशाप सिद्ध होता है। ऐसा शासक नौशेरखां या विक्रमादित्य नहीं हो सकता। हृदय हीन शासक चाहे कितना ही शक्ति सम्पन्न हो प्रजा के लिए दुखदायी सिद्ध होता है इसी दोषके कारण मि. जिन्ना भारत का धूम्र केतु है। उसके अभ्युदयने अपशकुन बनकर देश का अंग भंग कर दिया। यह धूम्र केतु अब भी आकाश में उग्र रूप से चमक रहा है। सम्भव है वह देश में आन्तरिक संग्राम को उत्पन्न करने का कारण बने और सम्भव है वही धूम्र केतु पाकिस्तान के लिए भी अनिष्ट सिद्ध हो। मुसोलिनी और हिटलर के जीवन जो शिक्षा दे गये हैं, उनसे हमारे मन में सब तरह की अनिष्ट आशंकाएं उत्पन्न होना स्वाभाविक है परमात्मा करे वह आशंकाएं निर्मूल सिद्ध हों। परन्तु आज तो हमें उन सब आशंकाओं का सामना करने के लिए तय्यार रहना चाहिए मि. जिन्ना जैसा असाधारण धूम्रकेतु मनुष्य जाति का पिण्ड आसानी से नहीं छोड़ा करते।

आर्य युवकों का कर्त्तव्य

अखिल भारतवर्षीय आर्य कुमार परिषद के प्रधान—



आर्य समाज के प्रसिद्ध विद्वान्
श्री पं. धर्मदेवजी विद्यावाचस्पति
सम्पादक सार्वदेशिक देहली

हमारा देश इस समय जिस विचित्र परिस्थिति में से गुजर रहा है उससे सब शिक्षित तथा विचारशील युवक परिचित हैं अतः उसके विषय में अधिक लिखने की आवश्यकता नहीं किन्तु इस परिस्थिति विशेषतः १५ अगस्तको प्राप्त होनेवाली तथा कथित स्वतन्त्रता को दृष्टि में रखते हुए आर्य युवकों का कर्तव्य क्या है इस पर प्रकाश डालना मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूं। मेरा प्रत्येक आर्य युवक और कुमार से अनुरोध है कि वह इन बातों पर गम्भीरता से विचार करके अपने कर्तव्य का पालन करने में तत्पर हो। [१] सब से पहली बात जो मैं आर्य युवकों के सम्मुख विशेष रूप से रखना चाहता हूं वह यह है कि अपने प्रियदेश आर्यावर्त के भविष्य निर्माण में उनका बड़ा भारी उत्तर दायित्व है जिसे उन्हें अनुभव करना चाहिये। १५ अगस्त से भारत ब्रिटिश शासन से मुक्त होकर स्वतन्त्र हो जाएगा केवल इतने से हम प्रसन्न नहीं हो सकते विशेषतः जब भारत विभाजन और पाकिस्तान की स्थापना द्वारा एक भयंकरसंघर्ष और घरेलू युद्ध का बीज कूटनीति निपुण अंग्रेजों ने बो दिया है। तथापि निराश होने की कोई बात नहीं। प्राप्त अवसर से लाभ उठाना और भारत को सब दृष्टियों से पूर्ण स्वतन्त्र बनाने का प्रयत्न करना प्रत्येक आर्य युवक का कर्तव्य है इस कर्तव्य की पूर्ति के लिये निम्न साधनों को कार्य में लाना आवश्यक है।

।१। प्रत्येक कुमार और युवक अपनी शारीरिकशक्तिकी वृद्धि के लिये नियमित व्यायाम, मानसिकशक्तिकी वृद्धिके लिये वेदादि सत्य शास्त्रों का स्वाध्याय आत्मिकशक्ति के विकास के लिए संध्योपासनादि प्रति दिन नियमपूर्वक अवश्य करे।

।२। आर्य वीर दल में सम्मिलित होकर प्रत्येक आर्य युवक और कुमार आत्म रक्षा और परिवार, समाज तथा देश रक्षा की योग्यता प्राप्त करे। अनुशासन तथा कर्तव्य परायणता का भी क्रियात्मक पाठ सीख आर्य वीर दलों का अत्यन्त प्रबल संगठन वर्तमान तथा भविष्य में सम्मिलित आततायियों व गुण्डों द्वारा आक्रमण से रक्षा के लिये अत्यन्त आवश्यक है इसे प्रत्येक आर्य युवक को अवश्य हृदयांकित कर लेना चाहिये।

।३।स्वतन्त्र आर्यावर्त में (देश का यही नाम सर्वथा उचित है जो प्राचीन होने के अतिरिक्त बडा स्फूर्ति दायक है इस लिए इस विषयक आन्दोलन करके इसे ही प्रचलित करना चाहिये। स्वतन्त्र देश को इन्डिया यह अंग्रेजी नाम रखना तो सर्वथा अनुचित और हमारे आत्म सन्मान की भावना के विरुद्ध तथा दास मनोवृत्ति का सूचक है) आर्य धर्म और संस्कृति के आदर्शों के अनुसार ही सारा कार्य होना चाहिये। आर्य भाषा अथवा संस्कृत निष्ठ हिन्दी और पूर्ण वैज्ञानिक देवनागरी लिपि के अन्दर अपना समस्त कार्य युवकों को करना और इनका अधिक से अधिक प्रचार करना चाहिये। आर्य संस्कृति के तत्वों को समझने के लिये वेदादि शास्त्रों का स्वाध्याय आवश्यक है अतः उस में कभी प्रमाद न करना चाहिये। यह बड़े दुख की बात है कि आर्य कुमारों और युवकों तथा कुमारियों और युवतियों में स्वाध्याय की प्रवृति बहुत कम हो गई है। आर्य कुमार परिषद द्वारा संचालित सिद्धान्त सरोज, सिद्धान्त रत्न, सिद्धान्त भास्कर और सिद्धान्त शास्त्री इन परीक्षाओं में सम्मिलित होकर (जिनकी नियमावली डॉ. सूर्यदेवजी एम. ए. परीक्षा मंत्री आर्य कुमार परिषद अजमेर से मँगवाई जा सकती है) आर्य कुमार कुमारी और युवक युवती सब स्वाध्याय का लाभ उठा सकते हैं। और अपने धर्म और संस्कृति के तत्वों को जान सकते हैं जिन के पठान पर ही देश की सच्ची स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा करना संभव है। यदि राजनैतिक स्वतन्त्रता पाने पर भी हमारे देशवासियों की दास मनोवृत्ति बनी रही और विदेशी भाषा और सभ्यता के मोह में वे पड़े रहे तो उस से क्या लाभ होगा ?

[क्रमशः]

कमजोर नींव का—पाकिस्तान

श्री जे. एन. साहनी

बालू की दीवार--

मियाँ जिन्ना ने दो राष्ट्रों के सिद्धान्त के आधार पर ही भारत का विभाजन कराने में सफलता प्राप्त की है। उनका कहना है कि पाकिस्तानी क्षेत्र पूर्ण रूपसे प्रभुत्व शक्ति सम्पन्न होना चाहिए क्यों कि उनमें मुसलमानों का बहुमत है। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि यदि इन क्षेत्रोंमेंसे किसी एक में किसी प्रकार मुसलमान अल्पमत में हो जाय तो मियाँ जिन्ना उस क्षेत्र का पाकिस्तान उपनिवेश से पृथक होकर भारत में फिर से मिलने की अनुमति दे देंगे। दूसरे शब्दों में पाकिस्तान की सत्ता तभी तक बनी रह सकती है जब तक मुस्लिम अधिकारी मुस्लिम बहुमतको बनाए रखनेके लिए पूर्ण रूप से सावधान रहेंगे।

१९५१ की जन गणना—

पाकिस्तान के दुर्भाग्य से कहिए या भारत के सौभाग्य से समझिए मियाँ जिन्ना पाकिस्तान की सीमा विस्तार के प्रयत्नों में इस प्रकार की सभी सावधानियों का विस्मरण करते जा रहे हैं। १९४१ की जन गणना के अनुसार पाकिस्तानी क्षेत्रों की जन संख्या ६९०२६९८७ है। इस बात पर पहले भी कई बार बहस हो चुकी है कि १९४१ में कांग्रेस द्वारा जन गणना का बहिष्कार कर देने के कारण मुसलमानों को अपनी मनमानी जन संख्या बढ़ानेका खुला अवकाश मिल गया। दूसरे यह भी कहा जा सकता है कि बंगाल दुर्भिक्ष में पूर्वी बंगाल के मुसलमान एक बड़ी संख्या में मृत्यु के ग्रास बने थे, किन्तु इसके बारे में कहीं भी कुछ संकेत नहीं हुआ। परिगणना करने वाले सभी अधिकारी इस बात पर एक मत हैं कि गत जन गणना में अमुस्लिमों की जितनी जनसंख्या बताई गई है उस से उनकी असली जनसंख्या १० प्रतिशत अधिक है और मुसलमानों की असली जनसंख्या बताई गई जनसंख्यासे १० प्रतिशत कम। यदि यहबात सोलहआने ठीक है तो१९५१की जन गणना अवश्यमेव अमुस्लिमों की जनसंख्या में वृद्धि करेगी। अब भी पाकिस्तान में मुस्लिमों की जन संख्या अमुस्लिमों की जन संख्या के मुकाबिले में केवल ४९७०२३००ही है। यदि निजाम अब भी अपने हठ पर दृढ़ रहता है और भारत के बजाय पाकिस्तान में सम्मिलित होता है तो वहां अमुस्लिमों की जनसंख्या में १ करोड़ १४ लाख की और वृद्धि हो जायगी। भूपाल भी यदि निजाम के ही पदचिन्हों पर चला तो ५ से ६ लाख तक उस में और अभि वृद्धि होने की सम्भावना है। इस प्रकार १९५१ की जनगणना तक उक्त दोनों जन संख्याओं को मिलकर इस में कोई आश्चर्य नहीं कि अमुस्लिमों का बहुमत हो जाय और मुसलमान अल्पमत में ही रह जाय। यदि यह हो जाता है तो फिर पाकिस्तान का सारा आधार ही समाप्त हो जाता है।

व्यंग्य

यद्यपि मियाँ जिन्ना की दृष्टि में पंजाब पाकिस्तान की तलवार है कि उस की राजधानी के लिए चुना गया है कराची को। मुस्लिम लीग उत्तरी पाकिस्तान को जो महत्व दे रही है उस से तो प्रतीत होता है कि बंगाल केवल उसका सहायक उपनिवेश ही होगा। यथार्थ मे उत्तरी पाकिस्तान के सभी क्षेत्रों की मुस्लिम जन संख्या से पूर्वी बंगाल की मुस्लिम जन संख्या कहीं अधिक है। वहां की मुस्लिम जनसंख्या उत्तरी पाकिस्तान की हिन्दू मुस्लिम जनसंख्या के बराबर ही है। पाकिस्तान विधान सभा में शेष प्रान्तों के मुकाबले कहीं अधिक बहु मत है। चाहे कुछ भी हो पाकिस्तान को अधिक से अधिक आर्थिक सहायता पूर्वी बंगाल से ही मिलेगी। उत्तरी क्षेत्र तो पाकिस्तान का शासन करेगा और उसका भार वहन करेगा पूर्वी बंगाल, यह कैसा व्यंग्य है।

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छत्रपति शिवाजी——

महा दैन्य के व्यथा-वर्षों में,
सिंह-शिवा उत्पन्न हुआ था:
जिसके शैशव की गति से ही,
एक तन्त्र अवसन्न हुआ था।

पारतन्त्र की निशा अनन्तर
माँ को नव आलोक मिला था;
निबिड निराशा के कुपङ्क में
मृदु हासका पंकज का हास खिलाया।

वैसा छत्रपति था न वह स्वयं वह
जनता ने ही अधिपति माना;
पर उसने निजको जनता की,
आकांक्षा का प्रतिनिधि माना।

अष्ट सचिव-जन-प्रतिनिधि परिषद,
सुचारु शासन सञ्चालन को
निर्मित कर अध्यक्ष बना था,
केवल राज्य प्रथा पालन को।

कर सकते वे व्यक्त जहां जन
स्वतन्त्रता से अपना अभिमत
क्यों न शिवा के शासन का रे।
करें हर्ष से हम शुभ स्वागत!

——नटवरलाल, लेही.

पाक-विज्ञान......

कुछ तो खाइये

प्रयोग ७
आम का हलुआ

सामग्री— मीठे आम का रस ३ सेर, चीनी १ सेर, घी ऽ॥ आधा सेर, दूध १ सेर, शहद एक पाव, बादाम गीरी १ छटांक, पिस्ता १ छटांक, किशमिश १ छटांक, सिंघाडे का आटा आध पाव

विधि—बादाम कीपिसी हुई गिरी कतरे पिस्ते तथा सिंघाडे के आटे को घी में हल्की आंच से भून का रखले, फिर किसी कलई किये हुए पात्र में आम का रस, चीनी और दूध को पकावे, गाढा हो जाने पर पहली भूनी हुई चीजें इसी में डाल दें और किशमिशें में भी डाल दें। अच्छी प्रकार पक जाने की सुगन्धि आने पर नीचे उतार कर शहद मिला देना चाहिए।

प्रयोग ८
पके आम की आमटी

सामग्री— पके आम १ सेर, चीनी १ छ घी, हींग, राई, जीरा नमक, गरम मसाला, मिर्च,

विधि— सर्व प्रथम आमों को छीलकर (रस न निकालकर) किसी स्वच्छ पात्र में हींग, राई जीरे का छोंक दें, तदनन्तर उस में नमक गरम मसाला और मिर्च (अच्छी बारीक पीसी डाल दीजिए। और चीनी डालकर आग पर शाक की भांति पकाइये।

प्रयोग ९
आम के पापड

सामग्री— नमकीन पापड के लिये— पके आम नमक जीरा और काली मिर्च, मीठापापड बनाने के लिए केवल चीनी

विधि—चकले के ऊपर जरासा घी चुपड दीजिए जिस से चिकनाई बनी रहे फिर मसाला मिला हुआ आम का रस चकले पर डालकर हाथ से उसेफैलाते जाइए इसी प्रकार घी लगाकर फिर रस डालते जाय। साधारण तौर पर जम जाने के बाद उनपर कपडा रखकर थपक देना चाहिए जिस से वे अच्छी प्रकार फैल जाय।

प्रयोग १०
आम के सेव

सामग्री— पके आम का रस १ सेर सिंघाडे का आटा आध पाव, हींग जीरा, हल्दी, नमक आदि इच्छानुसार घी या तेल,

विधि— आम के रस में सिंघाडे का आटा और मसाला मिलाकर गूंधकर सेवक झारे में से सेव गिरा दीजिए और उन्हे सुखाकर रख लीजिए। इच्छा होने पर घी या तेल में तलकर स्वाद से खाइये ये सेव बहुत स्वादिष्ट लगते हैं। बने हुए सूखे सेव ३ या ४ मास तक रखे जा सकते हैं खराब नहीं होंगे।—पाक-शास्त्री

★ चलता....चक्र ★

चलती चक्की देखकर दिया कबीरा रोय।
इन दुई पाटन के बीच में साबित बचा न कोय॥

राष्ट्रीय ध्वज में चर्खे के स्थान पर चक्र होगा. —विधान परिषदका निश्चय

—तो चर्खे का अतिरिक्त हिस्सा मि. जिन्ना को पाकिस्तान के लिये भेंट कर देना चाहिये।

जो एक बार सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र में आकर फिर विलुप्त हो जाते हैं; मेरी दृष्टि में उनके लिये जीने की अपेक्षा मर जाना श्रेष्ठ है— कमलादेवी चट्टोपाध्याय

—अपनी राय में सर शफात ने आपकी सीख मान ली

श्री जगजीवनराम का वायुयान दुर्घटना से पूर्व बिना पेट्रोल से उडरहाथा। समाचार पत्र

—कांग्रेसी ऐसे ही उडा करते हैं!

—तो फिर संसारमें एक नया आविष्कार बिना पेट्रोल और कोयले से उडने वाले वायुयान का हुआ।

मुझे यह सुनकर महान दुख हुआ कि अन्तिरम सरकार के भू. पू. मंत्री सर शफात अहम्मद ने अपना शरीर छोड दिया —गांधीजी.

—और क्या करते नौकरी छोडी लीग छोडी, सरकार छोडी, अब देहभी छोडते ही।

जनरल आंगसान की मृत्यु पर श्री जिन्नाने दुख प्रगट करतेहुए कहाकि बर्मा की जनता इसगुंडशाही का समर्थन नहीं करेगी

—क्योंकि यह मुस्लिम लीग की रिजर्व नीति है। दूसरे को इसे उपयोग में नहीं लाना चाहिये।

बर्मा सरकार के उपाध्यक्ष की मृत्यु पर श्री. जयप्रकाश नारायण ने कोई वक्तव्य नहीं दिया।

—वरना किसी के सिर दोष अवश्य मढते— शायद कम्युनिष्टों का हाथ ही समझते।

कुछ लोगों का कहना है कि एक ओर १५ अगस्त को सरकार उत्सव मनाने को कह रही है और दूसरी ओर १४४ दफा लगा दी गई है। हम क्या करे?

—तो दोनों बातें एक साथ करनी चाहिये, उस दिन न तो घरसे बाहर निकलो और न घर में बैठो।

सर सी. पी. रामा स्वामी अय्यर की जान लेने का प्रयत्न एक बनावटी हमला मालूम पडता है। यह प्रयत्न अधिकारियों की प्रेरणासे किया गया जान पडता है जिस से उनको राज्य कांग्रेस को कुचलने का अवसर मिल सके।—हिन्दुस्थान से

—सर सी पी. रामस्वामी अय्यर के अधिकार में रहकर सब अधिकारी ऐयार हो गये हैं। —उदय

आर्य-जगत्

पाकिस्तान के आर्योंका प्रश्न

पाकिस्तान बन गया। इस रोने को अब रोने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं। आवश्यकता भी हो तो बेकार। अब तो यह सोचना चाहिये कि वहांके आर्यों को क्या करना चाहिये?

इस विषय पर आर्य नेताओं के लेख आने चाहिये जो अत्यन्त संक्षिप्त सुसंगत और परामर्श रूप में हों। जिनका व्यर्थ विद्वत्ता या लेखन-शक्ति का प्रदर्शन न हो कार्य्य की वह रूप रेखा जो आजही व्यवहार में लाई जा सके। रोगी रोग शय्यापर पड़ा है। छोटे से नुसखे की जरूरत है।

गंगाप्रसाद उपाध्याय
मंत्री,
सार्वदेशिक आर्य्य प्रतिनिधि सभा,
देहली.

सूचना

कुछ व्यक्ति डी. ए. वी. हाईस्कूल के लिये चन्दा एकत्र करते हुए पाये गये हैं। इन्दौर में डी. ए. वी. कालेज व हाइस्कूल, दयानन्द शिक्षा एवं उद्योग ट्रस्ट इन्दौर के अन्तर्गत संचालित हाने को हैं और इस दिशा में ट्रस्ट गतवर्ष से प्रयत्नशील है।

डी. ए. वी. हाईस्कूल के उपर्युक्त ट्रस्ट ने चन्दा एकत्र करने का कार्य निम्न सज्जनों की एक कमेटी को सौंपा है:—

श्री. त्रिलोकीनाथ भार्गव मन्त्री ट्रस्ट
श्री. दीनदयालजी मिश्रा कोषाध्यक्ष
श्री. कन्हैयालालजी शर्मा सदस्य
श्री रामनारायणजी शर्मा, वैद्यशास्त्री सदस्य

आशा है जनता इनके अतिरिक्त दान प्राप्त करने आनेवालों को ट्रस्ट का प्रमाण पत्र देखकरही दान देगी।

त्रिलोकीनाथ भार्गव
मंत्री दयानन्द शिक्षा एवं उद्योग ट्रस्ट,
इन्दौर.

१०० पुरस्कार
सहायता—कीजिये।

मेरी लडकी गप्पी जो सीहोर [भूपाल] में ब्याही थी गायब है। गप्पी और उसका पति अपने एक मुसलमान दोस्तके साथ १००० के लगभग रुपया लेकर आगरे आदि घूमने गये थे। यात्रा में एक दिन चोरी हो गई चोरी किसने की यह पता नहीं लग सका पर अनुमान ऐसा है कि उसी दोस्तने की थी। यात्रामें ही एक दिन सराय में से लडकी को गायब कर दिया गया। जब लडकी के पतिने दोस्त से आकर पूछा तो उसने कहा मुझे क्या मालूम इधर उधर कहीं टट्टी गई होगी पर फिर उसका पता न लगा और बाद में वह मुसलमान दोस्त भी गायब होगया और अब इधर उधर भागता फिरता है। सीहोर आकर कुछ दिन उज्जैन में रहा देखा गया और अब पता नहीं है। अभीतक लडकी का भी पता नहीं लग सका है। समस्त आर्य भाइयों से प्रार्थना है कि इस सम्बन्ध में मेरी यथा सम्भव सहायता करें। लडकी को मुझसे मिला देनेवाले व्यक्ति अथवा संस्था को मैं १००) प्रसन्नता के रूप में दूंगा। कृपया पत्र व्यवहार बन्द लिफाफे में करें।

विनीत,
प्यारेलाल,
ग्राम बिशन खेडावाले
C/o मन्त्री आर्य समाज सीहोर
[भूपाल]

आर्यविद्वानोंकी सम्भावित यात्रा

दयानन्द वैदिकमिशन इन्दौर के अध्यक्ष के पास आये पत्र से ज्ञात हुआ है कि वेदों के प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् श्री आचार्य द्विजेन्द्रनाथजी सिद्धान्त शिरोमणि कुलपति गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय वृन्दावन, श्री. पं. रामदत्तजी शुक्ल एम. ए. एल. बी. एडवोकेट लखनऊ, प्रस्तोता (रजिस्ट्रार) गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय वृन्दावन, श्री आचार्य बृहस्पतिजी वेदशिरोमणि प्रो. डी. ए. वी. कालेज देहरादून शीघ्रही इन्दौर आनेवाले हैं।

—इन्दौर से३०मील दूर कलोद रोडपर प्रारम्भिक शिक्षण संस्था का कार्य आरम्भ करने के लिए श्री केदारनाथजी शर्मा दयानन्द वैदिकमिशन के सहयोग से प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं। दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन की विद्यार्य सभा के सदस्यगण उक्त स्थान के निरीक्षण के लिए वहां जानेवाले हैं।

—इन्दौर आर्य समाज मल्हारगंज में ता. २७-७-४७को नगर की आर्य वीर दल शाखाओंका एक सम्मिलित सत्संग हुआ। आर्य समाज के नियमित कार्यक्रम के अनन्तर दलकी प्रार्थना हुई और श्री. सिद्धेश्वरजी नायक द्वारा सामूहिक आर्य-राष्ट्रगान कराया गया। श्री. देवकीनन्दनजी नगर बौद्धिक नायकद्वारा आर्य वीर दलके सम्बन्ध में विस्तृत प्रकाश डाला और आर्य वीर दल को शक्तिशाली सुदृढ एवं संगठित बनाने की अपील की।

सागर (सी. पी.)- आर्य समाजने सार्वजनिक सभा में लाहौर को भारत में सम्मिलत रखने का समर्थन करते हुए प्रस्ताव पास किया और लाहौर की पाकिस्तान में मिलाये जाने का घोर विरोध किया गया।

नगर के दीवारों में
पुलिस अधिकारी ध्यान दें

गोमा की फैल में किबे साहब की जमीन पर तीन मुसलमानों के घर हैं जो कलई का काम करते हैं, उनमें से एक ने अपने कमरे में लगभग २० दिन से एक मजार बना लिया है और उसे एक धार्मिक स्थान बनाने का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है। मजार बनाने का कारण बताते हुए कहा गया कि इसके पूजने से फलादि चढाने पर भूत बाधा नष्ट होती है। इस बहकावे में आकर जनता वहां फूल चढाने आने लगी है। थोडे दिन पहले जिस स्थान पर कुछ नहीं था अब वह धर्म स्थान का रूप ले रहा है। जब इस पर आपत्ति की गई तब उन मुसलमानों ने कहा कि इस पीर के लिए मुसलमानों का बच्चा बच्चा सिर कटवा देगा पर इसे नष्ट न होने देगा। मजहब के नाम पर इस दाम्भिक रूप की जितनी भर्त्सना की जाय थोडी होगी। दोनों सम्प्रदायों में इस घटना से कटुता पैदा होने की सम्भावना बहुत बढ रही है। पुलिस के उच्चाधिकारियों को इस सम्बन्ध में वस्तुस्थिति का पता लगाना चाहिये। और मजार के सम्बन्ध में सार्वजनिक प्रचार को सीमित करना चाहिये।

सफल होटल प्रवेश

२० जुलाई को इन्दौर में जिस सामाजिक क्रान्ति का सूत्र पात हुआ वह शहर क बडे हिस्सों तक ही सीमित नहीं थी। इन्दौर क मिल एरिया यशवन्त नगर (परदसी पुरा) आदि में तो यह दिवस सबसे सफलता क साथ सम्पन्न हुआ। परदेशी पुरा के अग्रवाला आदि बीसियो होटलों में कथित हरिजन भाइयों का बडी खुशी के साथ स्वागत किया गया। हलवाइयों ने भी हरिजन भाइयों के साथ भाई जैसा ही बर्ताव किया। यहां तक हुआ कि कई होटल वालों और हलवाइयों ने उन भाइयों से पैसे भी नहीं लिए और अपने बन्धुत्व का प्रदर्शन किया कई होटलों में चाय के नाम पर भाइयों को दूध दिया गया इस प्रकार जैसे भी सम्भव हुआ परदेशी पुरा क्षेत्र के होटल मालिकों, हलवाइयों ने इस सामाजिक क्रान्ति में अपना भाग पूर्ण किया। इस क्षेत्र में इस आन्दोलन की सफलता में सर्व श्री डा. देवजी रमेशचन्द्रजी शंकरलालजी यशवन्तरावजी व आर्य वीर दल शाखा यशवन्त नगर (परदेशी पुरा) के उपस्थित आर्य वीरों ने पूर्ण सहयोग दिया। इस क्षेत्र मे होटल वालों की बिक्री पर कोई विशेष प्रभाव नहीं पडा जो क्रान्ति की सफलता

(शेष पृष्ठ ४ पर)

मुद्रक—श्रीधर पण्डित
चिंतामणि प्रिंटिंग प्रेस, ८९ बक्षंतगंज इन्दौर.

प्रकाशक—किशोरीलाल गोयल
आर्यावर्त कार्यालय ७२ महारानी रोड



पाकिस्तान का इञ्जेक्शन

"दो करोड विधवाओं का आहोजार, दस करोड अछूतों का हाहाकार, करोडों अबलाओं और अनाथों की चीखों पुकार, जिस जाति को कुम्भकर्णी से जगा न सके आज उसे जगाने के लिए प्रभु की प्रेरणा से जिन्ना ने पाकिस्तान का शंख बजाया है। आर्य समाज के बडे-बडे उत्सव, सनातन धर्म के बडे २ सम्मेलन, बडे २ लेक्चरारों उपदेशकों, व्याख्याताओं के जोरदार भाषण तथा कथित धर्म गुरुओं द्वारा किए गए कितने ही शत कोटि महायज्ञ जिस जाति के मृतक शरीर में नव-जीवन का संचार न कर सके उस जाति को जीवन-दान देने के लिए जिन्ना ने पाकिस्तान का इञ्जेक्शन लगाया है।

परन्तु क्या यह जाति जागेगी ? राम का साहस, कृष्ण की नीति, शंकर का पांडित्य, बुद्ध का ओज, महावीर की तपस्या, प्रताप का स्वदेशाभिमान, छत्रपति शिवा की वीरता, गुरु गोविन्दसिंह का तेज, बन्दा वैरागी का बलिदान, स्वामी दयानन्द सरस्वती का ब्रह्मचर्य जिस जाति के मृतक शरीर में नव-जीवन न ला सके क्या लाहौर में शाह आलमी दरवाजों के भीतर उठती हुई आग की लपटें उस जाति के खून में कुछ हरारत पैदा कर सकेंगी ?

निराश होना पडता है इसलिए नहीं कि हम लाहौर और लायलपुर को खो रहे हैं, इसलिये नहीं कि हमने सिलहट और सीमाप्रान्त को दिया, इसलिए नहीं कि हमने काश्मीर और अमरनाथ को अरक्षित बना खो दिया जिस सेना का चरित्र (Moral) नष्ट हो जाय। वह संख्या में कितनी भी अधिक क्यों न हो, उसके पास कितने ही साधन क्यों न हों उस सेना के विजयी होने की तो क्या जीने तक की आशा नहीं।

आज हम अन्तिम परीक्षा के अवसर पर अपने आप तक को खो चुके हैं। हमारे धर्म वीर अपने राजसी ठाठ को लात मारकर अपने घर से हजारों मील दूर सीमांत और बिलोचिस्तान से चल कर हरिद्वार, दिल्ली, देहरादून में हमारे पास पहुंचे। हमने उनके साथ क्या व्यवहार किया ? स्वयं पराठे और पूडियां खाते हुए हम उन्हें सूखा टुकडा तक न खिला सके, स्वयं ऊंची अटारियों में विहार करते हुए भी उनके लिए कडकती धूपों और मूसलाधार वर्षा में तिनकों की एक झोंपडी तक न बना सके विपरीत इसके हमने उन अतिथियों को परेशान किया, उनका जितना भी खून निचुड सकता था हमने निचोडा, "जब रोम जल रहा था नीरो वंशी बजा रहा था" के कारनामों से भरे ये दिन निकल जायंगे। शरणार्थियों का निचोडा हुआ खून इन हिन्दू शार्दूलों के घर में पड़ा पड़ा माटी में मिल जायगा, परन्तु आने वाली सन्तानें इन दिनों को याद करके हमारे नाम पर हमेशा के लिए लानत भेजती रहेंगी"। क्या हम अब भी अपनी स्वार्थ वृत्तियों को त्याग इस काल देवता से शिक्षा न लेंगे"।

—'पाकिस्तान का विध्वंस' भूमिका से.

दिनांक २७ जुलाई ४७
मूल्य ५) वार्षिक

सम्पादकः— स्नातक उमेशचन्द्र

अंक सं. १९
एक अंक =)

—००—दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दोर का मुखपत्र—००—

आर्य जगत——

' तेरे बताये पथ पर संसार आ रहा है '

जिस ऋषि दयानंद ने आज से ७५ वर्ष पूर्व अस्पृश्यता निवारण, विधवाविवाह, जाति पांति के भेद को जड़ मूल से नष्ट कर देने का आंदोलन चलाया था उस ऋषिवर की आत्मा को अपना काम पूरा न होता देखकर बहुत दुख हुआ होगा परन्तु ऋषि के सिद्धांत अमर हैं, और एक न एक दिन सब उन सिद्धान्तों को स्वीकार कर समाज को सुखी बनायेंगे। एक वर्ष से चल रहे राजनैतिक संघर्ष ने आज हिन्दू समाज में नव जीवन फूंक दिया है—२० जुलाई का दिवस इन्दौर के सामाजिक अभ्युत्थान में अमर दिवस रहेगा—हिन्दूहोटलों में अस्पृश्य कहे जाने वाले भाइयों का प्रवेश एक ऐसी घटना है जो सुदूर भारत में हिन्दू समाज के लिये आदर्श उदाहरण बन गई है। हरिजनों द्वारा सूचना मिलने पर होटल मालिकों ने अपनी एक सभा कर उनके इस अधिकार को स्वीकार किया और अपने स्वच्छ भाइयों को गले लगाने और खिलाने की स्वीकृति दी, २० ता: को ५, ५ की टोली में हरिजन भाइयों ने होटलों में प्रवेश किया। होटल मालिकों ने उनका किसी प्रकार विरोध नहीं किया और आनन्दपूर्वक चाय, या, जो कुछ भी वे चाहते थे उन्हें दिया। दृश्य देखने लायक था हजारों की भीड़ के साथ हरिजन भाइयों ने अपने मौलिक अधिकार को प्राप्त किया।

आर्यसमाज के प्रसिद्ध कार्यकर्ताओं ने इस कार्यक्रम में सबसे अधिक भाग लिया जो उनका नैतिक कर्तव्य था। श्रीलालारामजी हिन्दूधर्म रक्षिणी सभा इन्दौर, आर्यसमाज मल्हारगंज के उपप्रधान श्रीकिशोरीलालजी वकील, आर्यावर्त के सम्पादक श्रीस्व. उमेशचन्द्रजी, श्रीपूनमचन्दजी, श्रीरमेशचंद जी मालवा मिल वाले तथा अन्य आर्य भाइयों ने इसमें भाग लिया। आर्य समाज के प्रधान श्रीरामविलासजी के माहेश्वरी होटल की सब शाखाएं हरिजनों के स्वागत के लिए खुली रहीं इसका प्रभाव अन्य होटल वालों पर भी पड़ा और उन्होंने भी उनका अनुकरण किया।

इन्दौर में इस आन्दोलन से एक नवीन जागृति को जन्म मिला है। इन्दौर की यह सामाजिक चेतना देख कर कवि के ये शब्द बरबस मुंह से निकल पड़ते हैं। " तेरे बताये पथ पर संसार आ रहा है "। ★

—महेश्वर गुरुकुल के सम्बन्ध में दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन के कार्यकर्ताओं से परामर्श करने के लिए गुरुकुल के आचार्य श्री लक्ष्मीनारायणजी, श्री स्वामी नारायणनन्दजी व गुरुकुल के कोषाध्यक्ष श्री मुरारजी इन्दौर पधारे और कई आवश्यक विषयों पर विचार किया। गुरुकुल' की कार्य कारिणी की बैठक २७-७-४७ को गुरुकुल भवन में हुई। इसी अवसर पर त्रैमासिक परिक्षाएं भी आरम्भ हो गई हैं। ब्रह्मचारियों का स्वास्थ्य उत्तम है।

—वृन्दावन गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय में उपदेशक सम्मेलन का उद्घाटन २० ता को श्री अणे साहब द्वारा किया गया। आपने आर्यधर्मकी महत्ता और उसके प्रचार पर अपने विचार प्रकट किए। गुरुकुल की विद्यासभा ने आयुर्वेदिक प्रयोग शाला को लिमिटेड बना देने का निश्चय किया है। आर्य जनता से इस कम्पनी के शेयर खरीदने को एक अपील शीघ्र ही निकाली जायगी। इस कम्पनी सम्बन्धी प्रारम्भिक आयोजन करने के सम्पूर्ण अधिकार कुलपति श्री द्विजेंद्रनाथजी को दे दिये गये हैं। आशा है आर्य जनता इस योजना को स्वीकार करेगी।

प्राचीन छात्र संघ

कुछ समय पूर्व आर्य मित्र द्वारा गुरुकुल विश्व-विद्यालय वृन्दावन के प्राचीन छात्रों को संघ की स्थापना की सूचना देते हुए उनसे अपने पते और अपना विवरण वे कब और कितने समय तक गुरुकुल में रह इत्यादि बातों का विवरण भेजने की प्रार्थना की गई थी, किन्तु अभी तक बहुत से भाइयोंने वैसा नहीं किया है। आगामी गुरुकुलोत्सव के समय प्राचीन छात्र संघ का अधिवेशन करने का विचार है। अधिवेशन में संघ के नियम, भावी कार्यक्रम, स्थायी कार्य समिति आदि का निश्चय किया जायगा। अधिक से अधिक बन्धुओं को संघ का सदस्य बनकर सब के कार्य को प्रगतिशील बनाना चाहिये। अपने पते तथा अन्य विवरण की सूचना शीघ्र ही निम्न पते पर भेजने और भिजवाने की कृपा करें। विनीत—

विष्णुदेव अधिकारी,
४—९० हिन्दू विश्व विद्यालय
बनारस

—महू छावनी आर्य समाज में श्री स्वामी विशुद्धानन्दजी महाराज की कथा १४ ता. से १ सप्ताह तक होती रही जनता ने बड़ी रुचि प्रकटकी और कथा से लाभ उठाया। श्री स्वामी स्वरूपानन्दजी भी एक दिनके लिए महू पधारे और उनका व्याख्यान हुआ। श्री स्वामी नारायणानन्दजी आज कल महू आगये हैं उनके आने से साम्प्रदायिक हलचलें आरम्भ हो गई हैं। व्यायाम केन्द्र शिक्षा प्राप्त श्री मास्टर गम्भीर सिंहजी ने आर्य वीर दल की शाखा का कार्य आरम्भ कर दिया है। महू की जनता को दल में सम्मिलित हो लाभ उठाना चाहिए।

(शेष पृष्ठ १० पर)

आर्यावर्त

रजि १२७२९४९०४७] दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर का मुखपत्र [दयानन्द जन्माब्द १२२

वर्ष २] इन्दौर, रविवार दिनाङ्क २७ जुलाई १९४७, श्रावण सुदी ९ वि. सं २००४ [संख्या १९

राष्ट्र– भाषा हिन्दी– दिवस

स्वाधीनता के लिये स्वर्णिम अभ्युदय के साथ आज राष्ट्र कर्णधारों के सामने राष्ट्र भाषा का प्रश्न एक समस्या बना हुआ है। भाषा का संस्कृति और सभ्यता के साथ जो अटूट सम्बन्ध होता है उसको दृष्टि में रखते हुए हमने सदैव हिन्दी को ही स्वतन्त्र भारत की राष्ट्र भाषा बनाने का समर्थन किया है। हिन्दुस्तानी की जिस कृत्रिम भाषा का सृजन होने जा रहा था यद्यपि उसके आधार भूत सिद्धान्तों से हिन्दी के समर्थक सहमत नहीं हो सके थे परन्तु एक राजनैतिक आवश्यकता के रूप में हिन्दुस्तानी को पनपने का अवसर दिया जा चुका था। आज परिवर्तित स्थिति में भारत की राष्ट्र भाषा भारतीय भाषा हिन्दी हो सकती है। हमें अत्यन्त दुःख हुआ जब गांधीजी ने रेडियो की भाषा और विधान परिषद द्वारा निर्मित विधान की भाषा के सम्बन्ध में भी आजाद को उस भाषा का मापक माना अर्थात् जो भाषा मौलाना नहीं समझ सकते वह राष्ट्र भाषा कैसे हो सकती है। यदि यह कहना सत्य है तो इस माप का कोई भी समर्थन नहीं कर सकता और हम तो इस नीति का घोर विरोध करते हैं। इसी प्रकार विधान परिषद के कांग्रेस दल ने जब भाषा के प्रश्न पर विचार किया तब प. नेहरू और आचार्य कृपलानी जैसे अन्य प्रसिद्ध नेताओं ने हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा बनाने से अपनी असहमति प्रकट की परन्तु बाद में संघ की भाषा का निर्णय करने के लिए दल की ओर से एक कमेटी बनाकर इस प्रश्न को आगे बढ़ा दिया गया। उस कमेटी के सदस्यों की नामावली देख कर हमें सन्तोष है कि वह कमेटी हिन्दी के पक्ष में ही निर्णय करेगी। इन दो उदाहरणों से इतना तो स्पष्ट है कि अभी राष्ट्रीय नेतृत्व पूर्णतया हिन्दी को नहीं अपना सका है परन्तु फिर भी इस दिशा में एक क्रान्ति की लहर अवश्य फैल चुकी है और हमें आशा है कि जब विधान परिषद में संघ की भाषा का प्रश्न आयगा तब हिन्दी को ही राष्ट्र भाषा और नागरी को ही राष्ट्र-लिपि के रूप में स्वीकार कर लिया जायगा। वास्तव में राष्ट्र भाषा का प्रश्न किसी सम्प्रदायिकता से सम्बन्धित नहीं हो सकता जब बंगाल का मुसलमान बंगाली, पंजाब का मुसलमान पंजाबी, चीन का मुसलमान चीनी और टर्की का मुसलमान टर्की भाषा में अपना सब काम चला सकता है तब भारतवर्ष में रहने वाला मुसलमान हिन्दी को नहीं अपना सकता तो हम इस उसका राष्ट्र के साथ असमझौते विश्वासघात ही कहेंगे। राष्ट्र के सभी सम्प्रदाय और प्रान्त अपनी सांस्कृतिक सामाजिक परम्पराओं को कायम रखते हुए भी जब एक सूत्र में आबद्ध होने जा रहे हैं तब उन्हें पारस्परिक व्यवहार और विदेशों में अपने राष्ट्रीय सम्मान के लिए एक भाषा स्वीकार करनी ही चाहिये। और वह भाषा हिन्दी के अतिरिक्त दूसरी नहीं सकती।

वर्तमान परिवर्तन के समय हिन्दी को जो सम्मान मिला है वह एक दिन की साधना का परिणाम नहीं होगा उसके लिए हिन्दी माता के अनेकों सेवकोंने अपना समर्पण किया है। सूर तुलसी, ऋषि दयानन्द, शिवप्रसाद, लक्ष्मणसिंह भारतेन्दु हरिश्चन्द्र, प्रतापसिंह, बालकृष्ण, प्रेमचन्द प्रसाद, पन्त, बच्चन, मैथिलीशरण, और न जाने कितने अज्ञात उपासकों ने अपनी उपासना से आज यह अवसर उपस्थित कराया है तब क्या हमारा यह कर्तव्य नहीं कि हम इस कठिन समय में हिन्दी को अपने जीवन के प्रत्येक क्षण क्षण कण कण में व्यापकर दें। जो हम दूसरों से कराना चाहते हैं उसे स्वयं करने लग जाय।

हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन प्रयाग की ओर से १ अगस्त को सम्पूर्ण भारत में राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी दिवस मनानेका निश्चय किया गया है यदि हम हृदय से चाहते हैं तो हमें १ अगस्त को राष्ट्र भाषा दिवस मना कर अपने हिन्दी प्रेम को प्रकट करना चाहिए और अपने व्यवहारिक जीवन में हिन्दी के प्रयोग की प्रतिज्ञा लेनी चाहिए तभ हमारा हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा बनाने का स्वप्न पूरा हो सकेगा।

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—विचार-कण—

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लाहौर हमारा क्यों

लाहोर शहर को पूर्वी पंजाब में बनाये रखने के लिये दिये गये एक स्मरण पत्र में अपने दावे का समर्थन करते हुए बहुत से मनोरंजक तथ्य प्रकट किये गये हैं। इस प्रार्थना-पत्र में बताया गया है कि लाहौर की ९० साहूकारी करनेवाली कोठियों में से ८७, अस्सी ८० बीमा कम्पनियों में से ७८, पूंजी लगानेवाले समस्त ट्रस्ट जिनकी संख्या १७ है, दोनों शेयरबाजार। पांच व्यापारिक चेम्बरों में से चार, ८० प्रतिशत रजिस्टर्ड शुदा कारखाने ९० प्रतिशत बड़े पैमाने पर काम करने वाले उद्योग, और २७० शिक्षण संस्थाए गैरमुस्लिमों की हैं। इन आंकड़ों के रहते हमें अपने पक्ष की पुष्टि में कुछ भी कहने को आवश्यकता नहीं रह जाती क्या सीमा कमीशन के न्याय देवता इस सचाई को स्वीकार न करेंगे?

युक्त प्रान्त में—

१ उचित और आनुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व।

२ "जाति" नहीं लिखी जायगी।

३ थानों और अदालतों में हिन्दी।

युक्त प्रान्तीय सरकार समय के साथ प्रगति करनेवाली जनप्रिय सरकारों में सब से अगणी कही जा सकती है। पिछले एक मास के अल्पकाल में ही सरकारने प्रगतिशील निर्णय दिये हैं।

१ सरकारी नौकरियों में किसी विशेष सम्प्रदाय या जाति का ध्यान नहीं रक्खा जायगा जायगा, जिन स्थानों का प्रतियोगिता द्वारा निर्णय होता है वहां योग्यताही सर्विस के लिये प्रमाणित होगी विशेष रिजर्व स्थान नहीं, शेष स्थानों के लिये प्रान्त की-जन संख्या के अनुपात से सर्विसें दी जाया करेंगी। इस निर्णय का असर मुसलमानों के विशेषाधिकार पर पड़ेगा जो उन्हें अंग्रेजों ने गांधीजी के शब्दों में घूंस के रूप में दिया था।

२ दूसरा प्रगतिशील निर्णय युक्त प्रान्तीय सरकार द्वारा इस बात की घोषणा के रूप में किया गया है कि भविष्य में सम्पूर्ण सरकारी कागजात में से "जाति" का खाना हटा दिया जायगा। जाति के झंझट से बहुत हानियाँ पहुंची हैं और इस विचार धारा से समाज में घुन लग गया है। सरकार के इस निर्णय की प्रशंसा करते हुए भी हम हरिजनों के सम्बन्ध में युक्त प्रान्तीय सरकार का निर्णय है उससे सहमत नहीं हो सकते। सरकार ने हरिजनों के लिये जाति के खाने को जारी रक्खा गया है। हम आशा करते है वहां की प्रगतिशील सरकार इस दिशा में भी प्रगतिशील कदम उठाकर इस विभेद के कलंक को दूर कर देगी।

३ इसी प्रकार एक और निर्णय के द्वारा वहां की सरकारने प्रान्त भर में पुलिस और अदालतों में सारी कार्यवाही हिन्दी में किए जाने की आज्ञा प्रकाशित की है अदालतों में हिन्दी को कानूनन अधिकार तो बहुत पूर्व से प्राप्त है पर पर सरकार ने इस ओर रुचि लेकर इसको क्रियान्वित करने में प्रोत्साहन देना चाहा है, पुलिस की कार्यवाही उर्दू में होने से अबतक जनता को बड़ी कठिनाई होती रही है अब उस दिशा में भी सुधार कर दिया गया है जनता अपनी रिपोर्ट हिन्दी में लिखायगी और रिपोर्ट की एक कापी प्राप्त कर सकेगी। बुलन्द शहर के श्री········ने अपना निर्णय हिन्दीमें देकर युक्त प्रान्तीय सरकार के आदेश का और आनेवाले भविष्य का पालन आरम्भ कर दिया है इस निर्णय के लिये वे धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं। युक्त प्रान्त की इस प्रकार की प्रगतिशील नीति को यदि अन्य लोक प्रिय सरकार भी अपनालें तो बहुत शीघ्र ही नौकरशाही के स्थानपर जनशासन का स्वर्णिम अभ्युदय हो जायगा।

करुणाजनक एवं लज्जास्पद

बर्मा जो स्वातंत्र्य आन्दोलन के पथ पर भारत से भी तीव्र गति से चलने में प्रयत्नशील था आज वियोगी बन गया है। जनरल आंग सान कार्यकारिणी के अन्य ६ मंत्रियोंको गोली से मार दिये गये। इस क्रूर कर्म की जितनी भर्त्सना और निन्दा की जाय थोड़ी होगी। राजनैतिक पार्टी बाजी के कारण इस प्रकार के काण्डों का होना यद्यपि योरप में व्यापक रूप से प्रचलित हैं पर एशिया के लिए इस नीति को अपनाना एशिया का अपमान करना है। हम इसे स्वातन्त्र्य आन्दोलन को रोकने का एक षड़यन्त्र कहे बिना नहीं रह सकते और इस प्रकार इस काण्ड की जिम्मेवारी से अंग्रेज बरी नहीं किए जा सकते। हम आंग सान के प्रति श्रद्धान्जलि अर्पित करते हैं। सतप्त परिवारों और बर्मा वासियोंके प्रति सहानुभूति प्रगट करते हैं।

सामाजिक अभिशाप—

पाकिस्तान की पृष्ठ भूमि

आर्यावर्तमनार्याणामावर्तं बहवो जनाः।
कर्तुमिच्छन्ति दैवेन न जाने किं भविष्यति॥

श्री श्यामजी पाराशर एम. ए.

"पुण्य सलिला हरित वसना शस्य श्यामला महामाया वसुन्धरा भगवती की जय-जयकारों से स्वर्ग लोक के राज्य प्रासाद का सारा कम्पाउंड गूंज उठा। देवगण फिर एक बार भ्रातृभक्ति से विभोर हो गद् गद् कण्ठ बोले-अमदम्बा भारत माता की जय। बाहर तुमुल करतल ध्वनि सुन शेषशायी पद्मासनस्थ भगवान अपने अङ्गरक्षकों से बोले-इस प्रकार का जय जयकार तो स्वर्ग लोक में पहली ही बार हुआ है। देखो तो थोड़ीही देरमें भक्त रक्षक फिर श्री चरणों में उपस्थित हुए-भगवती भारत मातासक्षात् स्वर्ग लोक पधारीं हैं"

"उन्हें आदर सहित लिवालाओ"

थोडी देर में राज्य प्रासाद का मुख्यद्वार खुला। महामाया ने भीतर प्रवेश किया। श्री पति स्वयं स्नेहवश कुछ दूरतक चल कर आए दूर से ही पुत्री को देखकर भगवान का हृदय दुखित होउठा—बोले

"पुत्री! यह तेरी दुर्दशा किसने की- तेरी दोनों भुजायें किसने काट डालीं"

"मेरे ही पुत्रों ने, क्या आपको पता नहीं अब तो पाकिस्तान बन गया है"

"पाकिस्तान क्या, पुत्री!"

"सब कुछ जानने वाले विभु यह भी नहीं जानते, पाकिस्तान क्या है"

"क्या कोई नई धरती बस गई"

"नहीं"

"क्या कोई नई सृष्टि रची गई"

"नहीं"

"कोई नये जीव पैदा हो गए"

"यह भी नहीं"

"तो फिर यह पाकिस्तानकाभेद [illegible] मेरी समझ में नहीं आता तो [illegible] पुत्री! मैं [illegible] सब कुछ [illegible]।

मुझे तो यह शब्द सुनते हुए आज पूरे सत्तरह वर्ष हो गये। पहले यह शब्द एक शब्द ही था। अक्षर के समान प्रभाव शाली होते हुए भी इसका कोई अस्तित्व न था। ३१ के सन में इसका गर्भाधान हुआ। पूरे १० वर्ष तक यह अपने पिता के पेट में रहा। यह बे मां का बच्चा पिता ही के द्वारा सन ४० में लाहौर की नगरी में मुख-द्वार से उत्पन्न हुआ। पैदा होते ही यह चलने फिरने भी लग गया। अभी वह पूरे ७ का भी नहीं हुआ परन्तु धरती पर इसने वह ऊधम मचा रक्खा है कि कार्तवीर्य, सहस्रार्जुन, महाबली वृत्रासुर, और दुःशासन के इतिहास में भी जिसकी कोई समता नहीं।

"तो यह पाकिस्तान क्या कोई राक्षस है?"

"नहीं"

"कोई निशाचर है"

"नहीं?"

"कोई देव है अथवा दानव है"

"सो भी नहीं, अदृश्य लोक का अधिपति, अणु परमाणु में व्याप्त यह छोटा सा बालक भारत के १० करोड़ नर नारियों का हृदय सम्राट बना हुआ उन्हें ठगा रहा है। मेरे ही जाये, मेरे ही गोदमें पले, मेरे ही पुत्र आज इस बालक के मोह में पड़े हुए विवेक से भ्रष्ट होकर मेरा ही सर्व नाश करने पर उतारू हो गये।

'परन्तु यह पाकिस्तान तो अब भी मेरी समझ में नहीं आया। बोलने में शब्द कितना सरल है। हां प्रभो! बोलने में सरल है, सुननेमें कटु है, समझने में कठिन है, और देखने में बेहद कठोर है। आप स्वर्गलोक में फूलों की शय्या पर शोभायमान हैं, मृत्युलोक में रहते हुए पाकिस्तान के कण्टकाकीर्ण मार्ग पर चलना पड़े तो पता लगे।

'तुम्हारे संताप से मैं भी संतप्त हूं, पुत्री कौन सा पिता अपनी पुत्री का अंग भंग देखकर दुःखी न होगा। इस सृष्टि रूपी रचना का मैं रचयिता हूं, तुझे मैंने दुर्गा बनाया गंगा यमुना की मालायें तेरे गले में डालीं। हिमालय रूपी तेरे सिर पे मुकुट रक्खा। पंजाब और बंगाल तेरे दो हाथ बनाए। कटाक्ष और पुष्कल नेत्र युगल सजाए। संयुक्त प्रान्त का विशाल वक्ष तुम्हें प्रदान किया। हृदय के स्थानपर मैंने विहार को रक्खा। नाभी के स्थान पर मैंने नासिक को शोभायुक्त किया। रामेश्वरम् और त्रावणकोर तेरे दो चरण बनाए। पाकिस्तान को तो तेरी रचना में मैंने कहीं भी कोई स्थान नहीं दिया।

मेरे दोनों हाथ पंजाब और बंगाल, मेरे ही पथभ्रष्ट पुत्रों ने उन्हें पाकिस्तान कहना शुरू कर दिया।

'अब समझा! निर्दयी कपूतों द्वारा वृद्धा माता के कटे हुए हाथों का नाम है पाकिस्तान। परन्तु तेरे तो ४० करोड़ पुत्र हैं। क्या वे सबके सब कपूत बन गये।

'जो सपूत हैं उनमें एकता नहीं, जिनमें एकता है वे कपूत बन गए। दुर्दैव टल कैसे सकता है प्रभो! जो दुखभाग्य में भोगना लिखा है वह तो सब प्रकार से भोगना ही है। मैंने अपने सपूतों को बहुत समझाया। मैंने कहा कुलीनताके मिथ्याभिमान का परित्याग कर दो। परमात्मा की सृष्टि में सभी एक समान हैं। यदि तुम दूसरों की अपेक्षा अपने को श्रेष्ठ समझते हो तो आगे बढो। कुछ अपनी श्रेष्ठता का दान करो, पतितों को उठाओ, उठे हुओं को आगे बढ़ाओ। जात-पांत के गोरख धन्धे से निकल मानवता के सुन्दर उपवन में विचरण करो। तुम्हें अपने द्विजत्व का अभिमान है किन्तु नौ-नौसौ वर्ष से गुलाम हो। क्या द्विज एक क्षण के लिए भी किसी का गुलाम रह सकता है। गुलाम ही को शूद्र कहा गया है। जब-तक तुम गुलाम हो तब-तक सभी शूद्र हो। तुम सब एक वर्ण हो। जात-पांत के बन्धन छोड़ दो, छुआ-छात का मायाजाल तोड़ दो। किन्तु स्वार्थी बन्दों ने अभिमान को त्यागा नहीं, अपने गरीब

भाइयों पर उन्होंने अत्याचार किये, इन्हीं पापों का फल रावलपिण्डी, अटक, मुलतान.................. .....

क्या इतने पर भी इन सपूतों को होश नहीं आई"।

"नहीं इनको बाल आज भी नहीं है। अपने गरीब भाइयों पर आज भी इन धर्माभिमानियों के अत्याचार यथापूर्व हैं। रामदास, रामदास रहता हुआ मन्दिर में प्रवेश नहीं पा सकता कुएँ पर नहीं चढ़ सकता, तालाब म पानी नहीं भर सकता होटल में आने की तो बात ही क्या? अपने बाल बच्चों को लिखा पढ़ा नहीं सकता, वही रामदास गुलाम मुहम्मद बन कर हाई कोर्ट का जज बन सकता है। वर्तमान समय का सबसे बड़ा स्मृति कार (विधान निर्माता) बन सकता है"।

" परन्तु सनातन धर्म के तो सभी धर्मशास्त्रों ने मनुष्य मात्र में एक ही ज्योति का व्याप्त होना बताया है"। जो सबको मुझ में देखता है या मुझे सबमें देखता है। देखने वाला वास्तव में वही है—'शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिन.' गीता के इस सन्देश का नित्य पाठ करने वाले क्या इस धर्मतत्व को नहीं समझते!"

समझते हैं पर विवेक भ्रष्ट हैं, जो धर्माचार्य हैं, उन्हें मेरी चिन्ता नहीं, जिन्हें मेरी चिन्ता है संसार की दृष्टि में वे धर्माचार्य नहीं। यदि यह धर्माचार्य अपना कर्तव्य समझनेवाले होते तो,मेवों, मीणों लाखों'मलकानों के द्वारा हो रहे ये उत्पात काहे को होते। प्रभो! जितने भी मेरे देश में बड़े बड़े उपद्रवी हैं थोड़े ही दिन पहले सभी हिन्दू थे। धर्माचार्यों ने उन की कुछ भी परवाह नहीं की। आज वही लोग गिनगिनके बदले ले रहे हैं। देश का बेड़ा गर्क करना होतो यही धर्माचार्य बड़े बड़े पोथे बगाल में दबाये आधमक ते हैं परन्तु देश रक्षा के समय, दंगे और फिसाद के समय ये लाग ढूंढने पर भी कहीं दिखाई नहीं देते"।

" वास्तव में इन तेरे धर्माचारों ने तेरे देश को अधोगति में धकेला है। तेरा बुढ़ापा भी इन्होंने बर्बाद किया है।"

" हां प्रभो! यह लाग मेरे पुत्रों को विधर्मी बनने पर विवश न करते तो आज मेरी दोनों भुजाएं पंजाब और बंगाल मेरे शरीर से पृथक् न हो जाती, परन्तु यह लोग अपने कुकर्मों से अब भी बाज नहीं आते। भगवन्! मर्त्यलोक में एक बड़े महात्मा हैं, वे इसी बात पर सत्याग्रह कर रहे हैं कि हरिजनों को मंदिर प्रवेश का अधिकार न हो"।

" हां मेरे तक अभी समाचार पहुंचा था कि मर्त्यलोक में एक अजीबो गरीब महात्मा पैदा हुए हैं। जिन दिनों १० रुपये सेर भी शुद्ध घी नहीं मिलता यह महात्मा हजारों टन शुद्ध घी धर्म के नाम पर स्वाहा कर देते हैं। विधवा-विवाह तथा हरिजनोद्धार के वे प्रबल विरोधी हैं।"

" हां! मेरा दुर्भाग्य है प्रभो कि जनता ऐसे लोगों को अपना नेता मान बैठी है। आप ही बताइये यदि बचे खुचे हरिजन भी विधर्मी बन जावें तो सारा देश ही बरबाद हो जाय कि न। सब कुछ देखते हुए भी न जाने इनकी आंखें क्यूं नहीं खुलतीं। धनबल, बुद्धिबल सम्पत्तिबल में बगाल तथा पजाब के हिन्दुओं की कोई समता नहीं कर सकता, परन्तु केवल संख्या बल पर मेरे कपूत पाकिस्तान बना बैठे। धनवानों का धन, विद्वानों की विद्वत्ता, सम्पत्तिशालियों की सम्पत्ति सब धरी ही रह गई और पूरा गैरा नत्थू खैरा पंजाब, बगाल के राजा बन बैठे। मेरे देश में बन बल बढ़ाना कुछ भी कठिन नहीं। हिन्दू समाज स्वय इतना खोखला और सारहीन हो चुका है कि विधर्मियों की सख्या अपने आप बढ़ती जा रही है। कोई समय था कि मेरे देश में शत प्रतिशत हिन्दू थे। आज एक भी ऐसा नगर व ग्राम नहीं जहां एक मस्जिद न बन गई हो। ईरान अफगानिस्तान कभी शत प्रतिशत हिन्दू थे। व कमी के चलते बन। पचास वर्ष पूर्व पंजाब में हिन्दू ५६ प्रतिशत थे आज कुल ४५ प्रतिशत ही रह गये।

[क्रमशः]

किसान आन्दोलन की आड में

श्री हरिप्रसाद शर्मा विशारद,
(मंत्री स्टेट कांग्रेस मुकामी कमेटी, नागदा.)

नागदा के कम्यूनिस्टों को जबसे स्टेट कांग्रेस ने निकाल दिया तबसे ये लोग अपने सामान्य विवेक को भी ताक में रखकर उत्तरोत्तर पतन के मार्ग में अग्रसर हो रहे हैं। जिस प्रकार सम्प्रदायवादी लोग अपने अनुयायियों को धर्मान्ध बनाकर धर्म की आड में अपना उल्लू सीधा करते रहते हैं ठीक उसी प्रकार ये भाई भी किसान आन्दोलन की आड में जनता की आंख में धूल झोंक कर महान अनर्थ के बीज बो रहे हैं।

किसानों के ये नकली हितचिन्तक उनके भोलेपन और भावुकता का अनुचित लाभ उठाकर जनता में महान अनर्थ के बीज बोरहे हैं। जिसका परिणाम होगा घोर अराजकता और जनता के सामान्य जीवन पर घोर संकट।

ऊपर से दिखाने को तो ये लोग जमीदारों जागीरदारो के दुश्मन हैं किन्तु आन्तरिक रहस्य इस का दम्भ ही है। जमीदार जागीरदार का नाम सिर्फ ये किसानोंमें अपने प्रति सहानुभूति प्राप्त करने के लिये ही लिया करते हैं। असल में कांग्रेस की जडें उखाडना ही इनका चरम लक्ष्य है।

प्रचारके अंगः—

ग्रामों में जिस पद्धति से ये लोग प्रचार करते हैं उसके मुख्य अंग ये हैं। सुभाष गद्दार जवाहर लाल नेहरू गद्दार गांधी मक्कार किसानों की एक मात्र संस्था किसान सभा है, कांग्रेस तो पूंजिपतियों की संस्था है कांग्रेस से किसानों का भला नहीं हो सकता।

पर्दे के पीछे

इस कार्य-प्रणाली के पर्दे के पीछे देखिये, अब की जमींदारियां साहूकारी जिस प्रतिदिन बढाके किसानों का शोषण, ज्यादतीयों का सब चक्र रहा है। इन कम्युनिस्ट जमींदार, साहूकारों के भंडा चूका आदि गांवों में जाकर देखिये कितने ही किसान बरबाद कर दिये गये, बेदखल कर दिये गये, गाव से निकाल दिये गये पिटवाए गए, किसान स्त्रियों का अपमान किया गया, बाहर के लोगों को लाकर बसाया गया छीने हुवे खाते दूसरों को दिये गये और जब इनसे पूछा गया कि तुम्हारे घर के गांवो में इतना अन्धेर क्यों है तो वे वही युक्तियां देते हैं जो कि दूसरे जागीरदार व जमींदार देकर किसानों को दोषी ठहराया करते हैं।

दूसरे गांवों में

अपने प्रतिस्पर्धी जमींदारों के गावों में ये लोग किसानों को अग्निकांड करो, हत्याकांड करो, मारो पीटो आदि गुंडागिरी की शिक्षा देते हैं उन्हें इस ढग से मारने कूटने की युक्तियां बताते हैं कि वे कानून से पकड में भी न आ सकें।

किसानों को दस्यु बनाना उन्हें गुंडे बनाना यही इनकी किसान सेवा है। यही है इनका किसान आन्दोलन। इनकी धारणा है कि किसानों से रक्त पात तथा गैर कानूनी काम करवाये जाये पुलिस अवश्य हस्तक्षेप करेगी फिर किसानों को सरकार सजाए देगी तो हमें सरकार के खिलाफ जनता को भडकाने का अच्छा अवसर मिलेगा। कांग्रेसी लोग किसानों की हिंसा और गुन्डागिरी का विरोध तो अवश्य करेंगे ही तब हम कहेंगे कि ये हैं कांग्रेसी गद्दार जो किसानों का विरोध करते हैं, किसानों को दोषी ठहराते हैं किसान कांग्रेसियों से भी अवश्य बिगडेंगे और हम उन्हें किसानों के हाथों से ही पिटवायेंगे।

बस यही है इनकी योजना। कुछ समय पूर्व नागदा के आस-पास दो तीन गांवों में इनका असर हो गया था। अबतो किसान इन चालाकियों को बहुत कुछ समझने लगे हैं।

बनबना, छोटी और बडी रोहल में इनका अधिक प्रभाव था। छोटी रोहल के किसान तो अब इनसे विरक्त होगये हैं। बनबना के किसान आपसी झगडों से बहुत परेशान हैं। मुकदमों में फंसे हुवे हैं। इन कम्यूनिस्टों के कहनेसे मोती राम व्यक्ति को बरबाद कर दिया गया, उसके लडके को मारा और अभी ता. २७ को तारीख पेशी पर जाते समय चोकी और खाचरोद के बीचमें ६ आदमी ने घेर कर मारा और उससे कहा कि जो तूने हमारे खिलाफ मुकदमा चलाया है इसका राजी नामा दे नहीं तो जान से मारा जायगा तो बडी रोहल के किसानों से बनजारे मजदूरों पर आक्रमण करवाया उनकी झोपडी जला दी, तीन बकरे बकरी जान से आग में झुलसकर मर गये। यहांतक कि बनजारों की स्त्रियों के लहगों तक में आग लगाई।

हम ऐसे क्रूर कृत्यों का सदा से विरोध करते रहे हैं और अन्तिम दमतक सत्य का समर्थन करते रहेंगे। हम किसानों को घृणित मार्ग नहीं दिखा सकते किसान आन्दोलन की आड में ऐसा पाशविक खेल नहीं खेलने दे सकते।

धमकियां

अपने विरोधियों को जान से मार डालने की धमकी इनका सबसे पहला हथियार है मुझे व मेरे साथियों को इस प्रकार की धमकियां कई बार दी गई। मुझे तो मारने का सक्रिय प्रयत्न भी किया था। अभी कुछ दिन पूर्व खाचरोद स्टेशन पर कन्हैयालालजी वकील के सामने नागदा मुकामी कमेटी के अध्यक्ष श्रीयुत ठक्कर साहब को भी ऐसी धमकी दी लेकिन भला हम ऐसी पशुता के सामने झुक कर कर्म पराजित होनेवाले नहीं है।

मैं किसान भाइयों को और आम जनता को सावधान कर देना चाहता हू कि ये लोग अपनी इस मूर्खता को किसान आन्दोलन का नाम देकर जनता से समर्थन कराना चाहते हैं। जनता इन जंगली जानवरों से सचेत हो जाय।

सामयिक समस्या—

रियासतों की जनता क्या करे

[श्री इन्द्रजी विद्या वाचस्पति]

जो देसी राज्य भारतीय सघ में सम्मिलित न होकर स्वतन्त्र रहने के लिये प्रयत्नशील हैं उनमें हैदराबाद और इन्दौर राज्यों के कुछ प्रतिनिधियों ने मुझ से भेंट की। प्रतिनिधि बहुत चिन्तित थे, उन्हें आशंका थी कि वहां के शासक भारत से अलग होकर प्रजा पर मन माने अत्याचार करेंगे। वे जानना चाहते थे कि भारतवर्ष से उन्हें क्या सहायता मिलेगा।

मैंने बातचीत में उन्हें विश्वास दिलाया कि प्रत्येक भारतवासी की सहानुभूति उनके साथ है मगर साथही यह चेतावनी भी दी कि उन्हे बाहर से अधिक सहायता की आशा नहीं रखनी चाहिये। पहला प्रश्न यह है कि क्या उन्हे भारतीय संघ से अलग स्वाधीन राज्य बनाने से कोई रोक सकता है? इस प्रश्न का एकही उत्तर है "नहीं"। अंग्रेजी सरकार स्पष्ट घोषणा कर चुकी है कि वह भारत को औपनिवेशिक स्वराज्य देने के समय रियासतों को बिल्कुल स्वतंत्र कर देगी। रियासतों के शासकों को स्वतंत्र होने के लिये किसी ओर से आज्ञा लेने की आवश्यकता नहीं। उनकी इच्छा है कि वे सघ में शामिल हों या न हों। उनमें से जो राज्य चाहेंगे वे संघ के अंग बन जायेंगे और जो नहीं चाहेंगे उन्हें स्वाधीनता की घोषणा करने से कोई रोक न सकेगा।

विद्रोही रियासतों के स्वाधीनता की घोषणा करने के पश्चात जो स्थिति पैदा होगी उसमें भारतीय सघ या अन्य कोई पड़ोसी देश उन रियासतों की प्रजाकी सीधी मदद नहीं कर सकेगा। जब वह स्वतंत्र हो जायेंगे तो किसी अन्य देश को उनके अन्दरूनी मामलों में दखल देने का अधिकार न रहेगा। यदि बाहर से कोई दखल दिया जाय यू. एन. ओ. [संयुक्त राष्ट्र सगठन) तक शिकायत पहुंचाई जा सकती है। जो अव्यवस्था उत्पन्न होनेवाली है, उसका उपाय केवल यही था कि अंग्रेज सरकार जिस "औपनिवेशिक" स्वराज्य की स्वीकृति दे रही है रियासतों को भी उसका आवश्यक अंग बना देती परन्तु उसने ऐसा करना आवश्यक न समझा। इस विपत्ति का मू कारण यही है।

तब प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या इन रियासतों के रोग का कोई इलाज नहीं और रियासती प्रजा को निराश हो जाना चाहिए? "नहीं" रियासती प्रजा के पास इस रोग का जो इलाज है वह अचूक है, वह इलाज ऐसा है कि उसकी परीक्षा ससार भर में हो चुकी है उस इलाज को प्रजा के कष्टों के लिए रामबाण कह सकते हैं और वह इलाज है प्रजा द्वारा राजा की स्वेच्छा चारिता क प्रति विद्रोह। यदि राजनीति में देश के विरुद्ध रियासतों को विद्रोह करने का उचित अधिकार है तो वहां की प्रजा को रियासत की मनमानी के विरुद्ध विद्रोह करने के अधिकार से वंचित नहीं किया जा सकता। रियासतों की प्रजा उसी उपाय से स्वतन्त्र हो सकती है, जिससे ससार की सब पराधीन अथवा दलित प्रजायें स्वतन्त्र होती रही हैं। भारत भी उसी उपाय से स्वतन्त्र हुआ है और हैदराबाद भूपाल, ट्रावनकोर और इन्दौर की प्रजा भी उसी उपाय से स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त करके भारतीय सघ में शामिल हो सकेगी। इसके लिए प्रजा को आन्दोलन करना पड़ेगा यदि साधारण आन्दोलन सफल न हुआ तो स्वेच्छा चार के विरुद्ध विद्रोह भी करना पड़ेगा। रियासतों की प्रजा का भाग्य उसके अपने हाथों में है। हैदराबादके सज्जन ने अपनी उलझन बताई तब मुझे कहना पड़ा यदि रियासत की ८५% प्रतिशत प्रजा स्वतन्त्र होकर भारतीय सघ में सम्मिलित होने की शक्ति नहीं रखती तो निजाम का कोड़ा उनकी पीठपर रहेगा ही। निजाम को अनुभव करना चाहिए कि उसे अपनी प्रजा की इच्छानुसार चलने के लिए बाधित होना पड़ेगा। अन्यथा उसे अपनी राजसत्ता से हाथ धोना पड़ेगा। प्रजा क आन्दोलन में बड़ी शक्ति है। ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य जैसी जबर्दस्त चट्टान जब उस शक्ति क सामने नहीं ठहर सकी तो निजाम की बोसीदा दीवार उसे कहां सहन कर सकेगी। वह तो दो चार धक्कों में ही धराशायी हो जायगी।

यदि ट्रावन्कोर, इन्दौर या काश्मीर के शासकों के संघ म अलग रहन का दुराग्रह न छोड़ा तो शायद वे लोकमत का उतना भी सामना न कर सकें उन्हें बहुत शीघ्र ही प्रजा की इच्छा के सामने झुकना पड़ेगा। पर इसक लिए प्रजा को अपनी पूरी इच्छा शक्ति पूरे जोर से प्रकट करनी चाहिए और सफलता मिलने पर निभय पूर्वक संघर्ष में जूझन को तैय्यार हो।

राष्ट्र हो या राष्ट्र के खण्ड उनका मोक्ष अपने ही हाथों में है। इस सचाई को भारतवासी अपने सफल बलिदानों से सिद्ध कर चुके हैं। यदि उपर्युक्त रियासतों के निवासी दासता से स्वेच्छा चारिता से मुक्ति चाहते हैं तो उन्हें भी लाभ की इस सचाईको स्वीकार करना चाहिए और इस मूलमन्त्रसे अपनी मुक्ति करनी करानी चाहिये।



सारे देश में लाहौर दिवस की धूम

आर्य नेताओं ने आर्य जनता को तय्यार रहने का आदेश दिया है।

१२ जुलाई को लाहौर दिवस के अवसर पर भारत और विदेशोंकी २००० से अधिक आर्य समाजों की ओर से लाहौर को पाकिस्तान में मिलाये जाने का विरोध किया। सीमा कमीशन के सामने पञ्जाब आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा व प्रादेशिक आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा दोनोंकी ओर से एक संयुक्त प्रार्थना पत्र उपस्थित कर दिया है आर्य समाज, कांग्रेस और हिन्दू महासभा तीनों के प्रार्थना पत्र एक ही प्रकार के हैं। इस मामले में आर्य समाज की ओर से आर्य समाज के प्रसिद्ध नेता श्री गोकुलचन्दजी नारंग सीमा कमीशन के सामने बहस करेंगे।

मध्यभारत तथा अन्य जिन समाजों के व संस्थाओं के प्रस्ताव हमें प्राप्त हुए हैं उनके नाम निम्न प्रकार हैं।

शारदाजी के सभापतित्व में हुई सार्वजनिक आर्य हिन्दू सभा अजमेर, दयानन्द साधुआश्रम अजमेर, नगर आर्य समाज अजमेर, आर्य समाज देवास, आर्य समाज होशंगाबाद, आर्य समाज महू छावनी आर्य समाज मल्हारगंज, संयोगितागंज, जेलरोड इन्दौर, आर्य समाज सीहोर (भूपाल) आर्यसमाज की ओर से संगठित ५ हजार की सार्वजनिक सभा बीकानेर, आर्य समाज भीम मंडी (कोटा) फीजीद्वीप, स्याम, ट्रीनिडाट अफ्रीका।

—※—

"शुनं सुफाला विकृषन्तु भूमिम"

[यजु. अ १२ म, ६९]

"श्रेष्ठ साधनों से युक्त कृषि यन्त्र भूमि को कृषि युक्त बनावें"



वेद के इस मन्त्र का व्यापक स्वरूप यह वैज्ञानिक "किसानी ट्रैक्टर" प्रास्त बुड कैम्प सागर में कृषि-विशेषज्ञों तथा प्रान्त के किसानों के एक सम्मेलन में इस फार्डसन नामक ट्रैक्टर का प्रदर्शन किया गया। ट्रैक्टर एक विशेष प्रकार का ऊंचा और सुरक्षित कोष बनाता दिखाया गया है।

गीत

पंथी! अन्तर्तृप्ति बटोर
द्रव्य दूसरों का क्या सुखद
यदि तू खाली हाथ,
क्षण में की सुमनों की स्मृतियां
कब तक देंगी साथ?
जाता सन्ध्या में रवि का भी
शौर्य पतन की ओर।
पंथी अन्तर्तृप्ति बटोर

पी जाता है कमलिनियों के—
सुख को स्वर्ण विहान;
उड़ता मधु मास साथ में
कोकिल का कल-गान।
दख सूर्य, शशि गलित कांति ज्यों—
प्रहरी सम्मुख चोर।
पंथी अन्तर्तृप्ति बटोर।

नाभ्यंतर संचित सौरभ की
मृग को हो पहिचान,
सरिता सा अपना ही पंथी!
सुनके कल-कल गान।
सागर निज उर में ही पाता
सुख की मृदुल हिलोर,
पंथी! अन्तर्तृप्ति बटोर।

—नटवरलाल स्नेही

[पृष्ठ २ का शेष]

—बड़गोदा [इन्दौर] आर्य समाज मे श्री स्वामी जगदीशानन्दजी दयानन्द साल्वेशन मिशन होशियारपुर की ओर से प्रचारार्थ पधारे । ग्राम में व्याख्यान कराया गया जनता पर अच्छा प्रभाव पड़ा ।

—भीममण्डी (कोटा) आर्य समाज की ओर से आर्य वीर दल की १७-७ ४७ को स्थापना कर दी गई है । शिक्षक का कार्य श्रीकृष्ण वीरसिंहजी ने सम्हाल किया है । आशा है उनके संरक्षण में दल शीघ्र ही उन्नति कर जायगा ।

—बिदासर (मारवाड़) की जनता की ओर से जोधपुर महाराज के देहावसान पर शोक प्रकट किया गया और नव राज्याभिषेक के प्रति अपना सहयोग और समर्थन प्रकट किया गया ।

— सीहोर आर्य सम्मेलन के अवसर पर भूपाल सरकार द्वारा लगाये गये प्रतिबन्ध के विरोध में निम्न समाजों ने और अपन विरोध भेज हैं— गरोठ, गौतमपुरा, मऊ-बाबा, जीरण, देपालपुर, रगवासा, उदयपुर, तिजारा, सावेर, सीहोर, डीडवाना, फतेहपुर, आदि आदि ।

आर्यावर्त पंजाब सहायता निधि

५) श्री महादेवजी विष्णु परांजपे, कृष्णपुरा इन्दौर

५) श्रीमती तुलसीबाई नीमा, १६५ जूना पीठा इन्दौर

१०) इस तालिका का योग

१२६८३) पूर्व योग

१२६९३) महायोग

कन्हैयालाल
कोषाध्यक्ष दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर

बलाई भाईयों पर अत्याचार

असुर्वी सरपद, हाकले—असुर्वी गाव से दो मील दूर अजनोठी गाव है वहा बलाई लोगों के काफी घर हैं । अजनोठीके पटेल का व्यवहार इन बलाईयों के साथ अच्छा नहीं है । अभी पिछले दिनो पटेल के लड़के ने तोलाराम बलाई को खूब पीटा, उसका अपराध यही कि वह हरिजन था लड़के के बाद शराब पिये हुए पटेलसाहबने भी जो घोड़ीपर चढ़े हुए थे एक दूसरे बलाई को पीटा और उसे बेहोश कर दिया । इसी प्रकार एक और बलाई को भी पटेल के भाई ने पीटा । रिपोर्ट लिखवाने जब वे लोग हातोद पहुच तो पुलिस इन्सपेक्टर ने कोई ध्यान नहीं दिया । अस्पताल में भी इन बलाइयों को भर्ती नहीं किया गया और इस प्रकार पटेल ने अपन प्रभाव से न्याय और सहायता के सब मार्गों को रोक कर अपना मनमानी का परिचय दिया है पटेल के इस कार्य की जितनी निन्दा की जाय थोड़ी होगी । साथ ही सरकार के पुलिस और मैडिकल कर्मचारियों को भी अपना व्यवहार सुधारना चाहिए । याद रहे इसी इलाके में श्री कन्हैयालालजी जांगड़ा के उपर विधर्मियों ने आक्रमण किया था ।

"हिन्दूबाला और मुस्लिम अधिकारी"

देहली में लगभग एक मासपूर्व बड़ी लज्जा जनक घटना हुई । देहली के टेलीफोन आफिस में काम करने वाली २५ हिन्दू लड़कियों में से एक लड़की को वहा के मुस्लिम अधिकारी ने अपने आफिस में बुलाया और दरवाजा बन्द कर उस लड़की से कहा कि तुम मेरे से शादी करलो अथवा मेरी रखैल बनकर रहो, वह अफसर ५० सालका था, लड़की ने कहा है तुम्हारी उमर बाप के बराबर है इस पर उस अफसर ने कहा सारी हिन्दू औरतों को पंजाब बंगाल की तरह मुस्लिम बना लिया जायगा । लड़की ने [illegible] [illegible] दरवाजा

लोक थप । बीका खुद्याना और अपनी साथिनियों से कहा । कन्याओं ने एक शिष्ट मण्डल प. नेहरू और सरदार पटेल के पास भेजा परन्तु दोनों ने इस कार्य की निन्दा करते हुए भी दूसरे विभाग से सम्बन्धित होने से इस मामले में कुछ कर सकने में असमर्थ पाया । आर्य समाज कन्याओं के इस महत्व पूर्ण प्रश्न को अपने हाथ में लेकर कार्य कर रहा है।

—दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन का राजार्य समाके कर्म सचिव श्री रामविलासजी प्रधान आर्य समाज मल्हारगञ्ज इन्दौर. अपनी अजमेर की यात्रा से वापिस आगये हैं और श्री कन्हैयालालजी गृहसचिव दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन लखनऊ, फिरोदाबाद आदि भ्रमण करके इन्दौर आगये हैं और अपने अपने कार्यों में सलग्न हैं।

—इन्दौर सयोगितागञ्ज में दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन की सरक्षता में श्री मूलचन्दजी वकील प्रौढ रात्रि पाठशाला स्थापित करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे हैं आशा है शीघ्र ही यह पाठशाला आरम्भ हो जायगी।

सार समाचार

—सिक्ख पाकिस्तान असेम्बली का बहिस्कार करेंगे ।

—मध्यप्रांत की सरकार ने सरकारी नौकरियों में अल्पसंख्यकों को दी गई रियायतों को वापिस लेना तयकर लिया है।

—बर्मा के प्रधान मन्त्री यू. आंग सांग को गोलियों से उनके साथियों सहित मार दिया गया । हत्यारे पकड लिए गए हैं इस सम्बन्ध में ३०० व्यक्ति पकडे चुके हैं । यह एक भयानक षडयन्त्र था ।

—भारतीय विधान परिषद ने भारतीय राष्ट्रीय-ध्वज के रूप में तिरंगे झण्डे को सर्व सम्मति से स्वीकार कर लिया है। झण्डे में चर्खे के पूरे रूप के स्थान पर एक चक्र रक्खा गया है जिसका आकार प्रकार अशोक कालीन चक्र जैसा होगा।

—गांधी मन्दिर के संस्थापक की मृत्यु हो गई है । गांधी जी ने इस मन्दिर से अपना विरोध प्रकट किया था और कहा था भगवान मूर्ति में नहीं, हृदय में रहने वाली चीज है।

—१५ अगस्त भारत सरकार दो मन्त्रिमण्डलों के रूप में कर दी गई है। मुख्य मण्डल भारतीय क्षेत्र का शासन कर रहे हैं और दूसरा लीगी मण्डल छाया मण्डल के रूप में कार्य कर रहा है। छाया मण्डल को अब शेष भारत के मामले में कोई दखल देने का अधिकार नहीं रहा।

—पाकिस्तान सरकार में सम्भवतः ९ मन्त्री होंगे, ७ मुसलमान और २ हिन्दू।

—१५ अगस्त को सम्पूर्ण भारत में स्वतन्त्रता दिवस के उपलक्ष्य में अवकाश रहेगा।

—श्री ब्रिजलाल बियाणी ने कहा यदि निजाम से संघर्ष हुआ तो केन्द्रीय सरकार जनता का पूर्ण साथ देगी। बरार की जनता भी निजाम को रोकने के लिये तय्यार है।

—२० जुलाई को दिल्ली के पुराने ऐतिहासिक किले में वृक्षारोपण सप्ताह मनाया गया । जिसमें श्री प. नेहरू श्री राजगोपालाचार्य, रफी अहमद किदवई, रन बाबा आदिने भाग लिया और स्वय हाथों से जमीन खोदकर वृक्षारोपण और जल सिंचन किया।

—अलवर रियासत में सरकारी भाषा के रूप में हिन्दी को स्वीकार कर लिया गया है और इस निर्णय पर अमल भी आरम्भ हो गया है।

—रियासतें भी १५ अगस्त को स्वतन्त्रता-दिवस का समारोह मनायेंगी। यूनियन जेक के स्थान पर राष्ट्रीय-ध्वज फहराया जायगा।

मुद्रक—श्रीधर पण्डित
चिंतामणि प्रिंटिंग प्रेस, ८९ बसवंतगंज इन्दौर.

प्रकाशक—किशोरीलाल गोयल,
आर्यावर्त कार्यालय ७२ महारानी रोड

साप्ताहिक

आर्यावर्त

४ करोड मुस्लिमों को पाकिस्तान जाना पडेगा.

भारत सरकार के उपप्रधान मन्त्रा श्री सरदार वल्लभभाई पटेल ने पाकिस्तान क एक मन्त्री को लिखा है कि यदि यह साम्प्रदायिक सघर्ष शीघ्र ही समाप्त नहीं हुआ और पाकिस्तान छोडकर सब अल्पसंख्यक भारत आ गये तो हिन्दुस्तान के ४ करोड मुसल्मानों को पाकिस्तान जाना पडेगा। यह प्रश्न पूर्वी पंजाब और पश्चिमी पजाब के शरणार्थियो की बराबर सख्या की अदला बदली तक ही नही रहेगा। फिर यह प्रश्न अल्प संख्यक विषयक सैद्धान्तिक प्रश्न बनकर ही समाप्त होगा जिसमें सब मुसल्मानों को भारत छोडना ही पडगा।

पाकिस्तान सरकार से हर्जाना ?

पूर्वी पंजाब के शिक्षा डाइरैक्टर श्री एम जी सिंह की लाहौर के दगे में मृत्यु हो जाने पर भारत सरकार ने पाकिस्तान की सरकार से जबाब तलब किया है और हर्जाने की मांग की है। फावर्ड ब्लाक के प्रधान नेताजी सुभाषचन्द्र बोस क अभिन्न सहयोगी श्रीशार्दूलसिंह कवाश्वर के भी मारे जाने के समाचार मिल हैं।

हैदराबाद से जनता बरार भाग रही है ?

हैदराबाद सरकार की दुरंगी नीति स परेशान होकर हजारों की सख्या मे हिन्दू सिक्ख बरार भाग २ कर आ रहे हैं। रियासत में होनें वाले सघर्ष स बहुसख्यक जनता भयभीत हो उठी है और उसे इस बात की आशका है कि पश्चिमी पजाब की भांति रियासत में भी शीघ्र ही भयकर उत्पात होने वाला है। रियासत ने अनेकों हिन्दू, आर्य समाजी कार्यकर्ताओंको गिरफ्तार कर लिया है।

पाकिस्तान की सरहद पर किलेबन्दी

पजाब मुस्लिम लीग ने अपनी बैठक में प्रस्ताव पास किया है कि पाकिस्तान की सुरक्षा के लिए पाकिस्तान की सरहद पर मजबूत किलेबन्दी की जाय और पाकिस्तान में अनिवार्य सैनिक शिक्षा आरम्भ कर दी जाय और जनता को सशस्त्र कर दिया जाय।

भारत के अल्प संख्यक चिन्तित

युक्त प्रान्त के मुस्लिम लीगी नेता चौधरी खलीकुज्जमा ने एक वक्तव्य में पजाब मुस्लिम लीग के निर्णय की आलोचना करते हुए कहा कि इस किलेबन्दी की योजना स भारत में हमारी जान खतरे मे पड जायगी। इस नीति का बदल सद्भावना का मार्ग अपनाना चाहिए। अब हाथ जोडने से क्या होता है पहले जो बोया था उसे चौधरी साहब को भुगतना ही पडगा।

अर्नेस्ट वेविन का दुःस्वप्न।

इग्लैण्ड के परराष्ट्र सचिव अर्नेस्ट वेविन ने साऊथ पोर्ट की मजदूर कांग्रेस के अधिवेशन मे भारत की स्थिति का उल्लेख करते हुए कहा कि यदि भारत की समस्या का उचित समाधान न हुआ तो बृटन वहांके गृहयुद्ध की बिगडती हुई दशा मे अपनी फौज फिर स भेज सकता है। इस वक्तव्य क बाद से ब्रिटिश फौजों की रवानगी की रफ्तार धीमी पड चुकी है और कहा गया है कि जहाजों की कमी के कारण दो लाख दस हजार ब्रिटिश सेना को ३१ मार्च ४८ तक समुद्र पार नहीं कराया जा सकता। अंग्रेज मौके की फिराक मे यह नाटक कर रहे है क्या राष्ट्रीय सरकार इन फौजो को अविलम्ब नहीं हटा सकती ?

दिनांक २१ सितंबर ४७
मूल्य ५) वार्षिक

सम्पादकः— स्नातक उमेशचन्द्र

अंक सं. २५
एक अंक =)

सृष्टि १९७२९४९४७] दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर का मुखपत्र [दयानन्द जन्माब्द १२३

आर्यावर्त

रविवार, भाद्रपद सुदी ६ वि. सं. २००४

इन्दौर में वैधानिक प्रगति।

आज जब सम्पूर्ण भारत की जनता चिरकालीन संघर्ष के पश्चात् स्वतन्त्रता का अधिकार प्राप्त कर चुकी है रियासती जनता को अभी इस संघर्ष में से सफलता प्राप्त करना बाकी है। इन्दौर राज्य की पिछले दिनों जो प्रतिगामी अवस्था थी उसमें १५ अगस्त के पश्चात् पर्याप्त सुधार हुआ है और जनता व राजा में एक नवीन सामञ्जस्य पैदा हुआ है। नवीन प्रधान मन्त्री श्री मेहता की नियुक्ति और उसके बाद राज्य के शासन में अन्तःकालीन सुधारों के रूप में जनता के तीन मन्त्रियों की नियुक्ति इस दिशा में शुभ प्रयत्न हैं। नवीन मन्त्रियों की नियुक्ति से जनता के सन्तोष का निर्णय कर सकना तो कठिन है परन्तु इतना अवश्य है कि य तीनों मन्त्री अपनी कार्य कुशलता एवं जन सेवा भाव के द्वारा अपने उत्तरदायित्व को पूर्ण कर सकते हैं। नवीन विधान के निर्माण में इन तीन मन्त्रियों की उपस्थिति अत्यन्त कारगर सिद्ध होगी। इन मन्त्रियों को शिक्षा, श्रम, खाद्य, सिविल सप्लाई के जो विभाग दिये हैं उनसे भी अधिक महत्व पूर्ण विषय उन्हें जन प्रतिनिधि के रूप में प्राप्त होने चाहिये थे परन्तु जो कुछ हाथ में आया है उसीके उपयोगसे यह सिद्ध कर देने का उत्तरदायित्व इन नवीन मन्त्रियों पर आ जाता है कि वे जनता की सच्ची सेवा करने के लिए ही इन पदों पर गये हैं।

सबसे बडी क्रांति इस दिशा में हिंदी को राज्य व्यवस्था में अधिक से अधिक प्रयोग करके की जा सकती है। प्राथमिक शिक्षा की अनिवार्यता यद्यपि कानून रूप में विद्यमान है परंतु पिछली प्रतिगामी व्यवस्था ने इसओर कभी ध्यान नहीं दिया। हमारे इन मंत्रियों का सबसे पहला कर्तव्य इस ओर जनता को आकर्षित करना होना चाहिये। इंदौर राज्य के लिये निरक्षरता एक महान् कलंक के रूप में है। प्रौढ शिक्षण की व्यवस्था के रूप में इसओर शीघ्र ही प्रगति होनी चाहिये। मजदूरों के जीवन स्तर और उनकी आर्थिक कठिनाइयों को दूर करने का उत्तर दायित्व भी इन मन्त्रियों के सिर है। मिल मालिकों और मजदूरों के मध्य चलने वाला संघर्ष इन मन्त्रियों की उपस्थिति में बन्द ही होना चाहिये इस कार्य के लिए मध्यस्थता प्राप्त करने की योग्यता इन मन्त्रियों में अवश्य है आशा है इस दिशा में शीघ्र प्रयत्न होगा। खाद्य और सिविलसप्लाई विभागों में आज जिस प्रकार की अव्यवस्था है उसे अविलम्ब नष्ट किया जाना चाहिए। खाद्य और सिविल सप्लाई विभागों का जनता से सीधा और अहर्निश का सम्पर्क है जनता के हृदयों पर अपनी सफलता का विश्वास इन विभागों में उचित परिवर्तन करके ही किया जा सकता है। जनता आज इन विभागों की अव्यवस्था से विक्षुब्ध हो चुकी है आशा है जनता के प्रतिनिधि होने का गौरव धारण करने वाले मन्त्री इस ओर अविलम्ब प्रगति शील कदम उठायेंगे इस प्रकार नवीन मन्त्रियों के ऊपर महान उत्तर दायित्व है इस उत्तरदायित्व की सफलता पर ही इन्दौर के नवीन विधान की रूपरेखा अवलम्बित है। जनता अपने प्रतिनिधि मन्त्रियों की सफलता के लिए मंगल कामना करती है।

हिन्दी युक्तप्रान्त की राजभाषा

यद्यपि यह निर्विवाद है कि हिन्दी ही भारत की राष्ट्र भाषा होने का गौरव धारण कर सकती है परन्तु अभीतक हिन्दी को किसी प्रान्त की भाषा के रूप में राजकीय आधार प्राप्त नहीं हो सका था। पिछले दिनों युक्त प्रान्त की गवर्नर श्रीमती नायडू ने हिन्दी को एक विचित्र परिस्थिति में खडा कर दिया था परन्तु यह अवस्था अब समाप्त हो चुकी है। युक्त प्रान्तीय धारा सभा ने विगत सप्ताह अपने अधिवेशन में एक गैर सरकारी बिल के रूप में हिन्दी को युक्त प्रान्त की भाषा स्वीकार कर लिया है। युक्त प्रान्तीय धारा सभा के सदस्यों के इस निर्णय की जितनी प्रशंसा की जाय थोडी होगी। हिन्दी ही समस्त भारत की राष्ट्र भाषा होनी चाहिए। इस दिशा में यह ठोस कदम है, आशा है देश के कर्णधार जनता की आवाज को स्वीकार कर अपने जनतन्त्र प्रेम का क्रियात्मक प्रदर्शन करने में अब विलम्ब न करेंगे।

आर्यकुमार सभा का आंदोलन

अखिल भारतीय आर्य कुमार परिषद के प्रमुख कार्यकर्ता श्री पं० सुखदेवजी शास्त्री विगतमास से हमारे प्रान्त में भ्रमण कर रह हैं। उनका प्रान्त में भ्रमण का उद्देश्य आर्यकुमार सभाओं का निरीक्षण, सङ्गठन, तथा प्रान्तीय आर्यकुमार परिषद की स्थापना है इस के लिए सुजानगढ में परिषद का अस्थाई कार्यालय स्थापित करके श्री प० जीवानन्दजी शर्मा को प्रधान मंत्री नियुक्त किया है तथा सभी कुमार सभाओं और उनके कार्य कर्ताओं से यह आशा व्यक्त की है कि वे अपनी सभाओं का सम्बन्ध प्रान्त के सगठन को सुदृढ बनानेके लिए शीघ्र स्थापित करलें। श्री पं० जी ने विगत मास में विभिन्न२०कुमार सभाओंका निरीक्षण किया है जिनमें प्रमुख सुजानगढ, लाडनू बाकानेर सरदारपुरा, गुलाबसागर जोधपुर साभरलेक, जयपुर अजमेर हैं कोटा पोटनपोल कुमार सभा का निरीक्षण करके इन्दोर का भी निरीक्षण किया है।

श्री प० जी खण्डवा, बरहानपुर, सागर, भपाल, झांसी, ग्वालियर आगरा, मथुरा, भरतपुर आदि स्थानों की कुमार सभाओं का निरीक्षण करके यथा सम्भव शीघ्र अपने केन्द्र में मुरादाबाद पहुँचेंगे जहां २ शास्त्री जी निरीक्षणार्थ पहुँचे आर्य कुमार सभा के आन्दोलन को प्रगति देनेके लिये उनसे सभी सज्जन सहयोग करें। आर्य कुमारों का सगठन ही इस समय देश का सच्चा नेतृत्व करसकता है।

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सामयिक विचार धारा—

—: नीति का निर्वाचन :—

[लेखक —श्री बिहारीलालजी शास्त्री काव्यतीर्थ]



— लेखक —

हमारे पतनकी कहानी

१. १२सौ वर्ष पूर्व सिन्धके प स मुस्लिमराज्य, और सिन्ध पर मुसलमानों की गृद्ध दृष्टि।

२ बौद्ध और हिन्दुओं का झगडा।

३. सिन्ध का राजा दाहिर ब्राह्मण था, बौद्धों के साथ साथ राजपूत नाम धारियों न उसका साथ नहीं दिया।

४. बौद्ध मुसलमान बनते गये।

५. ब्राह्मणों द्वारा अछूतों के साथ सामाजिक दुर्व्यवहार होता था।

६ अहिन्सा के नाम पर बौद्ध जैन युद्ध से दूर रहना पसन्द करते थे, हिंदुओं में मूर्तिपूजा, ज्योतिष आदि के अन्ध विश्वास प्रचलित थे। यथा—

(क) झन्डे के गिरते ही पराजय समझना और देवलपर मुसलमानोंका अधिकार

(ब) मुल्तान के सूर्य नारायण मन्दिर को मुसलमानों को इसलिए दे देना क्यों कि युद्ध होने पर मुसलमान भगवान के नाक कान काट लेते (बाद में मुसलमानों ने मूर्ति में गौ मांस लटकवाया और मंदिर तोड मस्जिद बनवाली)

७. गजनी पर अधिकार कर सुबुक्तगीन का पंजाबपर आक्रमण। जयपाल को हरा खैबर पर पूर्ण अधिकार और भारत की लूट,

८ तालसैय्यद द्वारा पृथ्वीराज कालीन आल्हा, ऊदल, जयचन्द आदि में परस्पर सघर्ष कराना।

९. (कन्नौज कानपुर) के पास मदार शाह जासूस साधु का डेरा डालना और ख्वाजा जासूस साधु का अजमेर में अड्डा जमा इस्लाम का प्रचार करना और मूर्ख जनता का धोखे में आना।

परिणाम

इस प्रकार हिन्दुओं की असावधानी अहिन्साभक्ति, शान्तिप्रियता, अन्धविश्वास और फूट के कारण आर्य राष्ट्र इस्लाम की विजय भूमि बन गया। यह इतिहास का एक पृष्ठ है।

दूसरा पन्ना

हिन्दुत्व उत्कर्ष की ओर

यह उत्कर्ष का इतिहास मराठों का इतिहास है। कईसौ वर्ष तक जमे हुए यवनराज्य को मुट्ठी भर मराठ उखाड कर फेंक देते हैं। साधारण जागीरदार शाहजी के पुत्र शिवाजी छोटी छ टी लूट मार करते करते एक राज्य स्थापित करते है और ध रे धीरे उनके उत्तराधिकारी दहली के सिंहासन पर अधिकार करत हैं।

जो हिन्दू यवनों क अत्याचारसे पीडित हो कराहता हुआ राम और कृष्णको पुकार रहा था। विरक्त होकर मुक्ति की चाह कर रहा था। शिवाजी के उदय से वह कई शताब्दी बाद फिर भूषण के शब्दों में वीर रस की कविता करने लगा।

अब्दाली क आक्रमण से मराठा शक्ति एक बार नष्ट हुई सी प्रतीत होती है, परन्तु १० वष क भीतर मराठे देहली पर पुनः भगवाध्वज फहराने लगते है। यदि अंग्रेज बीचमें न आपडते तो समग्र भारत पर मराठा साम्राज्य होही जाता।

वर्तमान की स्थिति

बस ये है इतिहास क दो पृष्ठ सक्षेपमें। अब आजकल की राजनैतिक दशा से इन का मिलान कर लीजिए। इतिहास अपने को दुहराता है यदि यह अंग्रेजी कहावत ठीक है तो विचारिए कि हिन्दू किस पृष्ठ का अनुसरण कर रहे हैं।

मुसलमानो की नीति और स्वप्न

मुसलमानों की नीति तो इस्लाम के जन्म काल स एक जैसी है दारुलइस्लाम बनाना और दारुलहरब पर आक्रमण उपद्रव आतक फैलाकर जैस हो वैसे इस्लामी शासन स्थापित करना।

पाकिस्तान बन गया। मुसलमानों की तुर्किस्तान में मरी खिलाफत का भारत में पाकिस्तान रूप में जन्म हो गया।

अब मोपलस्तान, मेवास्तान, उस्मानिस्तान का प्राग्राम शेष है। यदि हिन्दुओंकी नीति यही रही जोकि अबतक है तो य सबस्तान भी बन ही जायेग और हमारे नेताओं के कथनानुसार हिन्दुस्तान व पाकिस्तान मिलकर इस मान में एक हो जायेंगे कि सब पाकिस्तान ही बन जायेगा नेताओं की आशानुरूप सद्भावना और सहयोग के साथ एकता तो असभव ही है।

हमारी असफल नीति

सन् २१से हिंदुओंने मुस्लिम मनौती प्रारम्भ करी और हिन्दुत्व को विसारा। इसका परिणाम आज सामने है म गांधी का रत्तीमात्र भी प्रभाव मुसलमानों पर नहीं मगर वे मुस्लिम मनौती में आजतक हिन्दुओं को दबाये जारहे हैं। पंजाब, गुडगावा, सरहद और नोआखाली में उनकी चल नही पाती मगर कलकत्ते के हिन्दुओं के सिर हुए। मुसलमानों की

ढाल तो रहे श्री महात्माजी और हिन्दुओं को केवल बचावकी आज्ञा है। आक्रमण की नहीं। मुसलमान के दोनों हाथ छुटे हैं, दोनों में तलवार है क्यों कि उनकी ढाल स्वयं महात्माजी थामे हुए हैं।

बस यह नीति है वर्तमान में हिंदुओं की। मुसलमान के लिए आक्रमण का मार्ग खुला है और हिन्दू के हाथ पकडे हुए हैं, महात्माजी।

वे लोग हिन्दू को मारें, स्त्रियोंका अपहरण करें हिन्दुओं की सम्पत्ति छीने मंदिर ढाह दें उन्हें छूट है। मगर अव्वल तो ऐसी बातें करना हिन्दुओं का स्वभाव ही नहीं और अगर कोई ऐसी हरकत करे तो महात्माजी "अनशन" का वज्र उसके ऊपर लिये खडे रहते हैं।

अछूतों के साथ हिन्दुओं का व्यवहार दाहिर के समय जैसाही है। जात पांत और धार्मिक वहम तथा रूढियां यथापूर्व हैं ही। सैनिक बल संघटन शक्ति से हिन्दू सौ कोस भागता है। सैनिक बलमें हिन्सा की दुर्गन्ध और संघटन में साम्प्रदायिकता का विष उसे मालूम पडता है। कल्पित राष्ट्रियतासे वह आज भी चिपटा है अब पाठक स्वयं विचारलें कि हिन्दू इतिहास के कौनसे दौरमें चलरहा है। और हमें भविष्य के लिए इतिहास की कौनसी नीति का निर्वाचन करना चाहिए।

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सूचना

अखिल भारतीय मलेरिया (जाडा-बुखार) रक्षा समिति देहली ने इस साल एक लाख रोगियों को मौसमी बुखार की दवा मुफ्त बांटने का प्रबन्ध कर लिया है। कोई भी सज्जन जो अपने यहां दवा मुफ्त बांटना चाहें निम्न पते से बांटने के नियम तथा दवा मुफ्त मंगा सकते हैं।

रामजीवन प्राणाचार्य

मंत्री—अ० भा० मलेरिया रक्षा समिति, ५२६ ए, गांधी स्ट्रीट, देहली।

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.... लोक-वाणी ....

हमारा भविष्य क्या हो

१ राजार्य सभा को सुदृढ बनाना।

२ आर्य समाज का नेतृत्व पूंजिपतियों के हाथ से छीनकर युवक आर्य जनता को सौंपना।

३ प्रचारकों, उपदेशकों और संस्थाओं का संगठन करना।

४ निश्चित कार्यक्रम।

५ पंच वर्षीय योजना का निर्माण।

आर्य समाजको वर्तमान अवस्था में प्रगतिशील बनाने के लिये उपर्युक्त बातें आवश्यक हैं आशा है समाज प्रेमी इसपर विचार करेंगे।

धर्मदेव शास्त्री, दर्शन केसरी, अशोकआश्रम (देहरादून)

एक समस्या

भारत के २टुकडे होगये एक पाकिस्तान और एक इंडिया! हिन्दुस्तान नाम देनेमें यह हिन्दुओं का देश समझा जाता और बनाना है इसे शामिलस्तान अन्यथा नाजुक राष्ट्रियता मुरझा जाती!

राष्ट्रपति श्री कृपलानीजीने कराची में ऐसाही कहा है और साथमें यहभी कहा है कि मुझे "हिन्द" नाम पसंद है. अच्छा तो अब प्रश्न यह है कि जब भूमंडल से हिन्दुस्तान नामही मिट गया तो बापूजी की प्यारी भाषा "हिन्दुस्तानी" कहांकी समझी जाय?

और यदि राष्ट्रपतिजी का प्रिय शब्द हिन्द इस देशका नाम ठीक है तो हिन्द की भाषा हिन्दी क्यों नहीं?

बापूजी के चेलों या राष्ट्रपतिजी के अनुयायियोंपर है कुछ इसका सुसंगत उत्तर? अगर है तो आर्यावर्त में प्रकाशित करने की कृपा करें।

बिहारीलाल शास्त्री. उझानी (बदायूं)

सहगल, ढिल्लन आदि क्यों नहीं

भारत की स्वतंत्रता के बाद यह आशा की जाती थी कि आजाद हिन्दके उपेक्षित सैनिकों के साथ सद्व्यवहार करके उनके घावों पर मरहम लगाया जायगा किन्तु वैसा हुआ नहीं। इस कार्य से जनता आश्चर्य में पड गई है।

आजाद हिन्द फौजके त्याग और तपस्या के बारे में किसी को कुछ बताने की आवश्यकता नहीं है। इन लोगोंने देश के लिये केवल अपनी तनखाहों और भत्तोंका ही मोह न छोडा, किन्तु अपने प्राणोंतक की बाजी लगादी, और उन्हें उसका पुरस्कार यह मिला ! सेनाके बडे बडे पद अंग्रेजों या राजभक्त (अंग्रेज भक्त) भारतीय सैनिक अधिकारियों को देदिये गये। और आजाद हिन्द सेना के सैनिकों की पूर्णतः उपेक्षा की गई। क्या सैनिक उच्चपद सहगल, ढिल्लन, रामसिंह आदिको नहीं दिये जा सकते थे? क्या वे इसके योग्य न थे। कांग्रेस के नेताओं ने अपने चुनावों के समय विजय प्राप्त करने के लिये इनका उपयोग किया और अब इन्हे दूध की मक्खी की तरह बहिष्कृत कर दिया—अभीतक साधारण सैनिकों में भी आजाद हिन्द के सैनिकों की भर्ती नहीं की जाती। महात्मा गांधीने इन सैनिकों को खेत जोतने की सलाह दी है। क्यों! क्या इसलिये कि उन्होंने देश के लिये अपने प्राणों की बाजी लगा दी!

सांवलसिंह [सूबेदार] आजाद हिन्द सेना (मेरठ)

क्षात्र धर्म

"आजकी स्थिति में भजन, पूजा-पाठ और ईश्वरोपासना से भी ज्यादा जरूरी क्षात्रधर्म का पालन है। भारतीय ऋषियों का कथन है कि जब देश, धर्म और संस्कृति पर विपत्ति आवे तब उसके हटाने और पीडितों की रक्षा के लिये सब वर्णों के लोगों को एक होकर शस्त्र पकडना चाहिए। आज प्रत्येक हिन्दू का हाथ माला गोमुखी से पहले शस्त्र पर जाना चाहिये।" —स्वामी माधवानन्दजी महाराज

इन्दौर व अन्य देशी राज्य

इन्दौर—अन्त कालीन नवीन मन्त्री श्री मिश्रीलालजी गगवाल [खाद्य और सिविल सप्लाई) श्री वैजनाथजी महोदय [श्रम विभाग] तथा श्री. छगनलालजी मित्तल (शिक्षा विभाग) द्वारा २० सितम्बर को अपने पदोंका कार्य सम्हाल लिया गया।

दयानन्द कन्या महाविद्यालय मल्हारगंज को इन्दौर शिक्षा-विभाग द्वारा स्वीकार कर लिया गया है। इस विद्यालय को श्री सेठ कनकमलजी चौधरी की ओरसे ५१) दान में प्राप्त हुए है।

—हार्टन साहब के हटतेही इन्दौर में काला बाजार पकड़ा जाने लगा है। ४० मानी से भी अधिक अनाज कोठों में से पकड़ा जाचुका है। गेहू और गुड का ही चोर बाजार हो सो बात नहीं औरतों की दलली भी इन्दौर में पिछले दिनों खूब चली परन्तु अब इस गुट क लोग पकडे जारहे हैं। रामप्यारी नामकी एक बहिन पुलिस के कब्जे में हैं [यह महिला भूपाल के पास किसी गावकी है]

—दिनांक १३ सितम्बर को इन्दौर में आदरणीया माता अहिल्याबाई की पुण्य-तिथि मनाई गई। सार राज्य मे विशेष कर इन्दौर की जनता में अपार हर्ष था। जनता आनन्द विभोर हो अपने अपने दलोंका सशस्त्र प्रदर्शन करती हुई नगर कीर्तन कर रही थी। टाऊन हालमें श्री प्रधान मन्त्री. श्री मेहता का भावपूर्ण भाषण हुआ।

—इन्दौर राज्य की ओरसे ७००० शरणार्थियो को राज्य में बसाने का काय आरम्भ हो चुका है। गरोठ आदि स्थानों में केम्प खोल दिये गये है। इस कार्य के लिये श्रीमन्त की सरकारने ५ लाख रुपया व्यय करना स्वीकार किया है।

—१२सेर के स्थान पर १०सेर राशन कर देना स्थानीय जनता द्वारा घोर विरोध किया जारहा है। स्थानीय सभी प्रमुख पार्टियां सरकार के इस निर्णय के विरुद्ध आन्दोलन कर रही हैं।

—**बडौदा** श्री स्वामी माधवानन्दजी के प्रयत्न से बडौदा और जोधपुर क राज्यों में घनिष्ट सम्पर्क स्थापित हो गया है। बडौदा के लक्ष्मी विलास पेलस में तिलक समारोह के रूप में इस सम्पर्क सूत्र को दृढ कर दिया गया। श्री स्वामीजी ने आशीर्वाद देकर इस सम्बन्ध के सुदृढ रहने की मगल कामना की। उसी दिन सायकाल श्री माणिकराव व्यायाम शाला में स्वामीजी का ओजस्वी भाषण हुआ।

—नरसिंहगढ के नागरिकों ने राज्य के हिन्दू अधिकारोंकी रक्षा के लिए श्री राम-भरोसे मिश्र की अध्यक्षता में नरसिंहगढ राज्य हिन्दू सभा की स्थापना की है।

—गुना हिन्दू सभा की ओर स ग्वालियर राज्य हिन्दू सभा के आन्दोलन की सफलता के लिए श्र मोतीलालजी के नेतृत्वमें ८ सत्याग्रहियों का एक जत्था ग्वालियर रवाना हो गया है।

—जूनागढ (पाकिस्तान से सम्बन्धित) हिन्दू बहु सख्यक राज्य में गुजराती के राष्ट्रीय पत्र "जन्म भूमि" व "वन्दे मातरम" पर प्रवेश पाबन्दी लगादी है।

—अलवर नरेश अपनी सेना केन्द्रीय सरकार का दनके लिए तय्यार है।

—उदयपुर राज्य में सशस्त्र उपद्रवियों के दल का भण्डाफोड हो गया है। मुसलमान बोहरों के पास हजारों हथियार प्राप्त हुए हैं। उदयपुर के बोहरों ने पाकिस्तान को ६ लाख रुपये मदद दी है। उदयपुर के प्रधान मन्त्री श्री राममूर्ति ने स्थिति को नियन्त्रण में लेलिया है और दो मास के के लिए १४४ धारा उदयपुर नगर में लगा दी गई है।

—भूपाल राज्य के कर्मचारीयों ने रियासत के कठोर रवैये के विरोध में हडताल की।

भारत वर्ष

—पूना में सय्यद महमूद अहमद हमीद शेख व खुर्शेद बानू सैय्यद महमूद दोनों मुसलमानों की प्रार्थनापर उन्हें हिन्दू महा-सभा द्वारा हिन्दू धर्म में सम्मिलित कर लिया गया। ये दोनो समारोह तिलक मेमोरियल हाल में सम्पन्न हुए।

—अखिल भारतीय हिन्दू महासभाकी कार्य कारणी ने युक्त प्रान्त मे चल रहे महासभा के आन्दोलन को वापिस ले लिया है।

—युक्त प्रान्तीय धारा सभाने एक बिल पास करके हिन्दी को युक्त प्रान्तकी सरकारी भाषा घोषित कर दिया है।

—बिहार सरकारने सिन्ध प्रान्तीय हिन्दू सभा के विदेश विभाग के मन्त्री श्री दयालसिंह वर्दी के बिहार प्रवेशपर प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया है। बिहार की प्रजातन्त्री सरकार का यह प्रतिबंध अनुचित और हिन्दुओं की भावना को ठसे पहुचाने वाला है।

रतनगिरी के जिलाधीशने फ्री हिन्दुस्तान क सम्पादक श्री. ए एस. भिडे पर बम्बई पर जन सुरक्षा विधान १९४७ क अनुसार प्रतिबन्ध लगा दिया है कि वे किसी सभा का आयोजन अथवा उसमें भाषण न दे।

—भारतीय विधान परिषद की कांग्रेस पार्टी न अपनी एक बैठकमें निश्चय किया है कि विधानक मौलिक अधिकारोंवाले अध्यायमें देश के पशु धन गौ की हत्या को बन्द करने की धारा जोड दी जाय।

—भरतपुर व अलवर तथा दिल्ली के आसपास मेवों के साथ संघर्ष में कम्यूनिष्ट मेवों का पक्ष लेरहे हैं और मेवों की सुरक्षा की अपील कर रहे हैं। इस नीति का वहां क आर्योंने खूब विरोध किया है और व कम्यूनिस्टों को भी मेवों की भांति देश घातक समझ रहे हैं।

—भारतीय विधान-परिषद का आगामी अधिवेशन नवम्बर के प्रथम सप्ताह में होगा।

मुद्रक—श्रीधर पण्डित
चिंतामणि प्रिंटिंग प्रेस, ८९ बसंतगंज, इन्दौर.

प्रकाशक—किशोरीलाल गोयल,
आर्यावर्त कार्यालय, ७२महारानी रोड, इन्दौर

-आर्य जगत-

महेश्वर—पिछले दिनों गुरुकुल क आचार्य श्री लक्ष्मीनारायणजी शास्त्री ने सुन्देरल [धार-राज्य] मे वृष्टियज्ञ सम्पन्न कराया । वरुण देव ने प्रसन्न हो यज्ञ की सार्थकता सिद्ध की जनता में आशा की लहर दौड गई है।

वृन्दावन—गुरुकुल विश्व-विद्यालय-वृन्दावन में ३१ अगस्त को श्रावणी उपाकर्म व सत्याग्रह बलिदान दिवस मनाया गया। श्री स्वा. [illegible]जी सिद्धांत शिरोमणि, ब्र. सुन्देरल ब्र. विश्व-प्रकाश ब्र. केशव व ब्र. सत्यपाल आदि के भाषण हुए।

सांभर झील—श्री बाबू रामप्रतापजी आर्य व श्री प. कन्हैयालालजी आंगडा (प्रचारक दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर) के प्रयत्न से यहां के हरिजनों के वेतन में ४० प्रतिशत वृद्धि हुई है। यहां आर्य समाज के सहयोग से शीघ्र ही राजस्थान हरिजन सेवक संघ की स्थापना करने की योजना बन रही है।

गौतमपुरा—मालव प्रांत गौतमपुरा [इन्दौर राज्य में] हिन्दू ललनाओं की रक्षा के निमित्त "सज्जन महिला आश्रम कार्य कर रहा है। जिसके प्रबन्ध मन्त्री श्री मनीराम वर्मा इन्दौर निवासी हैं। प्रान्त की जनता इस आश्रम का सहयोग कर इस कार्य को आगे बढा सकती है। आश्रम की ओर से श्री मनसासिंहजी प्रचारक नियुक्त किये गये हैं। जहा वे पहुचे वहा की जनता उनसे धार्मिक प्रचार कराये और आश्रम के लिये सहायता करे।

खेडा खदान—आर्य समाज खेडा खदान की ओर से स्वतन्त्रता दिवस बडे उत्साह पूर्वक मनाया गया था। आर्य समाज के प्रधान श्री दीपचन्द्रजी शर्मा के प्रयत्न से सारे नगर और समीपस्थ ग्रामों (खेडा, कनगेटी, पंथवरखेडा, पिपलिया मन्डी आदि में भी उत्सव मनाया गया।) आर्य राष्ट्र की स्थापना के सम्बन्ध में भाषण हुये। श्रावणी पर्व के अवसर पर यहां की समाज ने विशेष उत्सव मनाया। नगर की ओर से निम्न संस्थाओं को निम्न प्रकार दान देना निश्चय हुआ।

५) रु. सार्वदेशिक सभा देहली, ५) रु आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा राजस्थान मालवा अजमेर, ५. रु. गुरुकुल चित्तौड ५. रु आर्यावर्त साप्ताहिक इन्दौर, २. रु. नारायणगढ. २. रु कनघट्टी, १. रु. बादरी, १. रु. मुन्वेडी, १. रु. कुन्देडा, १. रु. वैदिक पाठ शाला खेडा खदान।

जावद (ग्वा०)— स्थानीय आर्य समाज की ओर से श्री स्वामी जगदीशानन्दजी दयानन्द भील आश्रम रावटी व श्री भगवतीप्रसादजी उपदेशक, आ. प्र. नि. सभा अजमेर के भाषण एवं प्रवचन कराये गये। आर्य समाज के अतिरिक्त प्रधानजी के गृह तथा अन्य आर्यों के गृहों पर सामूहिक सन्ध्या हवन का कार्यक्रम भी सम्पन्न हुआ। सार्वजनिक कार्य क्रम में २००० से अधिक जनता भाग लेती रही। श्रावणी उत्सव के अवसरपर समाजका नवीन भवन निर्माण का निश्चय किया गया।

धरमपुरी (धार)—श्रावणी पर्व के अवसर पर श्री लक्ष्मीनारायण जी शास्त्री आचार्य गुरुकुल महेश्वर द्वारा यज्ञ कार्य सम्पन्न कराया गया। सायंकाल विशेष व्याख्यान सार्वजनिक सभामें हुआ। १०. रु. समाज की ओर से गुरुकुल महेश्वर को सहायतार्थ दिये गये।

नवीन निर्वाचन

आर्य समाज जावद [ग्वा०]
प्रधान-श्री बन्शीलालजी, गगरानी
मन्त्री-श्री हजारीलालजी,

आर्य समाज खेडा खदान हो. स्टेट
प्रधान-श्री शकरलालजी
मन्त्री-श्री वीरभद्रजी
संरक्षक-श्री दीपचन्द्रजी



निजाम हैदराबाद में नागरिक व धार्मिक प्रतिबन्ध

निजाम हैदराबाद से प्राप्त समाचारों स सार देश में सनसनी फैल रही है। वहा की बहुसंख्यक हिन्दू प्रजा के विरुद्ध राज्य की ओर से दुर्व्यवहार हो रहा है। अभी तक भारतीय संघ में सम्मिलित न होकर वहा के राजा न वहां की प्रजा का जो निरादर किया है उसस प्रजा में घोर असन्तोष है। हैदराबाद के बडे बडे सार्वजनिक कार्यकर्ता और आर्य समाज के अधिकारियों के साथ दुर्व्यवहार, उनकी गिरफ्तारिया ओ३म् के धार्मिक ध्वज और भारतीय संघ के राष्ट्रीय ध्वज के अपमान की कई घटनाओं स आर्य जनता में क्षोभ उत्प[illegible]रहा है। इन सारे कारनामों के पीछे पाकिस्तानी मनोवृत्ति काम कर रही है। हैदराबाद की प्रजा का आज एक मात्र यही निश्चय है कि वह इस प्रकार के कारनामों को कभी सहन नहीं करेगी और जैस भी होगा अपने अधिकारों की रक्षा करगी। हम वहां के साहसी कमठ नताओं के निर्णय की प्रशसा करत हैं। सारा देश उनके साथ है।

युक्त प्रान्त की भाषा और सरोजनी नायडू का भ्रम

युक्त प्रान्त की गवर्नर श्रीमती सरोजनी नायडून एक प्रस कान्फ्रेन्स में कहा कि युक्त प्रान्त का भाषा उर्दू है और वहा की जनता और विद्वानों को उसे अपनाना चाहिए। श्रीमती नायडू का यह विचार सर्वथा निराधार भ्रम पूर्ण और राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं के विपरित है। युक्त प्रान्तीय पत्रकार ने युक्त प्रान्तीय गवर्नर क इस कार्य को अवैधानिक बताया है और कहा है कि भाषा का प्रश्न मन्त्रि मण्डल द्वारा निर्णीत होना है और मन्त्रि मण्डल विधान परिषद के निर्णय की प्रतीक्षा कर रहा है। इस प्रकार के वक्तव्य से श्रीमती सरोजनी नायडू युक्त प्रान्त में लोकप्रिय नहीं रहीं और आज वे वहा सर्वसाधारण की समालोचना का विषय बन चुकी हैं। जनता के हृदय को न परखने का यही परिणाम होता है।

इन्दौर में नागरिक अधिकार लौटे,
प्रधान मन्त्री विधान परिषद में

इन्दौर सरकार न एक विज्ञप्ति प्रकाशित कर इस बात की घोषणा की है कि लाऊडस्पीकर लगाने क सम्बन्ध में जो पाबन्दी थी वह उठाली गई है और जिन ३५ अखबारों पर प्रवश प्रतिबन्ध था उसे वापिस ले लिया गया है। इन्दौर के भारतीय संघ में सम्मिलित होने के बाद अब विधान- परिषद के लिए इन्दौर सरकारने प्रधानमन्त्री श्री मेहता को अपना प्रतिनिधि नियुक्त किया है।

दिनांक १४ सितंबर ४७
मूल्य ५) वार्षिक

सम्पादक— स्नातक उमेशचन्द्र

—••—दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर का मुखपत्र

शरणार्थी हिंदू सिक्खों के साथ पाकिस्तान पुलिस का दुर्व्यहार

पाकिस्तान में क्या हो रहा है इसकी लम्बी कहानी कहन की सामर्थ्य किस में है। पेशावर से आने वाले शरणार्थियों ने वहा की पुलिस और अधिकारियों के काले कारनामे सुनाते हुए बताया कि हिन्दू सिक्ख यात्रियों को जो हवाई जहाज से भारत आते हैं कोई कीमती कपडे जवाहरात आदि नहीं लाने देती।

जब तक पाकिस्तान पुलिस शरणार्थियों की तलाशी लेकर उनकी कीमती वस्तुएँ अपने अधिकार में नहीं कर लेती तब तक जहाज उड नहीं सकते।

जो फौजी अफसर पाकिस्तान से भारत के लिये बदले गये हैं उनसे उनकी बन्दूकें छीन ली जाती हैं बदले में पुलिस कान्स्टेबल एक रसीद दे देता है। जिन गैर फौजी लोगो के पास लाइसैन्स शुदा हथियार हैं उनसे भी हवाई जहाज में बैठने से पूर्व हथियार छीन लिए जाते हैं।

यदि कोई शरणार्थी एक जोड़े से अधिक जूते साथ ले जा रहा हो तो जो दूसरी जोडी जूते पहने होता है छीन लिए जाते हैं। उसको कहा जाता है कि उसे कोई अधिकार नहीं कि वह ज्यादा चीजें ले जा सके। यही बात तौलियों चादरों आदि कपडों के बारे में है। हिन्दू सिक्खों को कोई वस्त्र अपने साथ नहीं ले जाने दिया जाता पाकिस्तानी अधिकारियों का कहना है कि न्यूनतम आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के अतिरिक्त जो सामान है वह पाकिस्तान सरकार का है।

भारतीय वायुयान चालकों की शिकायत है कि पाकिस्तान की पुलिस यात्रियों को बहुत तंग कर रही है। वायुयानों में गोलियों के निशाने लगाने की भी कई वारदातें हुई हैं। एक ओर हिन्दू-सिक्ख शरणार्थियों की यह दुर्दशा है तो दूसरी ओर भारत सरकार मुस्लिमों को महमानों की भांति सब सामान सहित ठीक घर तक सुरक्षित रूप से घर पहुचानें में राष्ट्र की शक्ति व्यय कर रही है।

आर्यावर्त पंजाब सहायता निधि–

कर्तव्य की पुकार:–

पश्चिम पंजाब का हत्याकान्ड आपके कर्तव्य को चुनौती देरहा है। आपका कर्तव्य क्या है यह आपसे छिपा नहीं है।

पाकिस्तान में भारत व हिन्दुत्व के नामपर बलिदान

असंख्य अमर हुतात्माओं के प्रति

जिनका भारत और हिन्दुत्व में अटूट विश्वास था

अगणित विद्वानों, विद्यार्थियों के प्रति

जिन्होंने भारत में निष्ठा रक्खी थी–

भारत के व्यापार को संसार में फैलानेवाले

व्यापारियों के प्रति—

जिनका आज सर्वस्व नष्ट होचुका है।

आर्य महिलाओं के प्रति—

जिन्होंने हिन्दुत्व की रक्षा में अपना बलिदान किया

ऐसेही अनेको उन अगणित अज्ञात

हिन्दू भाइयोंके प्रति—

हमारा आज एकही कर्तव्य है कि हम उनके बलिदान को सार्थक बनावें और जो मर चुके हैं उनके आश्रितों और जो निस्सहाय हैं उनके जीवन की रक्षा का उत्तरदायित्व अपने ऊपर लें इस उत्तरदायित्व को निभाने के लिए आर्यावर्त पंजाब सहायता निधि में धन देकर इस कार्य को पूरा कीजिए। आज प्रत्येक आर्य हिन्दू का एकही कर्तव्य है।

—उमेशचंद्र.

[पृष्ठ ७ का शेषांश]

[illegible]कता

अमृतसर की एक घटना का उल्लेख होचुका है और सुनिये। पूर्वी पजाब का सरकार ने मुस्लिमों को इधर से ले जाने और उधर से हिन्दू सिख शरणार्थियों को लाने की जो व्यवस्था कर रक्खी है वह सर्वथा असन्तोषजनक है।

मैंने देखा कि ८ सैनिक लारियाँ मुस्लिम शरणार्थियों को लाहौर पहुंचा कर सकुशल वापिस लौट आई, परन्तु वे अपने साथ कोई शरणार्थी नहीं लाई। जब एक ड्राइवर से पूछा गया तो उसने बताया कि लाहौर में अब कोई गैर मुसलमान शरणार्थी नहीं रह गया है। कितना कमजोर हृदय उन सरकारी कर्मचारियों में जो शरणार्थियों की सुरक्षा के लिए उत्तरदायी है। क्या उचित एव सतुलन नीति के रहते कोई यह कह सकता था कि लाहौर में अब कोई शरणार्थी नहीं हैं जब कि आज भी लाहौर में हजारों शरणार्थी पडे है।

सरकार पूर्वी पंजाब की हो या केन्द्र की, जनता का विश्वास अब उठ रहा है। और वह इन सरकारों को रक्षा करने में असमर्थ पाकर असंतोष व्यक्त कर रही है।

आर्यावर्त

सृष्टि १९७२९४९४७] दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर का मुखपत्र [दयानन्द जन्माब्द १२३

वर्ष २] इन्दौर, रविवार दिनाङ्क १४ सितम्बर १९४७, भाद्रो बदी ३० वि स २००४ [संख्या २४

देशका वर्तमान और भविष्य

भयंकरता दानवता का गुण है पर आज की दानवता अपनी भयकरता की चरम सीमा पार कर चुकी है। प्राकृतिक आधार पर आर्य गुण और दस्युगुण सदैव टकराते रहे हैं परन्तु बीसवीं शताब्दी में एक प्रयोगके द्वारा आर्य और दस्यु गुणों को मिलाने का प्रयत्न किया गया वह सफल नहीं हो सकता था और न हुआ। आज पश्चिमी पंजाब में जो हुआ वह इसी नीति के फलस्वरूप हुआ और हो रहा है। अंग्रेज शासकों की नीयत कितनी साफ थी और है इसका लेखा जोखा देने का आज समय नहीं है पर आंखों के सामने जो हुआ और है उसे देखते हुये हमें कहना पडरहा है शतरज की बाजी अंग्रेज जीत गये हैं। हमारे नेताओं ने राष्ट्र की आकांक्षाओं की अवहेलना करके जिससे मृग तृष्णा बुझाने का प्रयत्न किया वह मृगमरीचिका सिद्ध हुई है। आज देश विक्षुब्ध है। सीमा कमीशन के निर्माण और अंग्रेज वायसराय की नियुक्ति के चाला की भरे कारनामों से देश को धोखा दे कर अंग्रेज अपनी राजनीतिक सफलतापर अट्टाहास कर रहा है। पश्चिमी पंजाब में जो कुछ हुआ वह योजनानुसार ही हुआ है इस योजना के पीछे अंग्रेजोंकी शय और हिन्दुओंकेप्रति कटुता की भावना ही विशेष कर है। पश्चिमी पंजाब के हिन्दू और सिक्खों के साथ जो हुआ उसे भुलाया नहीं जा सकता पश्चिमी पंजाब और पाकिस्तान के अल्पसंख्यकों के प्रति पाकिस्तान की दानवी सरकार का कोई उत्तर दायित्व मानना अपने को धोखे में रखना है। वहा के अल्प सख्यकों पर आई आफत का उत्तर दायित्व भारतीय नेताओं के मिथ्या आदर्शवाद पर ही है। क्यों नहीं देश विभाजन का फैसला होते ही अल्पसख्यकों का दो टूक फैसला कर लिया गया। इस गल्ती का ही परिणाम आज देश भुगत रहा है। पाकिस्तान की सरकार आदर्शवादी से अधिक यथार्थ वादी है उसने पाकिस्तानी मुसलमानों की भावनाओं के अनुसार काम किया है। पश्चिमी पजाब के प्रधान मन्त्री ममदोत के नवाब ने पाकिस्तान की स्थापना के दूसरे ही दिन पजाब में हथियार रखने की स्वतन्त्रता घोषित कर इस कांड के जन्म को प्रोत्साहन दिया था। परंतु भारत की वर्तमान सरकार हिंसा शक्ति में विश्वास रखते हुये भी (फौज और पुलिस की आवश्यकता के रूप में) सर्व साधारण को आत्म रक्षा के साधनों से वञ्चित रख रही है। पश्चिमी पजाब के रौरव काड को देख कर देश के बहुमत की विचार धारा की अब उपेक्षा नहीं की जासकती। देश आज पाकिस्तान में विश्वास रखने वालों को एक मिनट भी देश में नहीं रहने देना चाहता, जीवित नहीं छोडना चाहता आज हिन्दू जनता कांटे को कांटे से निकालना ही अपना लक्ष्य बनाचुकी है। जबतक एक भी कांटा कहीं भी भारत मां के शरीर में चुभता रहेगा हिन्दू अब चैन से तबतक नहीं बैठ सकते।

शरणार्थियों की समस्या का जो रूप आज हमारे सामने है उससे आंख नहीं मीची जा सकती। मुस्लिम शरणार्थियों की सुरक्षित व्यवस्था और हिन्दू सिक्ख शरणार्थियों के निस्सहाय करुण क्रन्दन से आज की सरकार की कमजोरियां जाहिर हो रही हैं। भारत की सरकार भारत में विश्वास रखने वाले शरणार्थियों के प्रति जिम्मेवार हैं दूसरों की सुरक्षा की जिम्मेवारी लेना देश के साथ अन्याय है।

लाहौर, लायलपुर, मिंट गुमरी, शेखपुरा आदि पश्चिमी पजाब के शस्य श्यामल लहलहाते खेतों के स्वामी पंचनद के अपार वैभव के निर्माता और स्वामी आज दर दर के भिखारी बना दिये गये हैं। आज उनके पास से खाने को अन्न पहिनने के वस्त्र रहने के मकान बात करने को स्वजन सब कुछ छिन चुका है। भारतमां में विश्वास करने वालों का एक बडा काफला आज निस्सहाय बेबस आततायियों से आक्रान्त हो हमें कर्तव्य का पालन करने के लिए पुकार रहा है।

राजनीति में अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय ख्याति बडा महत्वपूर्ण स्थान रखती है परन्तु जब देश स्वय नेताओ की नीति में विश्वास न कर रहा हो और उनसे मांग कर रहा हो कि पहिले अपना घर सम्हालो, देशद्रोहियों, देश विनाशी पाकिस्तानियो को देश से निकाल दो तब देश की आवाज की अव-

हेलना कर नेता अधिक दिन जीवित नहीं रह सकते। यदि भारत जीवित रहना चाहता है प्राप्त स्वाधीनता को चिरायुष्य बनाना चाहता है तो इस पाकिस्तानी विष को जो सदैव दानव बनकर रहा है सदैव के लिए नष्ट कर देना होगा।

वर्तमान की शरणार्थी व्यवस्था और राष्ट्रीय जन भावना के सम्बन्ध में सरकार को अविलम्ब परिवर्तन करना चाहिए।

सुहरा बर्दी जैसे आस्तीन के सांप को अब दूध पिलाना बन्द होना चाहिए और इस प्रकार विशुद्ध राष्ट्रीय दृष्टिकोण से देश की भावनाओं का आदर कर वर्तमान समस्या का हल किया जाना चाहिए।

पाकिस्तानी दानव अपनी बर्बरता के साथ भारत पर हमला कर चुका और भविष्य में शीघ्र ही पूरी तैयारी के साथ जबर्दस्त आक्रमण की तैयारी में है। भारत में पांचवा कालम इस युद्ध के लिए भारत में मौजूद रहना चाहता है इसलिए सरकार का सच्ची राष्ट्रीय सरकार का यही कर्तव्य है कि स्वाधीनता की ओर अग्रसर भारत की सुरक्षा के लिए पांचवे कालम को चुन चुन कर पाकिस्तान पहुचा दे अथवा नजर बन्द करले। देश की आज यही मांग है। इस मांग के पूरा होने पर ही सरकार का भविष्य निर्भर है।

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विचार कण....

इन्दौर में वेद सप्ताह

इन्दौर की प्रसिद्ध आर्य समाज मल्हार गंज में आर्य समाज के नियमानुसार श्रावणी उत्सव तथा वेद प्रचार सप्ताह बड़े समारोह पूर्वक ३१ अगस्त से ७ सितम्बर तक मनाया गया। आर्य जगत् के प्रसिद्ध सन्यासी श्री स्वामी नारायणानन्दजी महाराज व प्रसिद्ध विद्वान श्री प. विद्यानन्दजी विदेह, के प्रवचन सप्ताह भर होते रहे।

इस वर्ष वेद सप्ताह में एक नवीन आयोजन करने का प्रयत्न समाज के अधिकारियों ने किया था। नागपुर के वेद के विद्वान श्री प. रामचन्द्र जी ने इस सप्ताह के लिए अपनी सेवायें समाज को दी थी। वेद सप्ताह में प्रति दिन एक घण्टे तक आप यजुर्वेद का सस्वर, घन, जटा, पद क्रम सहित पाठ किया करते थे। आपको सम्पूर्ण यजुर्वेद उपर्युक्त पद्धति से स्मरण है। आर्य समाज में इस ओर जो कमी है उसकी आपने पूर्ति की है। आपकी हार्दिक अभिलाषा है कि आर्य समाज वेद के इस स्वरूप को जीवीत रखने में पूर्ण योग दे और यह तभी सम्भव है जब वेद के लिए लोग अपना समय निकाल सकें।

कृष्णाष्टमी को वेद-सप्ताह का अंतिम दिवस था। आर्य समाज में बृहद् यज्ञ और वेदोपदेश के बाद कृष्ण जन्म के सम्बन्ध में उपस्थित विद्वानों ने प्रकाश डाला और उन्हें संसार का महान योगी और राजनीतिज्ञ बताया।

सप्ताह पर्यन्त विशेष यज्ञ की व्यवस्था का कार्य श्री पं. रामप्रतापजी तितिक्षु द्वारा सम्पन्न होता रहा। जनता की अच्छी उपस्थिति सप्ताह पर्यंत रही और जनता ने वेदोपदेश से पर्याप्त लाभ प्राप्त किया। सप्ताह की सफलता के लिए समाज के अधिकारी धन्यवाद के पात्र हैं।

—बीकानेर व चारंवा आर्य समाजों ने १७-८-४७ को राजार्य सभा के आदेशानुसार हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा बनाने तथा गोवध को कानूनन बन्द कर देने के प्रस्ताव पास किये और उच्चाधिकारियों के पास भेज दिये हैं।

सामयिक विचार धारा—

—: जहां से जागे वहीं से सवेरा :—

[लेखकः— श्री बिहारीलालजी शास्त्री काव्यतीर्थ]

मिस्टर जिन्ना का अभीष्ट पाकिस्तान बन गया और मुस्लिम लीग की विजय हुई यद्यपि कांग्रेसी नेता इस नीति युद्ध मे पूर्णतया पगस्त हुए हैं, तथापि वे सम्मान हानि वश स्वीकार कभी नहीं करेंगे। आज के नेता हिन्दुओं को संतोष दिलाते हैं कि "आखिर करते क्या ? जब मुसलमान हमारे साथ नहीं रहना चाहते तो न रहें। मगर हमने भयसे पाकिस्तान स्वीकार नहीं किया है।" भोला हिन्दू, श्रद्धा जड हिन्दू इससे सतुष्ट होकर बैठ रहता है। मगर विचारशील क मनमें प्रश्न उठता है कि हुजूर ! यह बात तो सर सैयद अहमद खाँ के जमानेसही प्रकट है कि मुसलमान हिन्दुओं के साथ नहीं रहना चाहते। फिर क्यों न आपने अबसे २ वर्ष पहले ही यह झगडा निपटाया ? यदि २ वर्ष पूर्व मि जिन्ना की जिद पूरी कर दी गई होती तो नोआखाली, सरहद और पजाब के हिन्दू क्यों लुटते, मारे जाते, और बेघरबार होते ? सैकडों हिंदू स्त्रियों के सतीत्व की बरबादी का जिम्मेदार कौन है ? हिन्दुओंका जो भयानक विनाश इन झगडों में हुआ है उसका प्रतिकार क्या है ?

शोक है कि हिन्दू सभा को राजनैतिक क्षेत्र से बेदखल कर दिया गया है, और आर्य समाजने के रक्खा है राजनैतिक सन्यास। अब कौन है जो भारत के बेताज के बादशाहों से कुछ पूछ सके। वायसराय की घोषणा से २ दिन पहलेही गांधीजी के बयानों पर नवभारत (कांग्रेसी पत्र) ने नोट लिखा था कि अब बापूजी भयंकर तूफान लानेवाले हैं। पाकिस्तान नहीं बन सकेगा। मगर हमें सदाही यह विश्वास था कि कांग्रेस नेताओं के हाथ में हिन्दू हित कभी सुरक्षित नहीं रहा है, न आगे रह सकता है। कांग्रेस नेता पुकार पुकार कर कहते हैं कि हम "हिन्दू नहीं हैं।" धर्मसे हमारा संबंध नहीं। हम तो रोटी का सवाल हल करना चाहते हैं, और नयी संस्कृति का सृजन। मगर भोला हिन्दू आंख मीचकर फिरभी बापूजी को आत्म समर्पण किये हुए है। त्याग बलिदान की भावुकता भरी कथाओंपर पिघलकर हिन्दू स्वतंन्त्रता से सोचता ही नहीं। जिन्ना साहबने कब जेल काटी ? मुस्लिम लीगी कब फाँसाके तख्तों पर झूले ? हाँ हजारों हिन्दुओं को वधकर सैकडों हिन्दू नारियों की दुर्दशा कर, करोडों रुपयों का माल लूट और जलाकर मुस्लिम लीग सफल हुई है। जो प्रत्यक्ष है, वास्तविक है, उस झुठलाना, ध्रुव सत्य से आँखे बचाना है। राजनीति नहीं है बचकता है। आज लीग को सफलता मिली है, आतंकवाद के कारण। काँग्रेसी झुके हैं उपद्रवों से भयभीत होकर।

भोले हिन्दू ! सोच जहाँ से जागे वहीं से सवेरा समझ। पाकिस्तान बन गया। अब पाकिस्तानी आफतें जो आरही हैं उनसे बचाव की चिन्ताकर। अन्यथा बरबाद होनेसे न बच सकेगा।

हिन्दू जाति के विनाश के साथ २ मानवता का भी ससार से लोपही हो हो जावेगा क्योंकि मानवता का जो निर्मल पाठ वेदोंपनिषद् आदि हिन्दू शास्त्रों में है अन्यत्र कहीं नही है ?

हिन्दुत्व की रक्षा के लिये सबसे प्रथम यह आवश्यक है कि—

(१) सम्पूर्ण हिन्दुओं का राजनैतिक सिद्धान्त समान-हो। गांवों में दलित जातियों पर के अत्याचारों को रोककर सवर्ण कहे जानेवाले हिन्दुओं के अनुचित



— लेखक —

प्रभाव को रोका जाय यदि शीघ्रही इस दृष्टिपर आचरण नहीं हुआ तो हिन्दुओं की अछूत कही जाने वाली जातियां, इस्लाम स्वीकार कर लेंगी मुसलमान लोग इन बिरादरियों में प्रचार कर रहे हैं और अब अधिक वेग स करेंगे।

(२) हिन्दुओं में स्वधर्म के प्रति प्रगाढ निष्ठा हो यह बिना धर्म शिक्षा के नहीं होगा अतः सरल और प्रांतीय भाषाओं में हिन्दू धर्म का महत्व दर्शाने वाली पुस्तकों का प्रचार हो प्रत्येक हिन्दू बालक को धर्म शिक्षा दना अनिवार्य हो कालिजों के क्षेत्रों में हिन्दू धर्म के महत्व पर तुलनात्मक व्याख्यान, जिनमें कम्यूनिज्म का भी खंडन हो प्रबन्ध हो।

(३) शुद्धि का जोर शोर से सगठित रूप मे कार्य हो, जो नव मुस्लिम भाई शुद्ध होना चाहते हैं उन्हें शीघ्र शुद्ध कर लेना और बिरादरी में मिलवा देना।

(४) सरकारी भाषा हिन्दी और लिपि देवनागरी अनिवार्य कर दी जाय।

गोवध बंदी और हिन्दी अदालती भाषा और देवनागरी लिपि हो यह हर हिन्दू की मांग है हिंदुस्तानी को हिन्दू कतई नापसद कर रहे हैं। विद्यार्थी तो हिन्दुस्तानी पुस्तकों के बहिष्कार तक की सोच रहे हैं।

हिन्दुओं को इस समय सुयोग्य नेतृत्व की आवश्यकता अनुभव हो रही है। हिन्दू जनता चाहती है कि धर्म संघ, हिन्दूसभा, आदि आर्यसमाज से मिलकर हिन्दू जनता का पथ प्रदर्शन करे।

(५) प्रत्येक १८ से ऊपर आयु के विद्यार्थी के लिये सैनिक शिक्षा अनिवार्य और लडकियों को १४ वर्ष की आयु से ही ताकि विपत्ति काल में अपनी और अपने देश की रक्षा कर सकें।

(६)शस्त्रों की स्वतन्त्रता हो। पाकिस्तानी सरकार ने मुसलमानों को सशस्त्र करना प्रारंभ कर दिया। वहां फौज की नई भर्ती भी आरम्भ हागई है। इधर भारतीय सरकार हिन्दुओं के चाकू तक रखने में हिंसा की आशंका कर रही है।

(७) देशद्रोहियों पर कडी दृष्टि रखी जाय।

(८) पाकिस्तान में बसने वाले हिन्दुओं की धर्म रक्षा के उपाय विचारे जाय और उन पर आचरण किया जाय।

इस समय हिन्दुओं के टुकडे करने पर सोशलिस्ट कम्यूनिष्ट और गांधीवादी तुले हुए हैं। इनके जाल से हिन्दुओं को प्रचार द्वारा ही बचाया जा सकता है। यदि धर्मसंघ और हिन्दुमहासभा से आर्यसमाज मिल कर नास्तिकवाद के विरुद्ध मोरचा लगायें तो हिन्दू जाति का कल्याण हो सकता है। हिन्दू जाति इस समय नतृत्व हीन भटक रही है।



सामयिक आलोचना—

कांग्रेस की नीति पर विहंगम दृष्टि

[ले०— वैद्यराज प० भागीरथजी शर्मा पुरोहित]

विक्षुब्ध भारत

कांग्रेस की नीति से देश के कोने-कोने में क्षोभ उत्पन्न हो रहा है यदि कांग्रेस ने मुस्लिम परस्तनीति न बदली तो भयंकर क्रांति होगी और आगामी चुनावमें कांग्रेस का अस्तित्व नष्ट हो जायगा। कांग्रेस के नेताओं को देश की मानसिक अवस्था पहिचाननी चाहिये। पुरानी संकीर्ण एवं असफल नीति छोड कर बहुमत का निरादर न करना चाहिये। देश क्षुब्ध है। उसका अंग भंग हुआ। अब उसकी संस्कृति को भी कांग्रेस की नीति से भारी धक्का लग रहा है। आर्य [हिन्दू] संस्कृति, सभ्यता, एवं भाषा से शून्य कोई भी तन्त्र अब यदि भारत वासियों को त्रस्त करेगा तो उसकी भयंकर प्रतिक्रिया के रूप में क्रान्ति की ज्वालायें अपना विकराल रूप धारण कर लेंगी।

सांस्कृतिक स्वराज्य और नेता

कांग्रेस के कर्णधारोंने देश के भौतिक स्वातन्त्र्य के दर्शन कराने का प्रयत्न किया परन्तु वास्तविक स्वतन्त्रता, सच्चा सुख हमारी संस्कृति की रक्षा एवं प्रचार में है। ऐसा स्वराज्य जो हमारी संस्कृति एवं धर्म का घातक हो वहतो महान् नरकतुल्य होगा इन नेताओं का कार्य समाप्त हो गया। स्वतन्त्रता के द्वार पर इन्होंने देश को खडा कर दिया परन्तु भारतीय संस्कृति सभ्यता एवं भाषानुरूप शासन में ये नेतागण अत्यन्त अयोग्य हैं। इनकी बुद्धि और हृदय भारतीय संस्कृति, सभ्यता, भाषा व धर्म को ग्रहण करने में असमर्थ हैं ये लेनिन, मार्क्स, वाशिंगटन, नेपालियन, महम्मद, ईसा के अधिक समीप हैं और कपिल कणाद, पातञ्जलादि तत्वदर्शी ऋषि-महर्षियों से कोसों दूर हैं।

कांग्रेस के इन नेताओं की कुशलता अंग्रेजों से लडने और उन को देश से निकाल में पर्याप्त की। उस लडाईमें वे विजयी हुए हैं। परन्तु एक दूसरा जो युद्ध प्रारम्भ हुआ है उस में इन को पग-पग पर पराजय ही हुई है और भविष्य में जो संग्राम होगा जिसका आधार पाकिस्तान स्थापित किया गया है उस में भी यदि इनका ही नेतृत्व रहा तो अवशिष्ट भारत भी नष्ट हो जायगा। बहुत उच्च ज्ञान मानव मात्र में एकता की भावना अवश्य उत्पन्न करता है। परन्तु सब मनुष्य बहुत उच्च ज्ञानी तो होही नहीं सकत और उच्च ज्ञान द्वारा समत्व भाव को प्राप्त होने वाले विरले ही होते हैं। इसके विपरीत धर्म के आश्रय से एक शुद्र एवं अज्ञानी पुरुष से लेकर उच्च मनुष्य में भी एक ही समय में अनेक देशों में परस्पर प्रेम व एकता होती देखी गई है। मनुष्य को मनुष्य से आबद्ध करनेमे धर्म ही सर्व सुलभ, सफल, स्वार्थ शून्य कारण बन जाता है इसलिये सम्प्रति परिस्थितिवश हमे भी अपन धर्म क आधार पर नीति युक्त कार्य करना होगा।

भारतीय तत्व की रक्षा— और कांग्रेस

बहुत से यह युक्ति देते हैं कि कांग्रेस मुस्लिम लीग सदस साम्प्रदायिक नहीं हो सकती और लीग के सदस कांग्रेस साम्प्रदायिक हो जाना कांग्रेस के आदर्शों का महापतन होगा इत्यादि युक्ति देकर, भारत के भविष्य को कलुषित कर रहे हैं। क्या कांग्रेस अपने आदर्शों की रक्षा के लिये भारत को विनष्ट व खड खड होने देना अंगीकार कर सकती थी? भारतकी रक्षार्थ सैकडों कांग्रेस नष्ट हो जावें तो कोई चिंता

(शेष पृष्ठ ८ पर)

पश्चिमी पंजाब से शरणार्थियों को लाने की अपर्याप्त व्यवस्था, सरकार की लापरवाही

[हमारे विशेष सम्वाददाता का प्रत्यक्षदर्शी वर्णन]

पश्चिमी पंजाब से हिन्दू-सिख शरणार्थियों को हटाये जाने की योजना पूर्णतः कार्यान्वित नहीं हो रही है। शरणार्थियों की समस्या की तुलना में सरकार की यातायात व्यवस्था अपर्याप्त है। अपने पंजाब के दौरे के बाद मेरा यह मत बना है कि शरणार्थियों की समस्या पर उतना ध्यान नहीं दिया गया जितना दिया जाना चाहिये।

पश्चिमी पंजाब का रेलवे यातायात भंग हुआ पड़ा है, अब शरणार्थियों को सड़कों और वायुयानों द्वारा ही निकाला जा सकता है यह मान लेने पर भी सरकारी वायुयान व्यवस्था द्वारा शरणार्थियों को हटाने का कार्य सीमित रूपसे ही किया गया है। अतः शरणार्थियों के लिये सड़क का मार्ग ही शेष रह गया है। परन्तु सड़कों की यात्रा की सुरक्षा और यात्रा के साधनों की व्यवस्था अब भी नहीं हुई। केन्द्रीय और प्रांतीय सरकारों के साधन अब भी पूरी तौर पर व्यवहार में नहीं आ रहे हैं।

अमृतसर में पहुंचने पर मुझे बताया गया कि अमृतसर से शरणार्थियों को लाने के लिए ३० मोटर नियत की गई थीं पर मैंने देखा कि ३० के स्थान पर १९ ट्रक ही काम कर रहे थे

पर्दे के दूसरी ओर

पश्चिमी पंजाब की सरकार अमृतसर से मुसलमानों को हटाने के लिये पूर्वी पंजाब सरकार की सहायता पर ही विश्वास नहीं किये है। उनकी सरकार को जनता के व्यक्तिगत प्रयासों से भी सहायता मिल रही है। मुस्लिम शरणार्थियों को लाने के लिए लाहौर और अमृतसर के बीच जो व्यक्तिगत लारियां और बसें चालू हैं उनपर पाकिस्तान सरकार ने अपने सैनिक दस्ते तैनात कर रक्खे हैं और इस प्रकार विश्वस्त संरक्षणों में पूर्वी पंजाब से मुस्लिम निकाले जाते हैं परन्तु पश्चिमी पंजाब से केवल कुछ सौ व्यक्ति ही इन सरकारी साधनों का उपयोग कर पाते हैं।

अरक्षित व अव्यवस्थित प्रबंध

अमृतसर में एक ऐसी विचित्र घटना हुई जिससे भारत सरकार द्वारा शरणार्थियों को हटाये जाने की समस्या की अवहेलना स्पष्ट हो गई। एक दिन १६७ लारियों का काफला अमृतसर से लाहौर जाने के लिये तय्यार किया गया। मोटरों के इस काफिले में दिल्ली तथा अन्य स्थानों से आई मोटरें; बसें और ट्रक थे। इस काफिले के साथ सेना तैनात की गई थी। अगले दिन नियत समय पर सेना काफिल साथ जाने के लिये तय्यार हो कर पहुँच गई, परन्तु मोटर ड्राइवरों ने आगे बढ़ने से इन्कार कर दिया, उन्हें बहुत कुछ समझाया गया परन्तु ड्राइवर न माने और मोटरें रुकी रहीं। एक ड्राइवर से जब मैंने भेंट की तो उसने मुझे बताया कि इस बड़े काफिले के लिये जो सैनिक तैनात किये गये हैं हमारे विचार से वे अपर्याप्त हैं और उनके पास रक्षा के लिये पर्याप्त साधन नहीं है। इस वाद विवाद में शरणार्थियों की समस्या खटाई में पड़ी रही और १६७ में से एक भी मोटर आगे नहीं बढ़ी। स्यालकोट के घातक हमले का जब से समाचार मिला है तब से पश्चिमी पंजाब में जाना प्रत्येक मोटर वाला खतरनाक समझता है। सरकार द्वारा उचित संरक्षण और नियन्त्रण न होने से शरणार्थियों की समस्या खटाई में है।

सैनिक यातायात व्यवस्था क्यों नहीं?

शरणार्थियों को पश्चिमी पंजाब से निकालने के लिये जन साधारण यही प्रश्न करता मिलता है कि इस कार्य के लिए सैनिक मोटर यातायात की व्यवस्था क्यों नहीं की जाती। पूर्वी पंजाब में इस समय जो सैनिक मोटरें हैं वे पर्याप्त नहीं हैं। परन्तु प्रश्न यह है कि भारत सरकार का रक्षा विभाग तथा संयुक्त सुरक्षा-परिषद् द्वारा शरणार्थियों को हटाने की योजना कार्यान्वित करने के लिये अन्य क्षेत्रों से पूर्वी पंजाब को ट्रक और बसों के भेजने की व्यवस्था क्यों नहीं की जाती? पूर्वी पंजाब से मुस्लिमों को सुरक्षित ट्रकों में ले जाया जा रहा है परन्तु पश्चिमी पंजाब से आनेवाले शरणार्थियों की रक्षा उसी रूप में क्यों नहीं की जाती पश्चिमी पंजाब को मुस्लिम शरणार्थी ले जाने वाली प्रत्येक लारी पर ४, ४ पूर्णतः सशस्त्र बलोची सैनिक प्रत्यक्ष देखे जा सकते है। पर इधर सैनिक संरक्षण अपर्याप्त है पूर्वी तथा पश्चिमी पंजाब से आने जाने वाले शरणार्थियों के सम्बन्धमें यह जो अन्तर है वह आखों से छिप नहीं सका। मैंने देखा पूर्वी पंजाब से जाने वाले शरणार्थी ट्रकों में अपने घरों का सब सामान लाद कर ले गये मैं ने उन के घर का सामान साइकिलें, सन्दूक, बिस्तरे, बर्तन, चारपाईयां और मिट्टी के बर्तन तक भी ट्रकों में लदकर जाते देखा। परन्तु पश्चिमी पंजाब से आने वाले शरणार्थियों को खाली हाथों आते ही देखा गया। बहुत से तो अपने साधारण कपड़े जो सोने के समय पहने जाते हैं पहिने देखेगये। अर्थात् उन्हें सोते से उठकर ही भागना पड़ा होगा।

(शेष पृष्ठ २ पर)

[पृष्ठ ६ का शेषांश]

नहीं। भारत की एकता भारतीयता की रक्षा, वैदिक संस्कृति एवं सम्यता, हमारी भाषा, संस्कृति एवं आर्यभाषा (हिन्दी) की रक्षा जो नहीं कर सकती उस संस्था को नष्ट हो जाना ही अच्छा है और न उसे भारत पर शासन करने का अधिकार है। वह तो विदेशियों के तुल्य ही है। आज आवाज आ रही है कि तुम अपनी संस्कृति सम्यता, धर्म व भाषा की रक्षार्थ हिंदुत्व के नाते रक्षा करने का प्रयत्न करोगे तो देश-द्रोही माने जाओगे और भयकर दड मिलेगा परन्तु मैं पूछता हूं यह देशद्रोह किसका है! स्वय देशद्रोह कर रहे हो और जो देश प्रेम कर रहे हैं उनको देशद्रोही कहा जा रहा है!!! जब तुम हमारे देश की रक्षा न कर सके, जब तुम हमारी भाषाकी रक्षा न कर सके, जब तुम हमारे प्राचीन इतिहासको हमारेसे पृथक् कर रहे हो जब तुम हमारे गोधन की रक्षा नहीं कर सकते तो तुम ही सबसे बढ कर देशद्रोही हो। क्यों न तुम पर देशद्रोह का अभियोग चलाया जावे। इस प्रकार की असमर्थ कांग्रेस के नष्ट होने से ही भारत का कल्याण है जिन्हों ने देश में रक्त की होली खेली, देश की संपदा जलादी भारत को खण्ड-खण्ड कर दिया उनको तो तुम अभीतक देशद्रोही न कह सके?

भविष्य की नीति

यदि कोई देश रंग भेद के कारण हमारे देश वासियों को अपने देश में कष्ट देगा तो हमें भी उसके उत्तर में उस देश वासियों के प्रति वैसाही उनसे व्यवहार करना पडेगा। यदि कोई देश किसी हिन्दू को हिन्दू होने के कारण कष्ट देगा तो हमे भी अपने देश में पीडित करने वाले धर्म के अनुयायियों के प्रति वही व्यवहार निश्चय से करना होगा अन्यथा हम अपने देश वासियों की मान मर्यादा की रक्षा में असमर्थ होने के कारण शासन के अयोग्य प्रमाणित हो जावेंगे।

नव-निर्माण.

भारत का जब हिन्दू और मुसलमान इन दो रूप में विभाजन हो गया तो कोई कारण नहीं कि अब भारत में आर्य (हिन्दू) धर्म के आधारपर आर्य (हिन्दू) संस्कृति के आधार पर और आर्य भाषा (हिन्दी) के आधार पर सामाजिक आर्थिक, राज नैतिक एवं शिक्षण संबधी व्यवस्था को न स्वीकार किया जावे। नाम मात्र के अल्प संख्यकों के लिये विशाल बहुमत की सम्यता संस्कृति व भाषा का तिरस्कार युक्ति संगत नहीं।

सांस्कृतिक उत्तराधिकार

भारतवर्ष आर्यों (हिन्दुओं) का ही देश है। १ अरब ९७ करोड २९ लाख ४७ वर्षों से आर्य इस भूमिपर निवास कर रहे हैं। यहीं ये उत्पन्न हुए यहींसे इन्होंने अखिल भूमण्डल पर अपनी सभ्यता का प्रचार किया। इसी देश में रहते हुए समस्त देशों को ज्ञान विज्ञान सिखाया। यहीं पर रहकर इन्होंने आज से ५००० वर्ष से पूर्व तक भूमण्डल पर चक्रवर्ती साम्राज्य स्थापित किया। इस भारत भूमि को सुन्दर शस्य स्यामल बनाया। भारत का कण-कण आर्योंके पवित्र इतिहास का चित्र है। भारत के गौरव को उन्नत करने के लिये इन्होंने अपना सर्वस्व इसपर अर्पित किया है। सृष्टि के प्रारम्भ से आजतक आर्यों (हिन्दुओं) का एक मात्र स्थान यही पवित्र भारत भूमि है। जब यहां कोई न रहता था उस समय आर्योंने इस देश को वास योग्य बनाया। जंगल साफ किये, पहाड खादे, सुरसरिता पवित्र सलिला जननी जाह्नवी–गंगाकी पवित्र धारा को इसके वक्षस्थल पर अमृत सिंचन करने के लिये प्रवाहित करके देश को समृद्ध शाली किया।

परन्तु हतभाग्य! आज इसके ही पुत्रों के द्वारा इसकी सुखसमृद्धि, इसकी सम्यता, संस्कृति, धर्म एवं भाषाका मर्दन होरहा है। इसके पुत्र आज इतने निष्ठुर और हृदय हीन होगये हैं कि गौ सदृश महोपकारी प्राणी वध को रोकने में असमर्थ हैं। इस महान अन्याय एवं अत्याचार को रोकने के लिये बडे-बडे नेताओं की वाणियां बन्द हैं। शेख अब्दुल्ला सदृश गो भक्षक का उद्धार करने के लिये तो प्रयत्न कर सकते हैं परन्तु निरपराध मारी जानेवाली गौओं का आर्त-नाद इनके हृदय को द्रवीभूत नहीं कर पाता। गौ तो भारत सम्पदा है, श्री है। इसका विनाश यदि न रुका तो भारत का सर्व नाश क्यों न हो?

वर्तमान परिस्थिति में कांग्रेस के नेताओं को यह समझ कर राजनीति से अपना हाथ खींच लेना चाहिये कि अपना कार्य भारत को स्वराज्य के द्वार पर खडा कर देना था वह पूर्ण होगया और भारत की शासन व्यवस्था, नीति, शिक्षा आदि हिन्दुओं के धर्म, सम्यता साहित्य एवं भाषा के अनुकूल ही होना चाहिये जिस के निमार्ण के लिये वे नितान्त अयोग्य हैं क्योंकि जन्म से ही विदेशी सम्यता में पले, विदेशों में शिक्षा प्राप्त की। अपनी भाषा पर उनका आधिपत्य नहीं। उनको अपने धर्म से किंचित परिचय नहीं अतएव वे निस्सदेह अयोग्यही हैं। भारतकेभविष्यको उज्वल करनेके लिये इन्हीं हिन्दुत्व के गुणोसे युक्त नेताओं के द्वारा ही भारत का कल्याण है। निस्संकोच हो कर पद प्राप्ति की आकांक्षा छोड भारत की उन्नति में अग्रसर होजाना चाहिये और यदि नेतृत्व की अब कामना है तो अपनी नीति में आमूल भी परिवर्तन कर के हिन्दुत्व निष्ठ नीति को अपनावें, नहीं तो कांग्रेस का पतन अवश्य-म्भावी है। कांग्रेस देश घातक नीति पर आरूढ रहे यह अब भारत के हिन्दू तथा उप निवेशों में बसे हिन्दू सहन नहीं कर सकते।

आर्य जगत्

स्वतंत्रता—दिवस

देहली—शिरोमणि सार्वदेशिक सभा ने सारे आर्य जगत को स्वतंत्रता दिवस मनाने का आदेश दिया था। केन्द्रीय कार्यालय बलिदान भवन में भी स्वतन्त्रता दिवस सम्पन्न हुआ। दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर के कार्य कर्ता श्री डा. वीरसेनजी, श्री किशोरीलालजी वकील, डा. उमेशचन्द्रजी स. आर्यावर्त, श्री स्ना. जय कुमारजी इस अवसर पर पधारे हुए थे। श्री गंगाप्रसादजी उपाध्याय, श्रीमती कलादेवीजी, श्री स्वामी ब्रह्ममुनिजी तो थे ही पताका रोहण एवं दीप मालिका का कार्य बडे आकर्षक ढंग से सम्पन्न हुआ। उपाध्यायजी व पधारे हुए अन्य आर्य बन्धुओंने स्वयं अपने हाथोंसे दीप मालिका का कार्य सम्पन्न किया और सारे आर्य जगत का प्रतिनिधित्व कर देश की स्वतन्त्रता का उत्सव मनाया।

पीसांगन, विजय नगर, नसीराबाद कैंट, जावद (ग्वा.) कारजा, बीकानेर, इन्दौर, अजमेर, आर्यसमाजों तथा आर्यवीरदलों की ओर से १५-८-४७ को शिरोमणि सार्वदेशिक सभा के आदेशानुसार स्वतन्त्रता दिवस मनाये जाने के समाचार प्राप्त हुए हैं। यज्ञ, पताकारोहण तथा स्वतन्त्रभारत के लिये शुभ कामना का कार्यक्रम सम्पन्न किया गया। इन्दौर, विजयनगर नसीराबाद, पीसांगन के आर्य वीरदलों ने स्वतन्त्र तथा नागरिक कार्यकर्ताओं के सहयोग रूप में अपने प्रदर्शन किये। कई स्थानों में स्वतन्त्रता दिवस के सम्पन्न करने का श्रेय ही आर्य वीरदलों को प्राप्त हुआ है।

—अजमेर में श्री चांदकरणजी शारदा, तथा श्री भगवान स्वरूपजी द्वारा विविध स्थानों पर ओ३म् पताकायें फहराई गई। श्री शारदाजी के सभापतित्व में एक सार्वजनिक सभा हुई जिसमें पाकिस्तान को विजय करने तथा महान मातृभूमि की गौरव रक्षा की प्रतिज्ञायें की गई।

—मुरादाबाद में आर्य वीर दल के सैनिकों ने १०१ साईकलों पर मशालें लिये हुए जलूस निकाला। २५० सैनिक उनके पीछे थे, कोरस गाते और सैनिक कवायद करते हुए माइक्रोफोन द्वारा जनता को सन्देश देते हुए स्वतन्त्रता दिवस मनाया

—महेश्वर गुरुकुल के ब्रह्मचारियों ने इस अवसर पर प्रात नगर में प्रभात फेरी लगाई और वृहद् यज्ञ किया। यज्ञ के पश्चात् कुलभूमि में स्थानीय आर्य समाज व प्रजा मण्डल के कार्यकर्त्ताओं की उपस्थिति में उत्सव मनाया गया।

मध्यान्ह में ब्रह्मचारियों सहित नगर कीर्तन निकाला गया। गुरुकुल—भवन पर वैदिक ओ३म् पताका तथा राष्ट्रीय ध्वज फहराये गये। सार्वजनिक सभा में गुरुकुल की ओर से श्री आचार्य लक्ष्मीनारायणजी का ओजस्वी भाषण हुआ। ब्रह्मचारियों का राष्ट्रीय गायन प्रशंसनीय रहा।

—सुजनगढ (बीकानेर) राजस्थान व मालवा प्रान्तीय आर्य कुमार परिषद का निर्वाचन १९-८-४७ को श्री प. सुखदवजी शास्त्री संगठन कर्ता केन्द्रीय कार्यालय आर्य कुमार परिषद की समुपस्थिति में सम्पन्न हुआ। प्रान्त की समस्त आर्य कुमार सभाओं से प्रान्तीय संगठन को सुदृढ बनाने की अपील की गई।

प्रधान श्री गंगाबिसनजी लाहोटी और श्री जीवानन्दजी आनन्द सिद्धान्त भास्कर निर्वाचित हुए।

—मुरादाबाद भारत वर्षीय आर्य कुमार परिषद कार्यालय की ओर से एक विज्ञप्ति द्वारा समस्त आर्य कुमार सभाओं से (१) संस्कृत निष्ठ हिन्दी को अविलम्ब राष्ट्र भाषा एवं नागरी लिपि को राष्ट्र लिपि स्वीकार किये जाने [२] गो वध का तुरन्त बन्द किये जाने (३) भारत वर्ष का नाम इण्डिया न रखकर आर्यावर्त रखे जाने, विषयक आन्दोलन को सक्रिय रूप देने के लिए २१ सितम्बर को हिन्दी तथा गौ दिवस मनाने की अपील की है। समस्त आर्य कुमार सभाओं का उपर्युक्त प्रस्ताव पास कर विधान परिषद प. नेहरू स.पटेल, केन्द्रीय कार्यालय मुरादाबाद भेजने चाहिए।

—महेश्वर गुरुकुल के आचार्य श्री लक्ष्मीनारायणजी शास्त्री ने बाल समुद्र (निमाड प्रान्त) में "वीर भोग्या वसुन्धरा" विषय पर ओजस्वी भाषण दिया। स्थानीय जनता पर सुन्दर प्रभाव पडा और भारतीय राष्ट्र की रक्षार्थ वीर बनने की जनता ने प्रतिज्ञा की।

—मुरादाबाद गंज स्टेशन रोड के तत्वावधान में लेडी डाक्टर श्रीमती यूना नियोनिया से मुअल्स एल एम. पी. कटक निवासिनी की शुद्धि की गई। उनका नाम उमावती रक्खा गया। आप रियासत रामपुर के अस्पताल में असिस्टन्ट लेडी डाक्टर हैं।

स्वतन्त्रता दिवस समारोह
गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय वृन्दावन

१४ अगस्त की मध्यरात्रि को जब कि देश के गण्यमान्य नेता लोग स्वराज्य सत्ता लेने का उपक्रम कर रहे थे, घंटानाद व शंख के राष्ट्रिय सैनिकों का स्वातन्त्र्य घोष सम्पूर्ण गुरुकुल में हुआ जिसमें कि सर्व प्रथम अथर्व वेद के पृथिवी सूक्त व कुछ स्वराज्य सूक्त के मन्त्रों का पाठ ब्र. सत्यपालजी द्वारा किया गया।

१५ अगस्त को ५-४५ से ६-४५ तक प्रभात फेरी राजपुर ग्राम व सम्पूर्ण गुरुकुल में लगाई गई। वृहद् यज्ञ का आयोजन श्री पं. रामेश्वर दयालुजी शास्त्री सिद्धान्त शिरोमणि की अध्यक्षता में किया गया जिसमें कि ऋग्वेद में से स्वराज्य सूक्त के विशेष मन्त्रों से आहुति दी गई।

तदनन्तर ध्वजस्थल पर राष्ट्रिय ध्वजा रोहण का कार्य सम्पन्न किया गया। गुरुकुल के विशेष अधिकारियों को आर्य वीर दल द्वारा सलामी देने के बाद राष्ट्रिय मन्त्र "आ ब्रह्मन् ब्राह्मणा." का सम्मिलित पाठ किया गया। तदनन्तर श्री श्रीरामजी मुख्याधिष्ठाता के कर कमलों से ध्वजोत्तोलन सम्पन्न हुआ। ततः श्री. स्ना. रामेश्वर दयालुजी शास्त्री के बनाये हुये गीत से ध्वज वन्दना करने के पश्चात् श्री आचार्य स्ना. विश्वेश्वरजी का सुललित व सुन्दर छोटासा भाषण हुआ। जिसमें उन्होंने वैदिक संस्कृति को वेदानुसार विश्वधारा बताकर "कृण्वन्तो विश्वमार्यम्" के उद्देश्य को पूर्ण करने के प्रति सबका ध्यान आकृष्ट किया। उनके पश्चात् श्री श्रीरामजी मुख्याधिष्ठाता श्री. स्ना. रामेश्वर दयालुजी शास्त्री, व श्री स्ना नरदेवजी आयुर्वेद शिरोमणि के भी मनोहारि व शिक्षाप्रद भाषण हुए। अन्ततः ध्वजाभिवादन व शान्तिपाठ के साथ यह कार्य समाप्त किया गया। यह सब कार्य ओम् पताका स्थल के पास की सम्पन्न हुआ जहां कि ओम् पताका भी आर्य संस्कृति का सन्देश लिए गगन में पहिले से ही व्याप्त थी।

मध्याह्न सब कुलवासी वृन्दावन नगर के कार्यों में सम्मिलित रहे। रात्रि में दीपमालिका का आयोजन किया गया।

ब्र. मोहन
प्रधान मन्त्री विद्या परिषद

—कारंजा आर्य समाज ने गुण्डों द्वारा भगाई ३ लड़कियों का पता लगाकर उन्हें अपने संरक्षण में ले लिया। १ इन्दिराबाई को उस के पिता के पास पहुंचा दिया गया, २ वीणा की शादी हिन्दू युवक से कर दी गई, ३ यशोदा को उसकी बहिन के संरक्षण में दे दिया है।

मध्य-भारत—

स्वतंत्रतासे भूषित राजगढ़।

राजगढ़ तहसील के दफ्तर के समक्ष उस समय उत्साह अभूत पूर्व दृष्टि गोचर होता था जिस समय १'५ अगस्त को स्वतंत्रता दिवस का उत्सव मनाने के लिये भारत उपनिवेश का झन्डा लहराया गया राजगढ़ राज्य कोन्सिल के दीवान व प्रेसिडेन्ट और मेम्बर्स उस समारोह के समय उपस्थित थे राजगढ़ के गण्य मान नागरिक सुन्दर वेश धारण किये हुए बहुत बड़ी संख्या में उपस्थित थे और समयानुकूल भाषण हुए। तदनन्तर जुलूस तहसील दफ्तर के सामने से चला और कस्बे की प्रमुख सड़कोंपरसे होता हुआ गंज में आकर समाप्त होगया।

१५ अगस्त को राज्य भरके समस्त बालकों को लगभग २०००) रु. की मिठाई बांटी गई और स्कूलों में संवाद, भाषण, खेल इत्यादि के बड़े सुन्दर कार्य क्रम रहे।

राजगढ़ तथा अन्य कस्बों व ग्रामों में रात्रि को दीप माला द्वारा प्रकाश किया गया।

मुद्रक—श्रीधर पण्डित
चिंतामणि प्रिंटिंग प्रेस, ८९ जसवंतगंज इन्दौर.

प्रकाशक—किशोरीलाल गोयल,
आर्यावर्त कार्यालय, ७२ महारानी रोड इन्दौर.

आर्य कुमारों को शुभ सन्देश

प्रिय आर्य कुमारो !

भारतीय भावी राष्ट्र निर्माण में तुम्हारा कितना महत्व है यह आज देश की अन्तरात्मा समझ चुकी है, राष्ट्र चेतना में नवयुवकों का बड़ा स्थान है। देश की सच्ची और बड़ी सेवा करने के लिए देश का सच्चे, दृढ़ विश्वासी, आत्म निर्भर, सदाचारी नवयुवकों और श्रेष्ठ कुमारों की महती आवश्यकता है। यदि तुम चाहते हो कि हमारे राष्ट्र की जल, स्थल व्योम-वर्तिनी सेनायें सर्वदा विजयिनी हों, हमारे राष्ट्र का गौरव, वैभव तथा प्राबल्य एवं यश अक्षय किंवा विशाल हो तो अपने यहां अनविलम्ब आर्य कुमार सभा की स्थापना करो तथा स्थापित सभाओं में सदस्य बन जाओ। आर्य कुमार सभा आपको सच्चे मित्र, सदाचारी शिक्षक, उत्तम निरोग विचार, सादा जीवन प्रदान करेगी। और तुम देश के सच्चे क्रिया शील उपासक बन कर न केवल अपने देश अपितु कुल और आर्य जाति का भी नाम उज्वल कर सकोगे, अन्याय अत्याचार मत सहो, अन्याय और अत्याचारी को संसार से मिटा दो।

सुखदेव शास्त्री

आर्यावर्त



श्रावणी—पर्व

[कविराज— स्ना० रत्नाकर शास्त्री]

आया पर्व महान्
ले अध्यात्म सुधा का प्याला देने जीवन दान
आया पर्व महान्

पुण्य-आर्य-आदर्श-भावना के गौरव का चित्र
वैदिक धर्म ध्वजाऽऽराधन में पावन मनका मित्र
ब्रह्मव्रती मानव कक्षा का अविरत स्रोत विचित्र
चातुर्वर्ण्य मानसोन्नति के उद्देश्यों का प्राण
आया पव महान्

कृषक जनों की आशा लतिका का जो ललित विहान
प्रकृति नटी की शोभावलि का जो अनुपम आख्यान
वर्षा ऋतु की अनुकम्पा का प्रम पूर्ण सम्मान
सकल जनों को हर्षित होकर करने हर्ष प्रदान
आया पर्व महान्

भारतीय-सर्वोच्च-सभ्यता वैभव का आधार
मानव जीवन की नैया का सुन्दर तम पतवार
मातृ भूमि रक्षा बन्धन का मंगल मय उपचार
राष्ट्र जागरण नव वेला का प्रात काल महान्
आया पर्व महान्

वेद वीणा

(आचार्य द्विजेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री मेरठ)

प्रभो वेद वीणा बजे विश्व भर मे
सुन मत्र झकार प्रत्यक घर में

पिय प्रम पीयूष मिल प्रीति स सब
करे स्नान ससार शुभ स्नह सर में
बध विश्व बन्धुत्व की श्रखला म
करें रक्त रजित न धरणी समर में

उगे व्योममें वेदका दिव्य भानु
खिले पुण्य पकज मनो मानसर में
अमर शान्ति का गान गूज गगन में
सुधासी बरसन लग सप्त स्वर में

पताका उड़े ओम की व्योम में फिर
बहे विश्व स्वाधीनता की लहर में
यही कामना थी दयानन्द ऋषि की
यही गूज थी उसके प्रत्येक स्वर में

प्रभो वेद वीणा बजे विश्वभर में
सुने मत्र झकार प्रत्येक घर में

दिनांक ७ सितबर ४७ मूल्य ५) वार्षिक
सम्पादकः— स्नातक उमेशचन्द्र श्रावणी अक सम्पादक—स्नातक जयकुमार
अक स २३ एक अक =)

—••—दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दोर का मुखपत्र—००—

आज का क्षोभ हर्षक पश्चिमी पंजाब का नृशंस हत्या काण्ड आपके कर्तव्य को चुनौती दे रहा है

पश्चिमी पजाब में जो कुछ हुआ है उस पर वाद-विवाद करने का अब समय नहीं है। यदि हम अपने को हिंदुत्वकी अभिमानी सैनिक समझते हैं हिन्दुत्व की रक्षा हमारा जीवन सर्वस्व है तो आज हमारा एक ही कर्तव्य है और वह यह कि हम कहीं भी हों किसी भी अवस्था में हों पजाव के निस्सहाय शरणार्थियों के लिये यथा शक्ति सहायता पहुँचाये आर्यावर्त पंजाव सहायता निधि में १५००० पन्द्रह हजार तक एकत्रित हो कर पहुँच चुका है। आप का भावना से दिया हुआ एक पैसा भी हजारों के तुल्य है यदि आप और कुछ नहीं कर सकते तो इस निधि में धन देकर इस कर्तव्य यज्ञ को तो पूरा कर ही सकते हैं।

विक्षुब्ध, विदग्ध, बेबस पंजाब आप की सहायता के लिये टक टकी से देख रहा है यदि हम कर्तव्य की पुकार सुनरहे हैं तो हमें अपना धन इस कार्य लिए समर्पण कर देना चाहिए।

आर्यावर्त पंजाब सहायता निधि में धन देकर अपने कर्तव्य की पूर्ति कीजिए।

—सम्पादक उमेशचन्द्र

विलम्ब क्यों

हमने १७ अगस्त के अक में २४ ता. का अक बन्द रखने और ३१ अगस्त का अक श्रावणी अक के रूप में निकालने की सूचना दी थी पर हमें खेद है अनिवार्य कारणों से हम ३१ ता. अंक नहीं निकाल सके।

पजाब की आकस्मिक साम्प्रदायिक परिस्थिति का अध्ययन करन तथा शरणार्थियों की सेवार्थ दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन की ओर से सम्पादक स्नातक उमेशचन्द्रजी को पंजाब जाना पडा। श्री सम्पादकजी के पजाब जाने तथा स्थानीय प्रेस की कठिनाइयों से उक्त अंक नहीं निकल सका। हम आपको विश्वास दिलाते हैं कि निकट भविष्य में ही विगतांक की क्षति पूर्ति करने का प्रयत्न करेंगे। आपके सहयोग एव धैर्य के लिए हम सदैव प्रार्थी हैं।

व्यवस्थापक— आर्यावर्त

(शेष पृष्ठ १० का)

"गुरौ विमुखतां याते विमुखाः सर्वदेवता।
भवन्ति क्रियमाणञ्च पुण्य पाप हि जायते॥"

जब गुरु अप्रसन्न हो जाता है तो सब देवता भी रुष्ट हो जाते हैं और पुण्य कर्म भी पाप में परिणत हो जाते हैं।

गुरु यो मान्यवैरन्यैः समं पश्यति मोहतः।
न तस्यास्मिन् भवेल्लोके सुखंनैव परत्र वा॥

जो व्यक्ति अपने गुरु को साधारण मनुष्य की भांति मानता है उसे इस लोक और परलोक में शान्ति नहीं होती।

"एकाक्षर प्रदातारं गुरु यो नैव मन्यते।
समूढा नरक यान्ति यावदाभूति सप्लवम्॥"

जो अक्षर सिखाने वाले गुरु की अवहेलना करता है वह प्रलयपर्यंत नरक में रहता है।

"कृतघ्नानां हि ये लोका ये लोका ब्रह्मघातिनाम्
मृत्वातानभियाति गुरुद्रोहपरो नरः॥"

कृतघ्नी और ब्रह्महत्या करनेवालों की जो गति होती है वही गति गुरूद्रोह करने वाले की भी होती है। इत्यादि सैकडों श्लोक गुरु महिमा के हमारे प्राचीन आर्षग्रंथो में उपलब्ध हैं सब को वहां लिखने का स्थान नहीं है। यदि गुरुमाहात्म्य-सम्बन्धी सभी प्राचीन वचनों को संग्रह किया जाये तो एक बडा ग्रन्थ तैयार हो सकता है। यहां तो हमने केवल अपने अर्वाचीन भारतीय विद्यार्थियों के सम्मुख वर्तमान गुरुशिष्य परम्परा को हल करने एवं इस पर मनन करने को सामग्री ही उपस्थित की है।

आशा है विवेक शील, सज्जन श्रावणी एव उपाकर्म के इस पवित्र पर्व पर इस विषय पर भी विचार करेंगे।

वेद वाणी

(ले०— व्याख्यान वाचस्पति पं. बिहारीलालजी शास्त्री काव्यतीर्थ)

सृष्टि की आदि में परमात्मा ने मनुष्यों के कल्याण के लिये 'वेद' ज्ञान दिया। उस समय से लेकर इस समय तक वैदिक रश्मियां हमारे जीवन को पवित्र कर रही हैं। वेद हमारे पथ प्रदर्शक हैं, वे ज्ञान के भण्डार हैं।

भारतवर्ष में वेदों का नाम बड़ी श्रद्धा से लिया जाता है—उनको "वेद भगवान्" से सम्बोधन करते हैं। अभाग्यवश लोग वेद से दूर होते गये—इसी कारण वे महान् अंधकार में फँस गये उनके जीवन दुःखी हो रहे हैं। अज्ञान में फँस कर कौन सुख की आशा कर सकता।

भारतवर्ष में इस समय वेदों के विषय में अनेकों भ्रम फैले हुये हैं। यह हमारा परम सौभाग्य है कि नवीन युग के विधाता महर्षि दयानन्द ने हमारे नेत्र खोले और वेदों का मान बढ़ाया। उन्होंने हमको बताया कि वेद क्या हैं? किस प्रकार उसके अनुकूल चल कर हम अपने जीवन को पवित्र बना सकते हैं।

वेद क्या हैं?

अब यह प्रश्न उठता है कि वेद क्या है? श्रीसायणाचार्य जी महाराज तैत्तिरीय संहिता भाष्य भूमिका पृ० २ में लिखते है—

प्रत्यक्षेणानुमित्या वा यस्तूपायो न विद्यते एवं विदन्तिवेदेन तस्माद्वेदस्य वेदता॥ इष्टप्राप्त्यनिष्टपरिहारयोरलौकिकमुपायंयो ग्रन्थो वेदयति सवेदः।

महर्षि दयानन्द अपने अमूल्य ग्रन्थ ऋग्वेदादि भाष्यभूमिका में दर्शाते हैं :—

विदन्ति जानन्ति विद्यन्ते भवन्ति विन्दन्ति अथवा विन्दन्ते लभन्ते विन्दन्ति विचारयन्ति सर्वे मनुष्याः। सर्वाः सत्यविद्या यैर्येषु— वा तथा विद्वांश्च भवन्ति ते वेदाः।

प्रत्यक्ष और अनुमान से जो उपाय न जाना जा सके। उस परोक्ष उपाय को जो बताते हैं वह वेद हैं।

जिनसे वा जिनमें मनुष्य सब पदार्थों को जानते हैं। जिनसे विद्वान् होते वा जिनमें ज्ञान प्राप्त करते हैं। वा जिनमें विचार करते हैं वे वेद हैं।

तात्पर्य यह है कि परमार्थ सिद्धि के अलौकिक उपाय को बताने वाले, परोक्ष का ज्ञान कराने वाले, अगम ज्ञान का प्रकट करने वाले ग्रन्थ वेद हैं। वे अपौरुषेय हैं। स्वतः प्रमाण हैं। ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, सामवेद, अथर्ववेद, नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं। जो लिखित प्रकाशित कण्ठस्थ सब रूप में एक ही प्रकार से पाये जाते हैं।

वेद पाठियों की कृपा से वेदों के पाठ सुरक्षित चले आये हैं। उनमें अब तक कोई भेद नहीं पड़ा है। व्याकरण आदि ग्रन्थ वेद की रक्षा के लिये विद्यमान हैं। यदि कहीं कोई भूल हो तो वह ठीक हो सकती है। अभी तक वेद को कण्ठ रखनेवाले पंडित भी हैं। अतः वेद किसी प्रकार भी अशुद्ध नहीं हो सके हैं।

वेदों की शाखायें

श्री स्वामी दयानन्द जी का मत है कि वेदों की ११२७ शाखायें हैं। शाखायें—वेदों का व्याख्यान अर्थात् प्रवचन हैं। मुख्य वेद नहीं। और इसके विरुद्ध पौराणिक पंडितों का मत है कि सब शाखायें ११३१ वेद ही हैं। जो उचित नहीं। बस जो मूल चार वेद आदिम काल में थे और जिनके पाठ भेद से शाखायें रची गई, वही वेद प्रामाणिक हैं। तदनुकूलही शाखाओं का प्रमाण हो सकता है। यही श्री स्वामी जी ने लिखा है। वेदों की उन्हीं संहिताओं को सब पौराणिक भी मुख्य मानते हैं जिन्हें कि श्री स्वामी जी ने माना है। वे ही संहितायें लिखित रूप में भी सैकड़ों वर्षों से चली आरही हैं। उन्हें ही वेद पाठी कंठस्थ करते हैं। जिन्हें स्वामी जी ने शाखा कहा है, उनकी केवल संख्यामात्र ही पुस्तकों में मिलती हैं। पुस्तक रूप में बहुत कम शाखायें रह गया हैं।

शाखायें कैसे बनीं?

आरम्भ में वेदों को कंठ किया जाता था। कंठ कराने वाले कुलपति वेदार्थ को समझाने के लिये वेद के मूल पद के स्थान पर पर्यायवाची शब्द लगा कर कंठ करा देते थे। जैसे कि.—

"सचिविदम् सखायम्"— ऋ० १०।७१।६ "सखिविदम् सखायम्" तै० आरण्यक १।३।१ "भातृव्यस्य-वधाय"—यजुर्वेद १।१८। "द्विषतोवधाय"—१।३ क० य०।

साथ ही जब आर्य लोगों का अनार्य लोगों से मेल हुआ तो उन अनार्य लोगों ने वेदों का पाठ बदल कर नये वेद रचने आरम्भ किये जैसे कि कृष्ण यजुर्वेद, असली वेद की नकल अनार्यों ने बनाई। अतः स्वामी जी महाराज शाखाओं के झगडे में न पड कर उन्हीं ग्रन्थों को वेद स्वीकार करते हैं जो वेद नाम से सब में प्रसिद्ध हैं। उपलब्ध हैं। सर्वमान्य हैं। यदि उनका नाम भी शाखा है तो यह नाम उस शाखा की गडबडी के काल में ही पड़ा है। शाखावालोंने इन मूल वेदों को भी शाखा ही कहना प्रारम्भ कर दिया है। ऋषि दयानन्द का तात्पर्य तो इतनाही है कि ऋग्वेद चाहे उसका नाम शाकल वा वाष्कल शाखा कहो वा संहिता, यजुर्वेद चाहे उसको माध्यन्दिनी शाखा कहो, साम चाहे उसे कौथुमी शाखा के नाम से ही पुकारा जाय, अथर्ववेद का नाम चाहे शौनक शाखाही रख लीजिये यही मान्य हैं। अन्य शाखायें प्रामाणिक नहीं। उनमें मिलावट है। गडबडी है, इन शाखाओं के लोप हो जाने का कारण वास्तव में यही प्रतीत होता है, कि यह शाखायें वैदिक विद्वानों में प्रामाणिक नहीं मानी गई थी।

वेद और ब्राह्मण

अब एक विवाद है कि ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थ भी वेद हैं या नहीं ? क्योंकि पौराणिक विद्वान् ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों को भी वेद मानते हैं यथा "मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेद नामधेयम्" । श्रीसायणाचार्य जी ने मन्त्र भाग और ब्राह्मण भाग दोनों ही को वद माना है। परन्तु श्रीस्वामी दयानन्द जी ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों को वेद की व्याख्याही मानते हैं। श्रीस्वामीजी का आशय वेद न मानने से यही है कि ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थ अपौरुषेय नहीं। व्याख्या से भी इतना ही तात्पर्य है कि यह ग्रंथ वेदों का आशय प्रकट करते हैं।

अब यह तो प्रत्यक्ष सिद्ध है कि ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थ अपौरुषेय नहीं, किन्तु ऋषि कृत हैं। पौराणिक लोग जहां वेदों का प्रादुर्भाव ब्रह्मा ही से मानते हैं वहां ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थों का ऋषियों से। रहा वेद का कहना सो तो यह वेदोंकी प्रतिष्ठा देखकर लोगों ने प्रत्येक प्रतिष्ठित ग्रन्थ को वेद कहना प्रारम्भ कर दिया। राबर्ट नौबिल' एक ईसाई पादरी ने इञ्जील का प्रचार ईसुर्वेद कह कर किया। तामिल वेद नाम की पुस्तक दक्षिण में लिखी गई, जिसका हिन्दी भाषान्तर भी बिकता है। गोपथ ब्राह्मण (१।१०) में सर्प वेद, पिशाच वेद आदि का भी वर्णन है। महाभारत को भी लोग वेद कहने लगे। वर्तमान में तो पौराणिक पंडित प्रत्येक संस्कृत ग्रन्थ को ही वदवत मान लेते हैं। इसलिये इस गड्डलिका प्रवाह का प्रमाण नहीं माना जा सकता है। आपस्तम्ब के समय ब्राह्मण ग्रन्थ भी वेद कहलाने लगे होंगे। वास्तव मे तो यह व्याख्यान ही हैं—वेद मन्त्र को प्रतीक रख कर बताते हैं कि इससे यह विधि करनी चाहिये। इससे यह विधि हो। शतपथ ब्राह्मण में यजुर्वेद के मन्त्रों की व्याख्या भी कहीं कहीं विद्यमान है।

वेदों का ज्ञान कैसे हुआ

अग्नि वायु, आदित्य और अंगिरा इन चार ऋषियों द्वारा ४ वेदों का प्रकाश हुआ। प्रमाण ये हैं:—

अग्नेर्ऋग्वेदोवायोर्यजुर्वेदः सूर्यात् सामवेद (शतपथ) **अग्नेर्ऋचो वायोर्यजूंषि सामान्यदित्यात्** छान्दोग्योपनिषद्। **अग्निवायुरविभ्यस्तु त्रयं ब्रह्म सनातनम्। दुदोह यज्ञ सिद्ध्यर्थ ऋग्यजुः साम लक्षणम्।** (मनु०)

कुछ लोगों का आक्षेप है प्रथम ब्रह्मा से वेद प्रकट हुए वे निम्न प्रमाण अपने पक्ष के समर्थन में देते हैं:—

यो ब्रह्मणे प्रथमो मा अविन्दत। ऋ० (१।१०।१०५) **यो ब्रह्माणं विदधाति पूर्वं यो वै वेदांश्च प्रहिणोति तस्मै।** (श्वे० ६।१८।)

ब्रह्मा के अर्थ को न समझने के कारण यह भ्रम उत्पन्न हुआ। चारों वेदों के ज्ञाता को ब्रह्मा कहते हैं। यज्ञ में अथर्ववेदज्ञ विद्वान् ब्रह्मा होता है।

अथर्वाङ्गिरोवेदं ब्राह्मणम्" (गो० पू० २।२४) **सृष्टि के आदि में तदण्डमभवद्धैम सहस्रांशु समप्रभम्। तस्मिन् जज्ञे स्वयं ब्रह्मा सर्व लोक पिता महः।** (मनु०) यहां ब्रह्मा नाम है परमेष्ठी मंडल का, जिसका विकास यह सौर जगत् है। इस जड ब्रह्मा में वेदों के सब शब्द इसी प्रकार गुप्त थे जैसे कि "ईथर" में आज भी शब्द वर्तमान रहते हैं। चेतन सृष्टि का ब्रह्मा चारों वेदों के प्रकाश के उपरान्त होता है। वह अग्नि, वायु, आदित्य अंगिरा ऋषियों से यज्ञ सिद्ध्यर्थ वेदों का दोहन करता है। अर्थात उनसे वेद प्राप्त करता है चारों वेदो का ज्ञाता ही ब्रह्मा कहाता है। उपनिषद् (मुडक) में जिस ब्रह्मा अथर्वा अगिरा भरद्वाज आदिका का वर्णन है। यह वेदों के प्रकाशित होने के पश्चात् की परम्परा है। ये दूसरे अथर्वा अंगिरा आदि थे। अतः सिद्धान्ततः यही बात ठहरती है कि मनुष्यों में वेद का प्रकाश करने वाले अग्नि आदि चार ऋषि ही थे। देव सृष्टि का "विश्वस्य कर्त्ता भुवनस्यगोप्ता" ब्रह्मा वह परमेष्ठी मंडल ही था। ईश्वर की रचना शक्ति भी ब्रह्मा कहाती है। यजुर्वेद सामवेद में "त्वामग्ने पुष्करा दध्यर्थवा निरमन्थत" तथा यहीं ११ में "तमुत्वा दध्यङ् ऋषिः पुत्रः अथर्वणः" यहां जल से अग्नि का आविष्कारक अथर्वा तथा उसका पुत्र दध्यङ् दो का वर्णन है। ये अथर्वा और दध्यङ् चेतन मनुष्य नहीं किन्तु प्राकृतिक शक्तियां हैं। ऐसे बहुत से गम्भीर विषय विचारणीय हैं। अथर्वा नाम प्राण का भी है।

प्राणोऽथर्वा [महीधर भाष्य]

वेदों में क्या है ?

वेदों में क्या है यह प्रश्न तो इस प्रकार करना चाहिये कि वेदों में क्या नहीं है ? वास्तव में वेदों में सब कुछ है।

भूतं भव्यं भविष्यञ्च सर्वं वेदात्प्रसिद्ध्यति।

भूत, वर्तमान और भविष्य सब का बीज वद में निहित है। वेदों में अक्षरारम्भ से लेकर उच्चकोटि तक का ज्ञान विद्यमान है।

अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्यदेवमृत्विजम्। होतारम् रत्नधातमम्।

इस ऋग् मन्त्र में अ, इ, ई, उ, ऋ, ए, ओ, सब स्वर उपस्थित हैं। वर्णमाला के प्रथम अक्षर "अ" से वेद का प्रारम्भ होता है। वेद में ज्ञान विज्ञान प्रज्ञान, मनुष्य को जितना ज्ञातव्य है, मिलेगा। अध्यात्म ज्ञान के तो वेद भण्डार ही हैं। सूक्ष्म से सूक्ष्म आध्यात्मिक रहस्य वेदों में हैं। कबीर जैसे सत और बडे बडे सूफियों के रहस्यमय वर्णन वेदों में पाये जाते हैं। अतएव श्रीसायणाचार्य जी लिखते हैं:—

'चतुर्दश विद्या स्थान पारिशीलनोपेतः पुरुषो वेदार्थरहस्यं सम्यग् जानाति।''

चौदह विद्या निधान मनुष्य वदार्थ के रहस्य को जान सकता है।

यदि वेद में चौदह विद्याओं से भी अधिक ज्ञान न होता तो फिर चौदह विद्याओं के जानने वाले को वेदार्थ समझने योग्य क्यों कहा जाता।

वेद काव्य हैं। गद्य (Prose), पद्य (Poetry) और गेय (Song) रूप में वेद हैं। वेदों में अलंकार, रस, रीति

[शेष पृष्ठ ११ पर]

—: वेदों की ओर :—

(ले०— श्री. प्रो. सूर्यदेवजी शर्मा सि. शास्त्री साहित्यालंकार M. A. L. T.)

उपस्थित लेख के लेखक आर्य समाज के प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् एवं शिक्षा शास्त्री हैं इस लेख में आपने विश्व के सम्पूर्ण धर्म ग्रन्थों की समालोचना करते हुए प्राचीनतम वेदोंकी उत्कृष्टता पर उत्तम प्रकाश डाला है

—सम्पादक.

जैसा अमेरिका के प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् लेखक ऐमरसन ने लिखा है, "संसार में विचारही राज्य किया करते हैं" अर्थात् किसी राष्ट्र के उत्तम मस्तिष्क जिस विचार धारा का प्रादुर्भाव करते हैं उसीमें वह राष्ट्र और समस्त मानव जाति प्रवाहित होने लगती है। आधुनिक जगत में विद्वन्मण्डल की विचारधारा का प्रवाह किधर को प्रवाहित हो रहा है इसका थोडासाभी विचार करने से पता चलेगा कि जहां एक ओर पाश्चात्य विज्ञान के चमत्कारपूर्ण आविष्कारोंने संसार के भौतिक विचारवादी मस्तिष्कों को आकृष्ट किया है वहां आध्यात्मिक जगत की क्रीडा स्थली में वे खिलाडी भी सम्मुख आये हैं जो उस वैज्ञानिक जगत् से उपरत होकर आध्यात्मिक शांति की खोज में वर्षों इतस्ततः परिभ्रमण कर चुके हैं, और जिन्होंने वैज्ञानिक जगत् पर भी आध्यात्मिकता की छाप लगादी है। शिकागो विश्वविद्यालय के ख्यातनामा प्रोफेसर फ्रौस्ट ने अपने ६५ वर्ष के अनुभव के पश्चात् यही लिखा है:-

प्रकृति में किसी चेतनशक्ति का कार्य अवश्य होरहा है। उसको न मानना भौतिक विज्ञान के सिद्धान्तों की अवहेलना करना है। केवल पश्चिम के भौतिक विज्ञान से अब काम चलने का नहीं, जब तक कि उसके साथ में सच्चा धर्म सम्मिलित न हो। इंग्लैंड के प्रसिद्ध विज्ञानवेत्ता सर आलीवर लौज और प्रो. हक्सले के भी यही विचार हैं:—

"सच्चा विज्ञान और सच्चा धर्म जुडवाँ बहनें हैं, इनको एक दूसरे से पृथक् करना दोनों के नाश का कारण होगा"।

अगस्त सन १९१४ में इगलैंड में एक विज्ञान सप्ताह मनाया गया था जिसमें सात बडे बडे वैज्ञानिकोंके व्याख्यान केवल धर्म और विज्ञान के ऊपर रक्खे गये थे इनमें सर ओलिवर लौज डॉ. फर्मिंग, प्रो हुल, प्रो. थामसन इत्यादि सब ने विज्ञान की उद्देश्य सिद्धि के लिये ईश्वर सत्ता को माना। प्रो० थौमसन ने अन्त में जो परिणाम निकाला, वह बडाही महत्वपूर्ण है। वह कहता है कि धर्म और विज्ञान दोनों के पारस्परिक संयोग से ही विश्व का काम चल सकता है। क्यों कि वर्तमान समय में प्रचलित लगभग सभी मतों में यह तीन बातें मुख्य हैं–(१) ईश्वर की सत्ता (२) जीव की अमरता (३) मनुष्यों में दया आदि गुणोंकी महत्ता। इसी प्रकार अब तक विज्ञान के निश्चित नियम यह हैं १ प्रकृति का अविनाशित्व (इम्मोर्टेलिटी) २ रासायनिक तत्वों का नित्यता ३ शक्ति की नित्यता, इत्यादि। इस प्रकार धर्म और विज्ञान की इन सत्ताइयों में परस्पर विरोध कहा है। दोनों के यह सिद्धान्त मिलकरही मनुष्य जाति का कल्याण कर सकता हैं। अहा! प्रो० थौमसन के कथनानुसार मनुष्य जाति का कल्याण करनेवाला वही धर्म होगा, जिसमें उपरोक्त सब सिद्धान्त पाये जाते हों। पाठको! आपने देखा वह कौनसा धर्म है जिसमें १ ईश्वरकी सत्ता २ जीव की अमरता ३ प्रकृति का अविनाशित्व ४ शक्ति की नित्यता ५ मनुष्य में दया आदि गुण पाये जाते हों। यह तो हमारा वैदिक धर्म ही है जिसका समर्थन आज योरोपके बडे बडे वैज्ञानिक कर रहे हैं। यही नहीं, किन्तु सन १९२७ ई० में होनेवाली अमेरिका की एक सर्व धर्म परिषद् में भी इसी विषयपर विचार किया गया था। उसमें प्राचीन और नवीन संसार के लगभग सभी मतों के प्रतिनिधि विद्वान विचारक और वैज्ञानिकोंने उपस्थित होकर संसार में होनेवाली धर्म और विज्ञान की कलह को किस प्रकार मिटाया जाय और संसार का सार्वभौम भावी धर्म क्या हो इसी पर विचार किया था। कई दिनों के विवाद के पश्चात वे इस निर्णय पर पहुंचे थे कि संसार का भावी धर्म वही हो सकता है और उसीको सब मनुष्य समाज मानेगा जिसमें निम्न लिखित चार बातें पाई जायंगी १ समानता का भाव २ विश्वव्यापी भ्रातृ भाव ३ सर्वांगीण उन्नति के साधन ४ वैज्ञानिक आधार।

इन उपरोक्त बातों को लेकर यदि हम वर्तमान प्रचलित बडे बडे मतों को देखें और ज्ञात करना चाहें कि इनमें से कौनसा मत संसार का भावी धर्म होगा तो हमें पता चलेगा कि इनमें से पहली तीन बातें तो कई मतों में पाई जाती हैं। इस्लाम और ईसाई मत भी पारस्परिक समानता और भ्रातृभाव का दावा करते हैं। वे भी सामाजिक समभाव का उपदेश देते ही हैं—यद्यपि इस्लाम में स्त्रियों का स्थान पुरुषों से कितना ही नीचा क्यों न हो, यद्यपि आदम की एक पसली से ही हव्वा की उत्पत्ति क्यों न बतलाई हो, यद्यपि अपने से भिन्न मतवालों को "वाजिबुल्कत्ल" ही क्यों न कहा गया हो। यद्यपि सन् १८७० तक सेंटपीटर्स वर्ग में ईसाइयों की सभा होने से पूर्व ईसाई संसार स्त्रियों में जीवात्मा को मानने से इन्कार ही क्यों न करता रहा हो। तथापि दुर्जन तोषन्याय से थोडा देर के लिये हम इन बातों की उपेक्षा करके समान भ्रातृभाव का सिद्धान्त इन मतों में मानकर चौथी बात पर ही विचार करेंगे और देखेंगे कि यह मत कहां तक विज्ञान का आधार लिये हुये हैं ? उनमें कहां तक बुद्धि, तर्क और विज्ञान के अनुकूल बातें पाई जाती हैं ?

सब से पूर्व सृष्टि उत्पत्ति को ही

लीजिये। इस्लाम और ईसाई धर्म के अनुसार सृष्टि रचना हुये लगभग ८ हजार वर्ष हुये हैं। आरमोग के आर्क विशप जेम्स उशर के मत से बाइबिल में लिखी हुई सृष्टि की उत्पत्ति ईसा के जन्म से ४००४ वर्ष पूर्व हुई, और ईसा से २३०० वर्ष पूर्व वह प्रलयकाल हुआ जिसमें केवल आदम या मनु रह गये थे। लेकिन वर्तमान विज्ञान के अनुसन्धानों और खोजों से पता चलता है कि यह बात कितनी निराधार है। साइन्स और आविष्कार नाम के अमेरिका के एक पत्र में जे क्रीम ने पृथ्वी की आयु नामक लेख लिख कर सिद्ध किया है कि पृथ्वी को बने कम से कम ७२ लाख वर्ष हुये। पृथ्वी के अन्दर मिट्टी का तेल और कोयले का प्राप्त होना इसका पुष्ट प्रमाण है। भूगर्भ विद्याविशारदों का समुद्र और पहाड़ों का धीरे धीरे बनने का क्रम ही हमें बतलाता है कि इस पृथ्वी को बने हुये लाखों वर्ष व्यतीत हुये हैं। शायद इसी लिये ईसाई पादरियो ने प्रो० लाइल को भी भला बुरा कहा था क्योंकि उन्होंने पृथ्वी के ऊपर पहाड़ आदि के बनने में लाखों वर्ष का समय बीतना सब से पहले बताया था। समुद्र में सोडियम को देखकर हो भूगर्भ शास्त्री प्रो० जौली ने पृथ्वी पर प्राणियों का समय कम से कम १० करोड़ वर्ष माना है। २० जुलाई सन् १९३१ के प्रयाग के लीडर पत्र में मिस्टर वाटसन डेविस ने लिखा है कि नेशनल रिसर्च कौन्सिल ने वैज्ञानिकों की जो कमेटी पृथ्वी की आयु जानने के लिए नियुक्त की थी उसने अपनी कई वर्ष की खोज के पश्चात रूस में पूरे नियम के कुछ अन्श की परीक्षा करके यह निश्चय किया है कि वह धातु १,८५२०,००,००० वर्षों की बनी हुई है और जिस चट्टान में वह पाई जाती है वह भी लगभग १५ करोड़ वर्ष पूर्व की होनी चाहिए। इस प्रकार पृथ्वी की आयु लगभग २ अरब वर्ष की सिद्ध होती है। इंगलैण्ड के प्रसिद्ध वैज्ञानिक और तत्ववेत्ता डाक्टर जेम्स जीन ने भी अपनी पुस्तक यूनिवर्स अराउंड अस में एक पूरे नियम का इतिहास देकर यही सिद्ध किया है कि वर्तमान विज्ञान के अनुसार सृष्टि रचना हुये लगभग २ अरब वर्ष बीते हैं।

अहा! जिस सिद्धान्त को वैदिकधर्मी आर्य लोग बहुत पहले से मान रहे हैं, अर्थात् हमारे अनुसार भी सृष्टि सम्वत् १९७२९४९०४५ है वही सृष्टिकाल अर्थात् २ अरब वर्ष के लगभग आज पश्चिम के सारे विज्ञान, भूगर्भशास्त्र ज्योतिषशास्त्र भौतिक शास्त्र और प्राणी शास्त्र आदि मानने और सिद्ध करने को बाध्य हुये हैं। यह है वैदिकधर्म के सिद्धांतों की अपूर्व विजय। विज्ञान के इन पुष्ट प्रमाणों के होते हुये भला ऐसा कौनसा पुरुष होगा जो आर्क विशप उशर की बात को मानकर केवल ७ हजार वर्ष से सृष्टि उत्पत्ति मानेगा।

यही नहीं, रचना का अग क्रम भी देखिए। कितना बुद्धि-विरुद्ध और विज्ञान प्रतिकूल है। बाईबिल के सृष्टि उत्पत्ति के वर्णन को पढ़ने से पता चलता है कि ईश्वर की आत्मा पानी पर डोलती थी। वह पानी किसपर था इसका पता नहीं। फिर ईश्वर ने पहले दिन जमीन बनाई और एक एक दिन अन्य चीजों को बनाकर चौथे दिन सूरज बनाया। भला इन अक्लमन्दों से पूछा जाय कि सूरज को तो चौथे दिन बनाया और सूरज से दिन रात होते हैं, तो जब सूरज नहीं था तो पहले तीन दिन का पता कैसे चला? ऐसी विवेकहीन बातों को इस प्रकाशयुग में कौन मान सकता है।

फिर भला कुरान में तो खुदाने केवल "कुन" कहने से दुनिया बना डाली, और बायबिल में भी किसी चीज के न होने पर भी ईश्वर ने मिट्टी के पुतले से आदम के शरीर को बनाया। इस प्रकार दोनों ही ने अभाव से भाव की उत्पत्ति सिद्धान्त को माना है, जिसको वर्तमान विज्ञान और भौतिक शास्त्र का साधारण विद्यार्थी भी स्वीकार नहीं कर सकता। इसी प्रकार इस पृथ्वी को सम्पूर्ण विश्व का केन्द्र मानना, सूर्य आदि का पृथ्वी के चारों ओर घूमना, आसमान का खम्भों पर खड़ा होना, चौथे और सातवें आसमान पर खुदा और फरिश्तों का रहना तथा हजरत मुहम्मद के उँगली उठा देने से चांद के दो टुकड़े हो जाना-ऐसी अनेक असम्भव और विज्ञान विरुद्ध बातों पर किस पर पाठकों को हँसी आये बिना नहीं रहसकती' कौन विश्वास करेगा! इन असम्भव बातों पर पर्दा डालने के लिये ही उन ग्रन्थों के नये नये अनुवाद टीकायें की जा रही हैं, जैसे मौ० मुहम्मद-अली एम० ए० का कुरान का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद, जो सन् १९२५ में लन्दन में टिप्पणियों सहित छापा गया है। यह है वैदिकधर्म की विजय, जिसको आज पाश्चात्य जगत भी नतमस्तक होकर स्वीकार करता जारहा है। उदाहरण के लिये, फ्रांस का विद्वान जैकालियट अपनी पुस्तक दी बाइबिल इन इन्डिया में लिखा है कि यह एक आश्चर्य की बात है कि संसार की ईश्वरीय ज्ञान कही जाने वाली समस्त पुस्तकों में केवल वेद ही ऐसे हैं जिनके विचार आधुनिक विज्ञान के साथ पूर्णतया मिलते हैं। इसी प्रकार सर आर्थर कार्पेन्टर अपनी पुस्तक गतिकला में कहा है।

प्रिय पाठको! आप इस लेख को पढ़ कर समझ गये होंगे कि संसार में केवल वैदिकधर्म ही है जिसमें आधुनिक विज्ञान के सिद्धान्त पूर्ण रूपेण संघठित हो सकते हैं। अन्य मजहब या सम्प्रदाय लोगों के मस्तिष्कों को आजकल के इस प्रकाश और विज्ञान के युग में सन्तुष्ट नहीं कर सकते। इस लिये आपका हमारा सब का कर्त्तव्य है कि तर्कसिद्ध, बुद्धिग्राह्य, विज्ञानानुकूल इस वैदिकधर्म का ही प्रचार सारे संसार में करें। इसीलिये आचार्य का आदेश है:—

"वेद सत्य विद्याओं का पुस्तक है। वेद का पढ़ना पढ़ाना और सुनना सुनाना सब आर्यों का परम धर्म है।"

[शेष पृष्ठ ६ पर]

सब के उदाहरण मिल सकते हैं। प्रहेलिका कूट काव्य भी वेदों में हैं। छायावादी और रहस्यवादी कविता भी वेद में है। व्याकरण, गणित, ज्योतिष, आयुर्वेद, सखा का विद्या, राजनीति, मनोविज्ञान, योग, सूर्य, चन्द्र, मेघ, विद्युत् वायुविज्ञान, आदि भौतिकविज्ञान के रहस्य वेदों में विद्यमान हैं। जो कुछ जगत में आविष्कृत होचुका है और जो कुछ होने को है उन सब के सूक्ष्म बीज वेदों में बिखरे पड़े हैं। यदि कोई उतना ही श्रम वेदों के रहस्य प्रकट करने में करे कि जितना यूरोप के लोगों ने भौतिक विज्ञान पर किया है, तो वेदों से अनेक उपयोगी रहस्य प्रकट हो सकते हैं। सूक्ष्माति सूक्ष्म मानसिक शक्तियों के विकास की वेदों में शिक्षा है। मानसिक और आध्यात्मिक विकास से होने वाले चमत्कार वेदों में वर्णित हैं सूर्य किरणों और यज्ञों द्वारा भयंकर रोगों की निवृत्ति, सोम से कायाकल्प, वायु द्वारा चलने वाले विमानादि यंत्र, आकाशगति, मणि विज्ञान आदि अनेक विज्ञान हैं, जिनकी खोज होनी शेष है। आशा है नवीन विद्वान इन-की खोजों पर अधिक ध्यान देंगे।

मुद्रक—श्रीधर पण्डित
चिंतामणि प्रिंटिंग प्रेस, ८९ बक्षीबाग इन्दौर.

प्रकाशक—किशोरीलाल गोयल,
आर्यावर्त कार्यालय, ७२महारानी रोड इन्दौर.

साप्ताहिक

आर्यावर्त



'जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी'

[विदेशी दासता से मुक्त स्वतन्त्र भारत]



बीती निशा, उषा अब आयी,
जग से तिमिर भगाने को ।
विश्व प्रेम स्वातन्त्र्य-मन्त्र की,
जीवन ज्योति जगाने को ।

— 'द्विजेन्द्र

दिनांक १७अगस्त ४७
मूल्य ५) वार्षिक

सम्पादक:— स्नातक उमेशचन्द्र

अंक सं २८
एक अंक)॥

—००—दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर का मुखपत्र—००—

वेदामृत

"स्थिरा वः सन्त्वायुधा पराणुदे वीळू"

" तुम्हारे आयुध (अस्त्र-शस्त्र) शत्रुओं के पराजय के लिये स्थिर एवं दृढ हों " ।

हमारा प्रिय देश भारत, हमारी जननी जन्मभूमि भारत, संसार को वैभवशाली बना देनेवाली हमारी स्वर्णभूमि भारत, संसार को सुख प्रदान करनेवाली स्वर्ग सदृश भारत भूमि आज विदेशियों के प्रभुत्व से मुक्त होगई । अभी स्वतंत्र भारत नवजात शिशुके तुल्य अबोध है, असहाय है । हमें इसकी रक्षा करके इसको बलवान एवं समर्थ बनाना है । अपने देश को सांस्कृतिक, आर्थिक व राजनैतिक दृष्टियों से विनष्ट करनेवालों या विनष्ट करने की इच्छा रखनेवालों से इसकी रक्षा करना है । अतएव हे देशके वीरपुत्रो ! इस देशकी रक्षा के लिये, इसके शत्रुओंको पराजित करने के लिये उत्तम एवं दृढ अस्त्र शस्त्रों से सुसज्जित होजाओ । तुम्हारे ये अस्त्र शस्त्र सदैव शत्रुओं के पराजय के लिये उद्यत रहने चाहिये । तुम्हारे ये अस्त्रशस्त्र दृढ हों जिससे सफलता तुम्हारी अनुगामिनी बनी रहे ।

शत्रु के पराजित करने के लिये आयुधों का धारण करना एवं उनका यथावत् अभ्यास आवश्यक है । राष्ट्र की प्रजा अस्त्र शस्त्रों से सुसज्जित रहे । पृथिवी, जल एवं नभ में भारत के वीर अस्त्र शस्त्रों से दीप्तिमान होकर शत्रुओं के मान को मर्दन करते रहें । निरन्तर अजेय भावना भारत के मस्तक को हिमालय सदृश संसार में गौरव से उन्नत रख सके ।

हमारे राष्ट्र के विद्वान्, विज्ञान वेत्ता एवं कुशलशिल्पी अपनी प्रतिभा एवं शक्ति को वैज्ञानिक अस्त्र शस्त्रों के निर्माण में लगा दें । हमारे राष्ट्र के वीरगण इन अस्त्र शस्त्रों को धारण कर इन्द्र तुल्य पराक्रमी से हो शत्रुपर वज्रवत् प्रहारकर युद्ध में विजय श्री को प्राप्त हों । हमारे देश के वैभवशाली वैश्य जन अस्त्रशस्त्रों के निर्माताओं व युद्ध के लिये अपने जीवन देने वाले वीरों के लिये अकृपण भाव से, स्वार्थशून्य वृत्ति से, एवं राष्ट्रोन्नति प्रमुख भावना से अपनी अतुल धनराशि प्रदान करें । दीर्घकाल से संचित किये हुए धन को राष्ट्र की सम्पत्ति समझ कर उसकी रक्षा एवं उन्नति में अर्पित करदें ।

इस प्रकार वैदिक भावना के उदय होने पर हमारा राष्ट्र शत्रुओं के भय से रहित हो जायगा और खोया हुआ प्रदेश पुनः हमें प्राप्त हो जायगा । क्षात्र बल के अतिरिक्त न तो हम अपने देश की ही रक्षा कर सकते हैं और न भारतसे बाहर प्रदेशोंमें रहनेवाले अपने देश वासियों को सम्मान से जीवित रख सकते हैं । अतएव यदि हमें अपने देश को पुनः अखण्ड रखना है और सशक्त होकर चक्रवर्ती साम्राज्य स्थापित करना है तो वेद के इस आदेश का अनिवार्य रूप से देश को पालन करना ही होगाः—

"स्थिरा वः सन्त्वायुधा पराणुदे वीळू"

(ऋग्वेद १-३-१८-२) —वीरसेन

गुरुकुल वि. वि. वृन्दावन

अभिषेक दिवस

गुरुकुलीय छात्रों के मानसिक विकास के लिए गुरुकुल में विद्या परिषद की स्थापना है । ३९ वर्ष से परिषद निरन्तर योग्य व्यक्तियों का निर्माण करती रही है । इस वर्ष १-८-४७ को परिषद का नवीन वर्ष आरम्भ हुआ । प्राचीन परम्परा के अनुसार नव निर्वाचित मन्त्रियों का अभिषेक संस्कार कर उन को उत्तरदायित्व सौंपा गया । इस वर्ष के मन्त्रिमण्डल का नव निर्माण इस प्रकार हुआ ।—

ब्र.मोहनजी तृतीयवर्ष प्रधानमन्त्री विद्यापरिषद
ब्र.सत्यपालजी अधिकारी,उपमन्त्री विद्यापरिषद
ब्र. वीरेन्द्रजी मन्त्री शाखा परिषद
ब्र. जयदेवजी उप मन्त्री शाखा परिषद
ब्र. रमेशचन्द्रजी मन्त्री बाल परिषद
ब्र. मदनजी उप मन्त्री बाल परिषद

प्राचीन मन्त्री श्री ब्र. विश्वप्रकाशजी स्नातक श्रेणी ने नवीन मन्त्रियों को कार्य भार प्रदान करते हुए परिषद के स्वरूप और आदर्शों का परिचय कराया । अभिषेक यज्ञ की समाप्ति पर नवीन मन्त्रिमण्डल के प्रधान आमात्य श्री ब्र. मोहनजी ने अपनी नवीन नीति की घोषणा की और सदस्यों से सहयोग की प्रार्थना की । अन्त में श्री मुख्यधिष्ठाताजी व अन्य गुरुजनों ने मन्त्रि मण्डल को आशीर्वाद दिया ।

तिलक दिवस व हिन्दी दिवस

लोक मान्य तिलक की पुण्य स्मृतिमें सार्वजनिक कार्य क्रम मे ध्वज बन्दना, व तिलकजी की जीवनी पर प्रकाश डाला गया । श्री म. श्रीरामजी ने ध्वजा रोहण किया, श्री रामेश्वरदयालुजी ने तथा सत्यपालजी ने प्रमुख भाग लिया । इसी दिन हिन्दी दिवस के सम्बन्ध में भी सभाकर के विधान परिषद से हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा बनाने की मांग की गई । प्रस्तावक थे श्री स्नॉ.नरेदवजी और समर्थक श्रीविश्वप्रकाशजी भावी स्नातक, प्रस्ताव सर्व सम्मति से स्वीकार हुआ ।

—४ ता. को श्री टण्डनजी गुरुकुल पधारे उनका भव्य स्वागत किया गया । और उनका ओजस्वी भाषण हुआ ।

आर्यावर्त

सृष्टि १९७२९४९०४७] दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर का मुखपत्र [दयानन्द जन्माब्द १२३

वर्ष २-] इन्दौर, रविवार दिनाङ्क १७ अगस्त १९४७, श्रावण सुदी १ वि. सं. २००४ [संख्या २२

राष्ट्र का नव निर्माण

"ओ३म् इडा सरस्वती मही तिस्रा
देवीर्मयो भुवः वर्हि सीदन्तस्रिधः"

"स्व-भाषा, स्वसंस्कृति तथा मातृभूमि
मेरे जीवन में ओतप्रोत हो जाय"।

भारतीय स्वाधीनता विश्व इतिहास की अद्वितीय घटना के रूप में स्मरण की जायगी। आज हम विदेशी दासता से मुक्त हैं और अनुभव कर रहे हैं कि स्वाधीनता क्या और कैसी होती है। शताब्दियों की दासता के बाद आज भारत का भाग्योदय हो चुका है इस प्रसन्नता के साथ साथ हम भारत वासियों के ऊपर एक गम्भीर उत्तर दायित्व भी आ पड़ा है। भारतीय संस्कृति के अग्रदूत के रूप में ऋषि दयानन्द ने और उसके बाद आर्यसमाज ने जिस सांस्कृतिक महत्ता की स्थापना के लिए निरन्तर प्रयत्न किया उस कार्य प्रणाली के लिए अब किसी प्रकार की बाधा हमारे सामने नहीं है। पहले हम कठिनाइयों के सामने कई बार अपने को निष्क्रिय बनाने के लिए अनिवार्यतः बाध्य रहे हैं पर आज सारी शक्तियाँ हमारे हाथ में है शक्ति का स्रोत जनता के हाथ में आगया है। जनता जिस संस्कृति की अनुगामी है उस में अनेकों प्रकार की रूढियाँ पैदा हो गई है। आज हमारा उत्तर दायित्व यही है कि हम प्राप्त स्वाधीनता की रक्षार्थ प्रत्येक भारतीय के जीवन को वैदिक आदर्शों से युक्त बना दें।

वेदके उपर्युक्त मन्त्र में राष्ट्र निर्माण के आदर्शों का उल्लेख है।

इडा (भाषा)- भाषा किसी जाति व संस्कृति के लिए अपना अनुपम महत्व रखती है। भाषा के परिवर्तन से संस्कृतियाँ परिवर्तित हो जाती हैं। अंग्रेजों ने अपना साम्राज्य स्थापित करते समय इस प्रश्न पर गम्भीर विचार किया था और अन्तमें भारतीय भाषाओं को उपेक्षा करने का निश्चय किया था। अभीतक अंग्रेजी का मोह हमारे से अलग नहीं हुआ है। हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा बनाने का दृढ निश्चय राष्ट्र ने प्रकट किया है पर यह स्मरण रखिये आजतक यदि हिन्दी राष्ट्र भाषा नहीं बन सकी तो उसका कारण हमारी मानसिक गुलामी ही थी। हम अपने व्यवहारिक जीवन में अनावश्यक रूप से अंग्रेजी को महत्व देते रहे तब हिन्दी किस से अपने गौरव की सुरक्षा की आशा करती। आज जो इस मानसिक गुलामी में फसे हुए हैं उन्हें इस दासता से मुक्त होना होगा और उन्हें मुक्त करना हम राष्ट्र भाषा प्रेमियों का कर्तव्य होगा।

सरस्वती (संस्कृति) किसी देश का गौरव उसकी संस्कृति में निहित होता है। यदि हम किसी देश के गौरव का अध्ययन करना चाहें तो वह उसकी संस्कृति के पन्नों में लिखा मिलेगा। आज के नव शिक्षित भारतीय युवकों के हृदयों में भारतीय ऋषि मुनियों, वीर योद्धाओं, कवियों तथा धार्मिक सामाजिक नेताओं और भारतीय रहन सहन, आचार-विचार आदि के प्रति थोडी भी श्रद्धा अथवा प्रेम हमें नहीं मिलता जब योरप के लोग वैदिक साहित्य को सर्वोत्तम कह रहे हैं हमारे युवक उस साहित्य को मिथ्या एवं उपेक्षणीय समझते हैं। आज जब हम एक विदेशी शक्ति को पराभूत कर आगे कदम रख रहे हैं हमें निश्चिंत होकर नहीं बैठे रहना है भारतके निर्माण का भावी प्रोग्राम आज हम आर्यत्व का अभिमान करने वाले युवकों पर यह है कि हम भारतीय जीवन में भारतीयता को ओत-प्रोत कर दें हमारे जीवन की यही साधना हो जीवन का यही आदर्श हो और इसी साधना और आदर्श की प्राप्ति के लिए हम अपने जीवन की बाजी लगा दें। यदि हम भारतीयता के लिए सच्चे हृदय से प्रयत्न करें तो सफलता अधिक दूर न होंगी।

मही (मातृ भूमि)— जन्मभूमि, मातृभूमि, पुण्यभूमि का आकर्षण जीवन में होने वाले आकर्षणों में सबसे महान है। संसार का इतिहास मातृभूमियों के लिए किये गये संघर्षों की कहानियों का ही इतिहास है हमारे देश में अब स्वाधीनता सूर्य का उदय हो चुका है। आजतक हमने स्वाधीनता प्राप्तिके लिए संघर्ष किया और आज हमारा दायित्व उस प्राप्त हुए स्वराज्य की रक्षा करना है। आजतक हमारा संघर्ष देश के बाह्य शत्रुओं से देश को मुक्त करना था पर आज उस से भी कठिन काम हमारे ऊपर है और वह यह कि हम अपनीशुद्धि करें। राष्ट्र के साथ विश्वास घात करने वालों के साथ उसके उपयुक्त

व्यवहार करें और उन्हें ऐसी शिक्षा दें, कि फिर कभी कोई भूल कर भी उनका अनुसरण न कर सकें और वे देश द्रोही कृतघ्नता की वह्नि में भस्मसात हो जांय।

जन्म भूमि की सुरक्षा और उसके गौरव को अक्षुण्ण बनाये रखने का जो भार हमारे ऊपर आया है उसे पूर्ण करके ही हम शान्त हो सकेंगे।

वेद के इस मन्त्र में जीवन के आदर्शों का सूक्ष्मता से किन्तु पूर्णता के साथ विवेचन किया है। आर्य युवको! आओ हम सबके सामने राष्ट्रके नव-निर्माण का प्रोग्राम उपस्थित है। आज हमारी परीक्षा का समय है यदि हम प्राप्त की रक्षा और खोये हुए की प्राप्ति की आशा रखते हैं तो हमें इस सांस्कृतिक प्रोग्राम को लेकर आगे बढना होगा। आर्यत्व के गौरव पुरुषों का आशीर्वाद हमें प्राप्त है आज हमारा यही नारा है—

चरैवेति चरैवेति, बढे चलो
बढे चलो!!!—"स्नातक"

विचार कण...

आर्य समाज और भावी राजनीति

वर्तमान परिवर्तनका दृष्टिमें रखते हुए आर्य शिरोमणि सार्वदेशिक सभा ने भारत वर्ष के प्रत्येक धारा सभा के आर्य सदस्यों तथा विधान परिषद के आर्य सदस्यों का तथा अन्य आर्य विद्वानों का एक विशेष सम्मेलन ३-८-४७ को बुलाकर आर्य समाज के भावी राजनैतिक पुरोगम के सम्बन्ध में विचार किया। उस सम्मेलन ने गम्भीर विचार के पश्चात् राजनैतिक विषयों में आर्य जनों का मार्ग प्रदर्शन करने के लिए एक स्थायी समिति निर्माण करने का आग्रह सार्वदेशिक सभा से किया गया था उस सम्मेलन ने इस स्थायी सम्मति के सम्बन्ध में अपना निश्चय प्रकट करते हुए लिखा है कि इस समिति का कार्य हो (१) वैदिक धर्म के राजनीति सम्बन्धी सिद्धान्तों को स्पष्ट रूप से घोषित करे (२) समय समय पर उठने वाले भारतीय राजनैतिक प्रश्नों पर आर्य जनों का मार्ग प्रदर्शन करती रहे।

हर्ष का विषय है कि सार्वदेशिक सभा की अन्तरंग सभा ने उपर्युक्त सम्मेलन के निर्णय को स्वीकार कर लिया है और राजार्य सभा नाम से अपनी एक उप समिति का निर्माण कर दिया है। इस सभा के प्रधान मन्त्री का कार्य भार श्री इन्द्रजी विद्यावाचस्पति को सौंपा गया है।

सार्वदेशिक सभा ने एक विज्ञप्ति प्रकाशित कर समस्त आर्य जनता से प्रार्थना की है कि वह उपर्युक्त राजार्य सभाके आदेशों का पूर्ण रूप से पालन करे और आर्य समाज के व्यापक संगठन की आदर्श परम्परा को कायम रक्खें।

हम आर्य जनता से सार्वदेशिक सभा के इस निश्चय को हृदय से स्वीकार करने की अपील करते हैं। सार्वदेशिक सभाने अपने इस महत्वपूर्ण निश्चय द्वारा एक बहुत बडा कदम आगे रक्खा है और आर्य जनता की चिर प्रतीक्षित मांग को स्वीकार कर लिया है। अब आर्य जनता का कर्तव्य है कि वह राजार्य सभा के आदेशों का पालन करे और कराने के लिये यत्न करे। भावी राष्ट्र—निर्माण के लिए हमारी यह तय्यारी हमारे संगठन, अनुशासनप्रियता एवं त्याग भावना पर अवलम्बित है। सब दलों का मुंह ताकना छोड अपने आदर्शों का पालन कीजिये युग निर्माता का गौरव आर्य समाज को ही प्राप्त होगा।

राजार्य सभाका आदेश

राजार्य सभा के स्थापित होतेही राष्ट्र की राजनीतिक सम्बन्ध में आवश्यक निर्देश देना आरम्भ कर दिया है। एक भ्रमण पत्रिका प्रकाशित कर राजार्य सभा की ओर से आर्य समाजों को आदेश दिया गया है कि वे १७ अगस्त को सार्वजनिक सभाओं का आयोजन करके निम्नलिखित प्रस्ताव स्वीकार कर विधान परिषद के अध्यक्ष, पं. नेहरू तथा राजार्य सभा कार्यालय बलिदान भवन देहलीके पास भेजें।

१ यह सभा भारतीय विधान निर्मात्री परिषद से अनुरोध करती है कि वह हिन्दी को भारत की राष्ट्र भाषा तथा देवनागरी लिपि को राष्ट्र लिपिके रूप में स्वीकार करे।

२ यह सभा भारतीय विधान-परिषद से अनुरोध करती है कि वह देश की आर्थिक उन्नति के निमित्त गोवंश की रक्षा तथा वृद्धिको आवश्यक समझते हुए भारतीय विधान मे गोवध का निषेध करनेवाली धारा का समावेश करे।

आर्य समाजें अपने साप्ताहिक सत्संगों में इन प्रस्तावों को स्वीकार करे और उपर्युक्त स्थानों पर भेजे। इन दोनों प्रस्तावों के अधिक विश्लेषण की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं इन दोनों महत्व पूर्ण विषयों पर बहुत कुछ लिखा जा चुका है।

सिद्धान्त परिवर्तन हो—श्री टंडन जी के विचारों का कई बार उल्लेख किया जा चुका है। इस समय आपने यह आन्दोलन आरम्भ किया है कि देश को अहिंसा की नीति में परिवर्तन कर देना चाहिए। स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्ति के बाद उसे सफलता पूर्वक कायम रखने के लिये वर्तमान अहिंसा उपयुक्त नहीं हो सकती।

आर्य समाज सदैवसे ब्राह्म और क्षात्र शक्तियों के प्रयोग का समर्थक रहा है यदि और आर्य समाज के सिद्धान्तों पर व्यक्तियों का निर्माण होता तो आज की विनाशक घटनाएँ घटित न होती। आज देश की बदली हालत को जीवन देने के लिए हमें क्षात्र धर्म का पालन करना चाहिए। श्री टण्डनजी ने जो आन्दोलन आरम्भ किया है राष्ट्र के कर्ण धारों और जनता दोनों को गम्भीर विचार कर शीघ्र ही नीति में परिवर्तन की घोषणा करनी चाहिए।

राष्ट्रीय स्वाधीनता के अजेय सेनानी गण

भारत केसरी
स्व श्री लाला लाजपतराय



जिन्होंने ऋषि दयानन्द की शिष्यपरम्परा में राष्ट्रकेलिए अपना जीवन उत्सर्ग किया था।

महामानव
श्री सुभाषचन्द्र बोस



जिनके जीवन का एक एक क्षण मातृभूमिकी सेवा के लिए है। भारतीय स्वाधीनताके आज के गौरव दिवस में आपका त्याग निहित है।

नव भारत के जन्मदाता
श्री म. गान्धी



भारत की स्वाधीनता के लिए प्रयत्न ही जिनके जीवन का इतिहास है। दक्षिण आफ्रीका में संघर्ष विजयकर भारत को स्वाधीन बना जो अब पाकिस्तान में संघर्ष करेंगे।

बीसवीं शताब्दी के चाणक्य
श्री प. जवाहरलाल नेहरू



अपना सर्वस्व समर्पणकर देश को आजकी स्थिति में पहुंचाया है। आप भारतके अंतराष्ट्रीय गौरव हैं।

भारत के लिए अपने प्राणों की बाजी लगाने वाले
स्वर्गीय व जीवित

स्वर्गीय—

महारानी लक्ष्मीबाई, देवीमैना, नाना साहब फडनवीस, तांत्या टोपे, वीर मङ्गल पाण्डय, सोहनलाल पाठक, बलवन्त फडके, करतारसिंह आत्मासिंह, खुदीराम बोस, हेमू कलानी, दिनेश गुप्ता, रामराव, सत्यन्द्र बसु यतीन्द्रनाथ दास, शेरजंग, गोपीनाथ साहा, अवध विहारी कोतवाल, अमीरचन्द्र, वी जी पिङ्गले, कन्हाईलाल दत्त, काशाराम, रासविहारी बसु, लोकमान्य तिलक, अम्बिका चक्रवर्ती, टेगरा सूर्यसेन, प्रति बाहार, गोखलेरानाडे, अनन्तसिंह, मनीदत्त, गणेश घोष, केसर सिंह, प्रतापसिंह, रोशनसिंह, सूफीअम्बाप्रसाद, राजेन्द्र लाहड, धन्नासिंह, धींगरा, चन्द्रशेखर आजाद, रामप्रसाद बिस्मिल, भगतसिंह, राजगुरु, सुखदेव, लाला हरदयाल, गणेश दामोदर सावरकर, ऊधमसिंह, चित्तपाड, मदमोहन मालवीय। आदि

जीवित—

भाई परमानन्द, वीर सावरकर, राजा महेन्द्रप्रताप, सरदार अजीतसिंह, बटुकेश्वरदत्त पृथ्वीसिंह, शचीन्द्रनाथ सान्याल, जयप्रकाशनारायण, अच्युतपटवर्धन, अरुणा, इन वीर हुतात्माओं और जीवित क्रान्तिकारियों तथा असंख्य अज्ञात भारत माके सुपुत्रों की जीवनाहुति, तपस्या एवं आत्मसमर्पण का ही परिणाम आज भारत की स्वतन्त्रता है।

भारतीय राष्ट्रके प्रतिनिधियोंने भारत राष्ट्र के नवीन जन्म दिवस पर बलिदान हुए भाइयों के सम्मान में २ मिनट मौन धारण किया। जीवित क्रान्तिकारियों का जीवन आज भी राष्ट्र को प्रेरणा दे रहा है और देता रहेगा। सारा भारत समस्त क्रान्तिकारियों के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलियां अर्पित करता है।

ऋषि दयानन्द

—: स्वराज्य व प्रजा तन्त्र का मन्त्र दाता :—

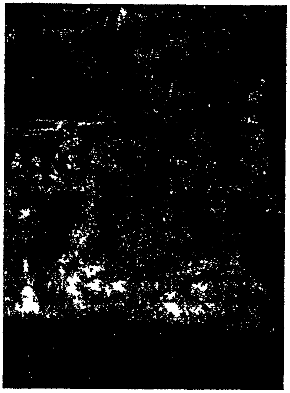
लेखक— स्ना. जयकुमार "जयेश"

स्वराज्य की उत्कण्ठा

करुण क्रन्दन—सृष्टि से लेकर महाभारत पर्यन्त चक्रवर्ती सार्वभौम राजा आर्य कुल में हुए वे अब इनके सन्तानों का अभाग्योदय होने से राजभ्रष्ट होकर विदेशियों के पादाक्रान्त हो रहे हैं। जब रघुगण राजा थे तब रावण भी यहां के आधीन था। महाराजा युधिष्ठिर के राज सूय यज्ञ और महा भारत पर्यन्त यहां के राज्य के ही आधीन सब राज्य थे। ऐसे शिरोमणि देश को महाभारत के युद्ध ने ऐसा धक्का दिया कि अबतक भी वह अपनी पूर्व दशा में नहीं आया, क्योंकि जब भाई को भाई मारने लगे तो नाश होने में क्या सन्देह ? (सत्यार्थ प्रकाश एकादश समुल्लास)

स्वराज्य सूत्र का दान—अब अभाग्योदय से और आर्यों के आलस्य प्रमाद परस्पर के विरोध से अन्य देशों की तो कथा ही क्या कहनी किन्तु आर्यावर्त में भी आर्यों का अखंड स्वतन्त्र स्वाधीन निर्भय राज्य इस समय नहीं है। जो कुछ भी है सो भी विदेशियों क पादाक्रान्त हो रहा है। कुछ थोडे राजा स्वतन्त्र हैं। दुर्दिन जब आता है तब देशवासियों को अनेक प्रकार के दुख भोगने पडते हैं कोई कितना ही करे परन्तु जो स्वदेशी राजा होता है वह सर्वोपरि उत्तम होता है। अथवा मतमतान्तर के आग्रह से रहित अपने और पराए का पक्षपात शून्य प्रजा पर पिता माता के समान कृपा न्याय और दया के साथ विदेशियों का राज्य भी पूर्ण सुखदायक नहीं है। (उत्तम नहीं है) (स. प्र. अष्टम समुल्लास)

फूट का राजरोग—विदेशियों का आर्यावर्त में राज्य होने का कारण आपस की फूट मतभेद है। जब आपस में भाई भाई लडते हैं तभी तीसरा विदेशी आकर पच बन बैठता है। क्या तुम लोग महाभारत की बातें जो पांच सहस्र वर्ष पूर्व हुई थी उन्हें भी भूल गये। आपस की फूट से कौरव पांडव और यादवों का सर्वनाश हो गया सो तो होगया; परन्तु अब तक भी वह रोग पीछे लगा है। न जाने यह भयकर राक्षस कभी छूटेगा या आर्यों को सब सुखों से छुडाकर दुख सागर में डुबा मारेगा। उसी दुष्ट दुर्योधन गोत्र हत्यारे स्वदेश विनाशक नीच के "फूट" दुष्ट मार्ग में आर्य लोग अब तक भी चलकर दुख बढा रहे हैं, परमेश्वर कृपा करे कि यह राजरोग हम आर्यों में से नष्ट होजाय। (स. प्र. दशम समुल्लास)



ऋषि दयानन्द

प्रजातन्त्र के सिद्धांत

अधिनायकतंत्र नहीं प्रजातंत्र—एक व्यक्ति को राज्य का स्वतन्त्र अधिकार नहीं देना चाहिये किन्तु राजा अर्थात् निर्वाचित सभापति, तदधीन सभा, सभाधीन राजा, राजा और सभा प्रजाधीन और प्रजा राजसभाधीन रहे। जो राजवर्ग प्रजा से स्वतन्त्र रह तो राज्य में प्रवेश करक (अर्थात् स्वेच्छाचारिता से) प्रजा का नाश किया करें। (स. प्र. समुल्लास)

प्रजा-पति—जो सब में सर्वोत्तम गुण कर्म स्वभाव-युक्त महान पुरुष हो उसको राज सभा का पति रूप में मान के सब प्रकार की उन्नति किया करें। (स. प्र. षष्ठ समुल्लास)

शासन सत्ता दैवी अधिकार नहीं—प्रश्न— जो राजा वा रानी अथवा न्यायाधीश वा उसकी स्त्री व्यभिचार आदि कुकर्म करे तो उसको कौन दण्ड देवे ?

(शेष पृष्ठ १४ पर)

अजेय—भावी भारत

* लेखक— श्री यदुनाथ सरकार *

एक समस्या—आज की परिवर्तित राजनीति ने महान् भारत को खण्डित अवश्य कर दिया है पर क्या इस दुर्घटना को हम ऐसेही सहते रहेंगे यह प्रश्न है जो हम भारतीयों को आज विचारना है। पश्चिमी पंजाब सरहद और सिंध के पृथक हो जाने से हिन्दुस्तान के सैनिक संरक्षण का प्रश्न बहुत गम्भीर बन गया है पर यह ऐसा नहीं कि हल न किया जा सके। हिन्दुस्तान का संरक्षण करने के लिए सम्भव है आज से अधिक व्यय करना पडे पर घबराने जैसी कोई बात दिखाई नहीं देती। सेना के विभाजन की जो रूपरेखा हमारे सामने है उसके अनुसार यह मानना बेवकूफी होगी कि सम्प्रदाय के नामपर सैनिक गण अपने २ क्षेत्रों का चुनाव करेंगे ही। जिनके घर हिन्दुस्तान में हैं वे एकनिष्ठ होकर आनन्द के साथ देशकी सेवा करेंगे। वे पाकिस्तान के पहाडी और रेतीले स्थानों में जानेकी कतई इच्छा न करेंगे। पाकिस्तान में धर्मान्ध अफसरों का निर्माण किया जायगा। लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान राष्ट्रीयता के महान् आदर्श के साथ अपना कदम आगे बढायेगा।

आधुनिक सेना— वर्तमान युग में संख्या का कोई महत्व नहीं है। संख्या का महत्व जभी रहा करता है जब कि दोनों सेनाएं बुद्धि, शिक्षण और शस्त्र बल में समान हों। आज का युद्ध अत्यधिक वैज्ञानिक होगया है। उसमें अत्यधिक मेधावी शक्ति की मैकेनिकल निपुणता की आवश्यकता है। पुराने जमाने की कवायद, मझल लोडर बन्दूकें तथा पुराने ढर्रे की आज्ञाएं "दुश्मन को मारने के लिए बन्दूक ऊंची करो" ये सब निरुपयोगी हैं। भावी-युद्ध में पाकिस्तानी मदरसों में या उस्मानियां यूनिवर्सिटी में सीखे हुए सैनिक तथा अफसर आज के आधुनिक वैज्ञानिक शिक्षा से परिपूर्ण सैनिकों के सामने कैसे टिक सकते हैं? आज की आधुनिक सेना की शक्ति संख्या पर उतनी निर्भर नहीं है जितनी कि मशीन गनों आदि की मैकेनिक निपुणता पर वायुयानिक सिगनलिंग साधनों पर, टैंक तथा अन्य यान्त्रिक वाहनों पर और सबसे अधिक शस्त्रों के पुर्जे का तथा विस्फोटक पदार्थों का औद्योगिक क्षेत्र में स्थित कारखानों के सतत निर्माण पर अवलम्बित रहती है। पर, जिन्दा रहने वाला टटपूंजियां तथा मुल्लाओं के अध कचरे विभाग से परिचालित पाकिस्तान क्या उक्त बातें कर सकेगा? उन्हें सुरक्षित पृष्ठ भूमि कहाँ है? आधुनिक सेना-शास्त्र-विशारद संरक्षण की गहराई (Defence in Depth) पर जोर देते हैं यह उनके पास कहां हैं? इस दृष्टि से हिन्दुस्तान पाकिस्तान से दस गुना शक्ति शाली है और रहेगा।

वीर जाति—इस मिथ्या धारणा पर कभी विश्वास न करो कि सरहद की घाटियों से जब जब हिन्दुस्तान पर हमला हुआ है तब तब हिन्दुस्तान ने सर झुकाया है और किसी भी शत्रु को पराजित नहीं किया है। याद रक्खो राजपूतों से बनी हिन्दुस्तानी फौज ने अफगानिस्तान के हिस्सों पर कब्जा किया था। कन्दार में लडाई की थी और सत्रहवीं शताब्दी की बाल्ख (Balkh) पर ओक्स Oxus नदी तक हमला किया था उस समय उन मे एक भी ब्रिटिश अफसर न था, न हिन्दुस्तानी सिपाहियों को मजबूत बनाने के लिये गोरी सेनाएँ ही थी। शाहजहांके समय कछवाह और राजपूतों ने हिन्दूकुश की घाटियों का बरफ तथा आंधियों के बीच भी संरक्षण किया था, बर्बर उजबेक और हजारा के विरुद्ध दिल्ली की सेनाओं का संरक्षण किया था। १६७४ में महाराज जशवन्तसिंह राठौर की सेना ने करपा घाटी पर अफगानों को पराजित कर शाही फौज की रक्षा की थी।

अर्वाचीन काल में सिक्खों ने पेशावर और अटक पर विजय पाई और खैबर की घाटी तथा सिन्धु पर पहरा रक्खा, हरिसिंह नलुआ का भूत आज भी सीमाप्रान्त में भय का संस्मरण कराता है।

जर्मनी के राष्ट्रीय गान में एक प्रश्न पूछा जाता है कि: —

मेघ गर्जना करती हुई लहरों की आवाज उठती है— राइन, राइन, ओ जर्मन राइन जब शत्रु आयेंगे तब उन्हे कौन बचायगा?

तब श्रोता गण दिल खोलकर उत्तर देते हैं—

"प्रिय पितृ भूमि जरमन तेरी सखी तथा दृढ राइन तेरी पहरा दे रही हैं"।

इसी प्रकार सिक्ख कह सकते हैं कि उन्होंने अपने स्वाधीन दिनों में सिन्धु पर भरोसा किया था। भूतकाल में सिक्खों ने जो किया वही वे आज आसानी से कर सकते हैं। १८४५-४८ में अंग्रेजो ने खालसा सेनाको पराजित किया उसका एक कारण था— खालसा सेना के नवीन शिक्षा सम्पन्न विदेशी अफसरों ने फौज का साथ नहीं दिया था। इसी प्रकार बेलेजली और सिंधिया के युद्ध में पेरन तथा दूसरे भाडेतू अफसरों ने सिंधिया का साथ छोड दिया था। समय-समय पर भारतीय सैनिकों को जो असफलताएं मिली बताई जाती हैं उनका कारण यही था कि उन का नेतृत्व विदेशी हाथों में पहुंच चुका था। एक विद्वान लेखक ने इसपर टिप्पणी करते

[शेष पृष्ठ १२ पर]

पहले भी पाकिस्तान बना था

★ लेखक— श्री रमेशचन्द्र बी. ए. लाहौर ★

आज देश की आजादी के साथ पाकिस्तान नाम का दानव हमारे साथ चिपट कर आया है। हम उस दानव की करतूतों से परेशान हैं और उसे दूर भगाने का प्रयत्न करने पर भी नहीं भगा सके हैं और आज वह दानव अपनी लीला का अधिकार पा चुका है इसलिए हम दुखी हैं। परन्तु घबड़ाने की कोई बात हो तो बात नहीं होनी चाहिए। इतिहास अपने को सदैव दुहराया करता है आज भी इतिहास के पन्ने दुहराये जा रहे हैं एक पन्ना काला है और बाकी सब स्वतन्त्रता के शहीदों की कहानियों से स्वर्णांकित हैं। पाकिस्तान का जहां तक प्रश्न है वह एक बार १५ वीं शताब्दी में बना था उसकी नींव आज से भी मजबूत थी पर वह टिक न सका इसलिए आज का पंगु पाकिस्तान टिक सकेगा इसे कभी मत स्वीकार कीजिए।

१५ वीं शताब्दी में अफगानिस्तान से लेकर बंगाल तक मुस्लिम राज्य था। मुस्लिम राज्य में सीमा- प्रांत, पंजाब, सिन्ध, काश्मीर, युक्त-प्रान्त, बिहार और बंगाल शामिल थे। मुस्लिम राज्य का दूसरा क्षेत्र गुजरात मालवा और खानदेश था। इन दोनों के बीच में हिन्दू इलाका राजपूताना और मध्य प्रदेश था। दक्षिण में मुस्लिम राज्य नर्मदा से तुंगभद्रा तक फैला हुआ था जिसे कि बहमनी राज्य कहा जाता था उसके दक्षिण में विजयनगर का राज्य था।

मुस्लिम सत्ता के लिए इस से बढ़कर कोई स्वर्ण-संयोग नहीं हो सकता था। मुसलमान उत्तर में बड़ी अच्छी स्थिति में थे। हिन्दुओं की स्थिति चक्की के दो पाटों के बीच की तरह थी। परन्तु सब ओर से घिरे रहने के कारण हिन्दुओं ने अपनी रक्षा के लिए मोर्चा बनाया और लम्बे समय तक ऐतिहासिक संघर्ष किया। एक ओर साम्राज्य और दूसरी ओर माण्डलिक नरेश पर फिर भी शक्ति संतुलन में साम्राज्य की अपेक्षा हिन्दुओं को अधिक सफलता मिली प्रान्तीय मुस्लिम शासकों ने हिन्दुओं से मेलका हाथ बढ़ाया। एक ओर हिन्दू राज्य और दूसरी ओर मुस्लिम साम्राज्य दोनों दलों में संघर्ष जारी रहा। मालवा के राजा महमूद के हिंदू मंत्री ने हिंदुओं का साथ दिया मुसलमानों के पैर उखड़ गये परन्तु हिन्दुओं की शक्ति भी पर्याप्त क्षीण हुई। भारत की शासक और योद्धा दोनों संस्थायें अपने संघर्ष से कमजोर थी इसलिए बाबर ने आकर मुसलमानों को पानीपत में और हिन्दुओं को खानवा में परास्त कर मुस्लिम राज्य के स्वप्न को भंग कर दिया। और एक नये साम्राज्य को जन्म मिला जो मुस्लिम साम्राज्य का ही स्वरूप था इसलिए भारतीय जनता को उससे सन्तोष न हुआ और वह अपने संघर्ष के लिए तय्यारियाँ करती रही।

पाकिस्तानी भावना का इस्लाम के साथ जन्म से सम्बन्ध रहा है उत्तर भारत में १५ शताब्दी और उसके आस पास जो हुआ उस से भी अधिक विकट काण्ड इस भावना का दक्षिण भारत में हुआ। हिन्दू भी सचेत थे उन्होंने अपनी रक्षार्थ विजय नगर राज्य की स्थापना कर बड़ी राजनैतिक बुद्धिमत्ता से काम किया और यहां भी संतुलन पैदा कर दिया। अलाउद्दीन खिलजी के राज्य की स्थापना के साथ ही मुस्लिम राज्य का उद्देश्य एक मात्र यही हो गया था कि जो कुछ हिन्दू है जितना भी हिन्दुत्व है उसे मटिया मेट कर दिया जाये। इतिहास लेखक सेवेल लिखता है— "भारत में मुस्लिमों का एक ही उद्देश्य रह गया— हिन्दू गांव और नगरों का विध्वंस और विनाश, हिन्दू धर्म और संस्कृति और सत्ता के प्रतीक चिन्हों को मटिया मेट करना। हिन्दुओं को धर्म से च्युत करके मुसलमानों की वृद्धि करना"।

यही उद्देश्य दक्षिण में बहमनी राज्य का रहा। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि आर्य धर्म, संस्कृति की रक्षार्थ विजय नगर राज्य की स्थापना की गई। एक ओर बहमनी राज्य था जो भारतीयता को नष्ट करने पर तुला था और दूसरी ओर विजय नगर राज्य था जो इनके अस्तित्व एवं रक्षार्थ लड़ रहा था। इन दोनों के बीच होने वाले युद्धों को इतिहास में टोटल वार कहा गया है अर्थात् "निष्कर्ष युद्ध" "अन्तिम युद्ध" इन युद्धों में जिस भयंकरता से संघर्ष हुआ वह एक वेदना पूर्ण इतिहास है।

(१) बहमनी राज्य के राजाने शपथ ली कि जब तक विजय- नगर के बदले १ लाख हिन्दू न मार लेगा तब तक चैन न लेगा। उसने ४ लाख हिन्दू तलवार के घाट उतार दिये। इन में केवल ४० हजार फौजी थे शेष निरीह नागरिक (२), बहमनी राजा मुजाहिद ने विजय नगर पर चढ़ाई करके ८० हजार की मौत के घाट उतार दिये। (३) अहमदने फौजियोंके अलावा २० हजार को मार डाला।

इतिहास कार सेवेल लिखता है— विजेता मुसलमानों ने विजय नगर के लोगों को बिना दया के मौत के घाट पर उतार दिया। मन्दिर और महल ध्वस्त कर दिये, मूर्तियां मिटा दी गईं और विशाल नरसिंह मूर्ति नष्ट कर दी गई। विट्ठल स्वामी की मूर्ति नदी में ढकेल दी गई। एक दिन ऐसा आया जब सारा नगर रक्त और विध्वंस की होली में जल रहा था वहां लाशें ही लाशें थीं।

[शेष पृष्ठ १२ पर]

स्वराज्य के बादः—

राष्ट्र निर्माणका भावी आदर्श-रामराज्य

आज जबकि एटम बम की पीढी शुरू हो गई है, तब किसका अस्तित्व सुरक्षित है यह कोई नहीं जानता। आज जातीयता मानों राष्ट्रीयता को निगले जा रही है। जातीयता का नशा इस प्रकार चढ़गया है कि उसके उसपार क्या होगा किसी को न इसकी चिन्ता है न मान हिटलर और मुसोलिनी व्यर्थ ही नहीं जन्मे उन्होंने जातीयता की जो संकीर्ण परम्परायें कायम की हैं वे यों ही उनके साथ अस्त नहीं हो गई हैं। भारत भी आज उसी संकीर्ण परम्परा का शिकार हो विभक्त हो गया है। भारत को जिन परिस्थितियों में से गुजरना पड रहा है वहां जातीयता और राष्ट्रीयता जीवन मरण के संघर्ष में संलग्न हैं। कोई नहीं कह सकता इस संघर्ष का अन्त कहां होगा? जीवन की जो खूब सूझती है, जीवन के जो महान रहस्य हैं उनकी ओर से हम उपेक्षा किये आगे बढते चलेजाने में तत्पर हैं। जब पण्डित और ब्रिरहमन तथा धार्मिक नेता भी प्रणा के राग अलाप रहे हों तब देवत्व का पलायमन तो होकर ही रहेगा।

इस वातावरण में भी एक आशा की दिव्य ज्योति सच्चे आर्य राष्ट्र भक्तों के हृदयों में प्रकाश कर रही है। आज हम स्वराज्य भवन में प्रवेश कर चुके हैं, चिर कालीन दासता से मुक्ति हमारे जीवन की महान साधना आज पूरी हो चुकी है परन्तु जो कुछ हमने पाया है उसका अर्थ यदि इतना ही है कि अपने घर में अपना राज तो हमें अभी बहुत कुछ आगे बढाना है स्वराज्य जिन भौतिक अर्थों तक सीमित है हमें उसमे से ही सन्तोष नहीं कर बैठना है हमारे सामने इस भौतिक महत्ता से भी बढकर आध्यात्मिक नैतिक राज्य की स्थापना का आदर्श होना चाहिए। भारतीय इतिहास के शब्दों में हम अपने आदर्श को राम राज्य की संज्ञा दे सकते हैं। इस प्रकार स्वराज्य के बाद हमारा अगला कदम राम राज्य की स्थापना होना चाहिए।

राम राज्य में आध्यात्मिकता का पुट है, प्रभाव है धड़कन है। आध्यात्मिकता के बिना स्वराज्य केवल कलह और संघर्षों का ही स्रोत रहेगा। राम राज्य का अर्थ किसी जाति या सम्प्रदाय विशेष का राज्य नहीं है। राम राज्य तो साम्प्रदायिकता, जातीयता इन सबसे परे की चीज है। राम राज्य का जो वास्तविक अर्थ है, जो परिधि है, जो परिभाषा है, उसका किसी वर्ग विशेष से सम्बन्ध स्थापित करना राम राज्य की महत्ता को कम करना है। राम राज्य का आदर्श सार्व भौमिक है। सार्व भौम आदर्श अपनाने वाला भी सार्व भौम होना चाहिए तभी वह आदर्श कायम रह सकता है।

गोस्वामीजी ने राम राज्य का वर्णन करते हुये लिखा है कि—

"राम राज्य बैठे त्रै लोका
हरषित गये सब शोका"

इस का सीधा सुस्पष्ट अर्थ यही है कि रामराज्य का सर्वोपरि उद्देश्य यही था कि लोगों का शोक मिटे याने वह सब परिस्थितियाँ रामराज्य में नष्ट हो गई जिन से प्राणियों को कष्ट होता है प्राणी दुखी होते हैं। यह परिस्थिति फलतः गरीबी है और जब गरीबी चली जाती है तब सब लोग खुश हाल हो जाते हैं। फिर दुख कहां रहेगा।

आगे तुलसीदास फिर कहते हैं—

बयरु न कर काहू सन कोई।
रामप्रताप विषमता खोई॥
बरनाश्रम निज २ धरम।
निरत वेद पथ लोग॥
चलहिं सदा पावहिं सुखहिं।
नहिं भय सोक न रोग॥

इस का यही अर्थ है कि लोग अपने अपने धर्म का पालन करते थे धर्म और व्यवसाय को निश्चिन्तता से करते थे, धर्म और व्यवसाय के कारण किसी एक दूसरे से बैर नहीं था और इन सब का परिणाम ऐसे समाज की स्थापना था जिसमें डर नहीं था, दुःख नहीं था और रोग नहीं था।

इस आधार पर राम राज्य का अर्थ आज कल के अर्थों में शुद्ध प्रजातन्त्र कहा जा सकता है। प्रजातन्त्र के सिद्धान्तों में प्रमुख धर्म पालन करने की स्वतन्त्रता व्यवसाय की स्वतन्त्रता और विचार की स्वतन्त्रता है और यही राम राज्य के आधार थे। राम राज्य व्यक्ति से व्यक्ति का डर निकालने में समर्थ हुआ यह उसकी कितनी बड़ी सफलता थी। आज मनुष्य का मनुष्य दुश्मन बना हुआ है ऐसे समय में जो रामराज्य को अपना आदर्श मानकर आगे बढ़ेगा वही सच्चा मानव कहलायगा। वही मानव के आन्तरिक गुणों के विकास और उन्हें पूर्ण बनाने में सच्ची सफलता प्राप्त कर सकेगा।

रामराज्य के सम्बन्ध में गोस्वामीजी लिखते हैं कि—

दैहिक दैविक भौतिक तापा,
रामराज्य काहू नहीं व्यापा।

लेखिका—

स्नातिका दयावतीजी
विद्याविभूषिता

मातृ वन्दना

अप वर्ग से अनोखी मन मोहनी छटाएं ।
सुख साज स्वर्ग को भी पाकर न भूल जाएं ॥
हां पूज्य मातृ भू को मन में बसी मढ़ैया ।
रमती रहें रगों में वे रीतियां रवैया ॥
तड़फे हवेलियों में टूटी कुटी गवाँ के ।
भूलें न दृश्य तेरे प्रिय पावनी प्रभा के ॥
गृह द्वार वृक्ष बागों सरिता सरोवरों में ।
भूला रहे हृदय यह उन आंगनों घरों में ।
शिशु से किशोर होकर जिसमें रहे सहे हैं ।
के मूठ में जहां की रज चाटते रहे हैं ॥
जिसमें रहे सहे हैं घुटनों जहां चले हैं ।
जिस माननी मही में पड़ लोटते रहे हैं ।
वे झील ताल गड्डे मन में समा रहे हैं ।
सम्मान मान सरका मन से मिटा रहे हैं ॥
जिसमें जिये उसी को सुख स्रोत मानते हैं ।
मलयाचली हवाके झोंके न चाहते हैं ॥
यदि स्वर्ग के लिए भी सुरव्योम यान लावें ।
यह प्रार्थना उन्हें तो प्रिय पाठको सुनावें ॥
बस प्राण ही अकेले परमेशने दिए हैं ।
यह अंग मातृ भू ने पाले बड़े किए हैं ॥
वे वज्र के हृदय हैं इसके लिए न तड़पें ।
वे नयन ही नहीं जो इसके लिए न बरसें ॥
अवकाश अल्प दीजे भू अंक में गिरेंगे ।
जिस गोद में जिए हैं उस गोद में मरेंगे ॥
गल जाय हिम में या फिर उत्तप्त तापसे हों ।
भगवान् किन्तु न्यारे मत मातृ भूमि से हों ॥ *

* गुरुकुल विश्वविद्यालय वृन्दावन की एक प्रार्थना जो मातृ भूमि के प्रति गाई जाती है श्री. ब्रा. सुधीन्द्र नाथ जी सिद्धान्त सिरोमणि के सौजन्य से प्राप्त—सं.

(पृष्ठ ९ का शेष)

किसी आदर्श समाज और आदर्श प्रजातन्त्र का क्या स्वरूप होना चाहिए यह निश्चय ही रामराज्य में हम स्थल-स्थल पर पाते हैं। कहा गया है कि रामराज्य में देह का, संसार का और आधि भौतिक (दैविक) कष्ट किसी को नहीं होता था इसे अत्युक्ति कहा जा सकता है पर इस कथन का जो आधार है वह यह कि लोगों की अकाल मृत्यु नहीं होती थी और न जनता पौष्टिक पदार्थों या दुर्व्यसनों के कारण हीन स्वास्थ्य थी। रामराज्य में स्वास्थ्य विभाग का आदर्श था इस प्रकार के प्रयत्न किये जाय कि अकाल मृत्युएं न हो अर्थात् महामारी आदि न फैले और न ही सर्व साधारण का स्वास्थ्य चिन्ता जनक हो और यदि इन में से कुछ होता तो उसका दायित्व राज्य पर था। रामराज्य जनता के स्वास्थ्य के प्रति सजग था। रामराज्य मे कोई दरिद्र न था-अर्थात् धन का वितरण समान था, कर-प्रणाली ऐसी न थी कि कहीं महल खड़े हों कहीं फूसकी झोपड़ी। आज समाजवाद का नारा इसी आदर्श की प्राप्ति के लिये लगाया जारहा है। गरीब और अमीर के बीच की खाई को दूर कर ऐसे समाज की स्थापना का आदर्श जिसमें दरिद्रता न हो हमारे लिये रामराज्यही हो सकता है। रामराज्य में न कोई मूर्ख रहेगा न लक्षणों से हीन, अर्थात् स्वाभाविक विकास में किसी को किसी प्रकार की असुविधा न रहेगी। स्त्री कथित अन्त्यज, मजदूर, किसान सबको विकास का समान अधिकार प्राप्त होगा और उसका दायित्व राज्यपर होगा।

उपर्युक्त विवरण रामराज्य की एक झलक है। रामराज्य शासनकी वह प्रणाली कही जा सकती है जिसमें प्रत्येकको प्रत्येक प्रकारकी व्यक्तिगत स्वतंत्रता थी, रामराज्य शिक्षा और स्वास्थ्य के प्रति सजग था और धन का वितरण समान था और जन साधारण जीवन यापन आध्यात्मिक आदर्शोंपर करता था।

इन सब बातों से रामराज्य का बहुत अधिक महत्व है। स्वराज्य को स्थिर रखने के लिये अगला और बड़ा कदम रामराज्य को बनाना चाहिये। संस्कृति विशेष से सम्बन्धित होनेपर भी (जिसपर हम आर्य मात्र गर्व अनुभव करते हैं) रामराज्य किसी विशेष वर्गकाही नहीं है। रामराज्य तो अन्तिम निचोड में सम्प्रदाय विहीन, संकीर्ण जातिवाद विहीन मानवता के उच्चतम आदर्शोंपर अवस्थित समाज की स्थापना का जनक है।

स्वराज्य की देहली में प्रविष्ट होतेही रामराज्य के अन्तिम उद्देश्य की पूर्ति का सबसे अधिक भार हम आर्योंपर पड गया है। आजसे हमारे जीवन की साधना का एक मात्र लक्ष्य रामराज्य के उच्चतम विकसित सिद्धान्तों का प्रसारही होना चाहिये। रामराज्यही हमारी कठिनाइयोंको ज्ञान और संस्कृति के आधार पर हल कर सकता है इसलिए स्वराज्य के बाद हमारा अगला कदम रामराज्य की स्थापना होना चाहिए।

क्रांति का प्रथम दूत—श्री श्यामजी कृष्ण वर्मा

[लेखक— श्री मोहनजी प्रधान मन्त्री विद्या परिषद गुरुकुल विश्व विद्यालय, वृन्दावन.]

विदेशी दासता से भारत को मुक्त कराने के लिए १८५७ के बाद सबसे पहला काम जिस व्यक्ति ने किया उसे आज के स्वातन्त्र्य उत्सव के अवसर पर भुलाया नहीं जा सकता। ऋषि दयानन्द के हृदय में आर्यत्व और उस की रक्षार्थ आर्यावर्त की स्वतन्त्रता के लिए जो लगन थी वह इतिहास का प्रत्येक पाठक भली भांति जानता है। ऋषि दयानन्द को केवल धार्मिक अथवा सामाजिक नेता मानना उनके साथ विश्वास घात करना है। ऋषि दयानन्द १९ वीं सताब्दी के चाणक्य कहे जा सकते है। धार्मिक शुद्धि, सामाजिक सुधार आदि उनके सब कार्यों का एक मात्र लक्ष्य भारत वर्ष की आजादी प्राप्त करना ही था। ऋषि दयानन्द ने अपने भारतीय स्वाधीनता के लक्ष्य की पूर्ति के लिए कई क्रान्तिकारी कार्य किये। स्वदेश प्रेम की जो ज्वाला उनके हृदयमें सुलग रही थी इस से उन्होंने अनेकों भारतीयोंके हृदयां में प्रकाश पेदा कर दिया स्वतन्त्रता की ज्योति जगा दी। ऋषि दयानन्द ने जिन व्यक्तियों को स्वाधीनता संग्राम का सैनिक बनाया उनमें सर्व प्रथम आदरणीय श्री श्यामजी कृष्ण वर्माका नाम हमें स्मरण हो आता है। ऋषि के शिष्य बनकर आपने विदेशों में जिस प्रकार क्रान्ति को जन्म दिया उसी ने वीर सावरकर जैसे व्यक्तियों को जन्म दिया था।

क्रान्ति की भावना श्री श्यामजी मे स्वामीजी के सम्पर्क में आते ही उत्पन्न हो गई थी। ऋषि जैसा गुरु पाकर कौन क्रान्ति कारी न बनता। देश के अन्दर अंग्रेजों की उपस्थिति श्री श्यामजी के लिए असह्य हो गई थी और वे अंग्रेजों को एक क्षण भी भारत में नहीं देखना चाहते थे। इसी समय एक घटना घटित हुई पूना में मिस्टर रैण्ड की हत्या की गयी, सारे प्रदेश में गुप्त अनुसन्धान आरम्भ हो गया। अनेक नवयुवक अनावश्यक रूप से पुलिस की चपेट में आगये। एक अंग्रेज की हत्या का बदला अनेकों भारतीयों के उत्पीडन से चुकाया गया। पुलिस ने श्यामजी को भी जो उन दिनों बम्बई में थे फांसना चाहा। जब श्यामजी ने पुलिस से अपने को सुरक्षित न देखा तब अपने गुरुस्वामीजी का आदेश ले लन्दन चले गये। श्री स्वामीजी ने लन्दन जाने से पूर्व राजनैतिक उपदेश दिया था जिसका पालन श्यामजी ने अपने जीवन पर्यन्त किया। लन्दन जाकर श्यामजी आराम से नहीं रहे और न साम्राज्यवादियों को चैन की नींद लेने दी।

विदेश में शत्रु के घर में शत्रु से लोहा लेना सर्व साधारणका काम नहीं होता। श्री श्यामजी ने अपने आन्दोलन को व्यापक रूप देने के लिए एक युक्ति से काम किया लन्दन में शिक्षा प्राप्त्यर्थ आने वाले भारतीय विद्यार्थियों का संगठन करना उन्होने अपनी योजना का मुख्य अंग बना लिया और भारतीय विद्यार्थियो के आकर्षण के लिए छात्र वृत्तियां स्थापित की। उनका विचार था कि भारतीय विद्यार्थी स्वाधीन देशों के स्वाधीन वातावरण में शिक्षा प्राप्त कर स्वदेश लौटने पर देश में स्वाधीनता का प्रचार करें। उन्होंने अपनी विचार धारा को व्यापक रूप देने के लिए लन्दन में इन्डिया होम रूललीग स्थापित की तथा " इन्डियन सोशियल आजिस्ट " नामक पत्र प्रकाशित किया।

थोडे ही दिनों में श्यामजी के पास एक बहुत बडा शिष्य समाज एकत्रित हो गया। इन एकत्र होने वालों में श्री विनायक दामोदर सावरकर भी थे। इस संगठनमें शीघ्र ही ऐसे व्यक्तियों की संख्या बढने लगी जो विद्वान और बुद्धिमान होने के साथ साथ मंजे हुए देश भक्त भी थे।

श्यामजी का यह भारतीय दल और उनका भारतीय भवन विदेश में देश भक्तों का एक अच्छा केन्द्र बन गया। थोडे ही दिन मे इस पर पुलिस की आंखे जमीं और ८ जुलाई १९०७ में पार्लियामेंट के एक सदस्य ने यह प्रश्न किया कि क्या सरकार श्यामजी कृष्ण के विरुद्ध कुछ करने विचार कर रही है?

इस प्रश्न के फल-स्वरूप परिस्थिति ऐसी हो गई कि श्यामजी को अपना निवास पेरिस के लिए परिवर्तित करना पडा। पेरिस में उन्हें लन्दन से कहीं अधिक स्वतन्त्रता पूर्वक काम करने का मौका मिला। पत्र अभी तक लन्दन से ही निकल रहा था। ब्रिटिश की साम्राज्यवादी सरकार इसे कैसे सहन कर सकती थी। १९०९ में पत्र के मुद्रक पर मुकदमा चला और उसे कडी सजा दी गई। बाद में जिन व्यक्तियों ने प्रत्र का भार अपने ऊपर लिया उन्हें भी परेशान किया गया। और अन्त में श्यामजी को पत्र बन्द करना पडा।

भारत छोडो का नारा— ऋषि दयानन्द ने स्वदेशी एवं विदेशी शासन का जो सिद्धांत घोषित किया था उसके अनुसार श्यामजी ने सबसे पहिले भारत छोडो का नारा लगाया था वे लिखते हैं:—

"ऐसा माछूम होता है कि भारतवर्ष में किसी भी आन्दोलन के लिए गुप्त होना अनिवार्य है। इसके अतिरिक्त ब्रिटिश सरकार को होश में लाने के लिए एक मात्र

उपाय क्रान्ति का प्रयोग और ज़ोर से करना ही है और यह प्रयोग तब तक किया जाय जब तक कि अंग्रेज भारत छोड कर भाग न जांय"

गदर दिवस— लन्दन में भारतीय स्वाधीनता के प्रथम संघर्ष की पुण्य-स्मृति में श्यामजी ने बडी धूम-धाम से गदर-दिवस मनाया जिससे लन्दन की सरकार और जनता में एक तहलका मच गया लन्दन से छाप-छाप कर क्रांतिकारी साहित्य भारत भेजा गया। ऐ शहीदो ! शीर्षक पर्चा भारत में क्रांति की लहर फैलाने वाला सिद्ध हुआ जिस में गदर को भारतीय स्वाधीनता का प्रथम महान युद्ध कहा गया था। श्री मदनलाल धींगरा द्वारा लन्दन में कर्नल वाईली की हत्या से इस दल का एक अपूर्व गौरव कायम हो गया। इस प्रकार श्यामजी और उनके साथियों ने देश की स्वाधीनता के लिए अपने जीवन का जो उत्सर्ग किया था जिस त्याग-तपस्या से स्वाधीनता की नींव रक्खी थी आज वह सफल बन कर हमारे सामने है।

आर्य समाज को इस बात का गौरव है कि धार्मिक तथा सामाजिक सुधार के कार्यक्रम के साथ साथ उसके श्री श्यामजीकृष्ण जैसे वीर सेनानियों ने राजनैतिक दृष्टि से आर्यसमाज के महत्व को स्थापित कर भारत की सेवा की। भारतीय स्वाधीनता के पुण्य अवसर पर सारा भारत उस ज्योतिर्धर ऋषि दयानन्द और उनके शिष्य श्री श्यामजी कृष्ण के प्रति श्रद्धांजलियाँ अर्पित करता है।

[शेष पृष्ठ ८ का]

मुसलमानों ने यह कीमत तो पाई लेकिन पाकिस्तान फिर भी नहीं स्थापित हो सका। जब औरंगजेबने स्वप्न लिया तो अंग्रेज आ धमके आज की स्थिति में पाकिस्तान अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा के अन्तर्गत कायम होने जा रहा है पर स्मरण रखिये इतिहास का पन्ना हमसे कह रहा है कि पाकिस्तानी अपनी धर्मान्धता में इस अवसर से भी लाभ न उठा अपने पैरों आप कुल्हाड़ी मार बैठेंगे। हमें सदैव अपनी और हमे अपना समझने वालों की रक्षार्थ सतर्क और सन्नद्ध रहना चाहिए फिर कोई शक्ति पाकिस्तान को कायम नहीं रहने दे सकती।

-पृष्ठ सात का शेष-

हुए ठीक ही लिखा है "शेरों का नेतृत्व गधों के हाथ में पहुंच गया था। लेकिन नवीन भारत में यह गल्ती सम्भव न होगी। नये भारत के सैनिक अफसर भाडे के टट्टू—विदेशी वेदुरा, कोर्ट, अलार्ड, एवीटेबल आदि से कहीं ऊंचे होंगे और देश उनपर गर्व कर सकेगा। हिन्दुस्तानी सेना में २३·७ प्रतिशत मुस्लिम और १६·२ प्रतिशत सिक्ख अफसर आयेंगे। यह बुद्धिमानी का काम होगा कि सिक्खों की संख्या दुनी कर दी जाय और सतर्कता के साथ राष्ट्र की वफादारी का निभाने का शिक्षण सैनिकों को मिले।

ऋषि दयानन्द ने एक स्वप्न लिया था। भारतीय नरेशों को प्रबुद्ध कर उनमें राष्ट्रीय चेतना जागृत करने और भारत की खोई हुई आजादी को उनके द्वारा वापिस लानेका वह स्वप्न उस समय पूर्ण न हो सका पर आज वह आजादी आ चुकी है और अब उससे आगे का स्वप्न उसे कायम रखने और महान् भारतके निर्माणका हमें पूरा करना है। जिन्हें मातृभूमि भारत से प्रेम है - वे सब आधुनिक भारतको शक्तिशाली बनायें, रंग जाति पाति का भेद भाव भूल जनता की संरक्षा के लिये, उसे भरपेट भोजन देने के लिये शिक्षित करने के लिये एकसाथ इकट्ठा हो। एकाकी रहनेकी स्वार्थ वृत्ति छोड एकता की ओर आगे बढे। आज भारत के सम्मान में एक गहरा धक्का पहुंचा है: मुस्लिम लीगकी भांति एक लीग फ्रांसमेंभी हो चुकी है—कैथोलिक लीग आफ फ्रांस इसने भी देशके साथ विश्वासघात किया था। विदेशी लोगोंकी मदद बुलाकर सेन्ट बार्थोलो म्यूजडे मे कत्ले आम कराया और फ्रेंचोंने फ्रेंचो का खून बहाया। पर वह अधिक समय तक इस धर्मान्धता पर टिक न सकी और उसका सर्वनाश हो गया। आज जो दुर्घटना हमारे सामने है उसका प्रतीकार करने का हममें साहस होना चाहिये। हमारे शत्रु हमारे उन्नति पथ को कण्टकाकीर्ण बना सकते हैं उसे खून से रंग सकते हैं अगर दुनियाकी कोई ताकत चाहे वह कार्टन क्लब और व्हाइटहाल या क्रोम्लीन हाउसही क्यों न हो हमारी उन्नति को नहीं रोक सकती। हम अजेय हैं और अजेय बनकर रहेंगे।

—: यह इन्दौर है :—

झण्डा नहीं बदलने देंगे—

इन्दौर राज्य हिन्दू सभाने अपनी कार्य समिति का एक विशेषाधिवेशन कर इन्दौरमें राजनैतिक परिवर्तन की सम्भावनाओं को लेकर जो अफवाहें फैल रही हैं उनपर विचार किया। प्रमुख विषय होल्कर राज्य के झण्डे में परिवर्तन करने का प्रश्न। यद्यपि इस अफवाह को अधिक महत्वपूर्ण नहीं समझा जारहा परन्तु फिर भी इस ओर सभाने जनता का और राज्य का ध्यान आकृष्ट किया है। सभाने होल्कर राज्यके ध्वजमें किसी प्रकार का परिवर्तन न हो इसके लिये एक उपसमिति का निर्माण कर दिया है जिसके सयोजक श्री. कन्हैयालालजी शर्मा इन्दौर हैं।

अहिल्योत्सव-१३ सितम्बर-

लगभग एक मास पश्चात् १३ सितम्बर को होल्कर राज्य की श्रद्धामयी मां महारानी अहिल्याबाई का निर्वाण दिवस है अहिल्योत्सव कमेटी इन्दौर के मन्त्री श्री. उदयभानुने एक अपील प्रकाशित कर जनता से इस दिवस को बडी धूमधाम से मनाने की प्रार्थना की है। और जनता से इस उत्सव को सफल बनाने के लिये आर्थिक सहायता की मांग की है।

प्रजा-मण्डल का राऊ अधिवेशन

चिर प्रतीक्षित राऊ अधिवेशन आखिर ९-८-४७ को सम्पन्न हो ही गया। श्री. परुलेकरजी आर्य की अध्यक्षता में उपस्थित जन समूह ने राज्यमें उत्तरदायी शासन की स्थापनाके लिये अपने निश्चय की घोषणा की और उसके लिए प्रयत्नशील रहने की प्रतिज्ञा ली।

शिक्षा-विभाग में पोल—

इन्दौर के कई सरकारी स्कूलों में जब शिक्षकों की कमी के कारण कक्षायें खाली पडी रहती हैं तब योग्य अध्यापकों को जिन्होंने पहले से प्रार्थना पत्र भेजकर अपनी सेवायें देनी चाही हैं उन्हें सेवा का अवसर नहीं दिया जारहा है। इसके विपरीत कहीं कहीं तो कम योग्यतावाले अध्यापकों को रखकर इस ओर और भी उपेक्षा से काम किया गया है शिक्षा-विभाग के अधिकारियोंको इस ओर शीघ्र ध्यान देकर स्थितिका स्पष्टीकरण करना चाहिये।

— एक नागरिक



(पृष्ठ ४ का शेष)

[उत्तर]—सभा, अर्थात् सभा के सदस्यगण उनको दण्ड दे उनको तो प्रजा पुरुषों से भी अधिक दण्ड दिया जाना चाहिए।

[प्रश्न]—राजादि उन प्रजा जनों से दण्ड क्यों ग्रहण करेंगे?

[उत्तर]—राजा भी एक पुण्यात्मा भाग्य शाली मनुष्य है, जब इसी को दण्ड न दिया जावे और वह दण्ड ग्रहण न करे तो दूसरे मनुष्य दण्ड क्यों ग्रहण करेंगे, और जब सब प्रजा और राज्याधिकारी धार्मिकता से दण्ड देना चाहें तो राजा अकेला क्या कर सकता है। अगर ऐसी व्यवस्था न हो तो राजा या प्रधान, और सब समर्थ पुरुष अन्याय में डूब कर न्याय धर्म को डुबाकर सारी प्रजा का नाश कर स्वय नष्ट हो जायेंगे।

[स. प्र. षष्ठ समुल्लास]

ऋषि दयानन्द के साहित्य में से ये थोडे से उद्धरण यहां दिये गये हैं। इन उद्धरणों के एक एक शब्द से भारत की स्वाधीनता एवं विशुद्ध वैदिक प्रजातन्त्र का सन्देश निकल रहा है। भारतीय स्वाधीनता एवं आदर्श प्रजातन्त्र की स्थापना के लिए १९ वीं शताब्दी में जब विदेशी राज्य सर्वथा निरंकुश था और उसके विरुद्ध कुछ कहना मृत्यु का आलिंगन करना था ऋषि ने अतंस्वजेय न नरेन्द्र भीत्या के अन्तर्नाद के साथ वैदिक राष्ट्रीयता की स्थापना की एव आदर्श प्रजातन्त्र का स्वरूप सामने रक्खा और आर्यावर्त के निवासियों को विदेशी दासता से मुक्ति के लिए स्वदेशी राज्य की महत्ता का पाठ पढाया था। ऋषि के जीवन की एक साध थी स्वतन्त्र आर्यावर्त की स्थापना—इसके लिए उन्होंने कठोर तपस्या की जीवन का प्रत्येक क्षण इसी चिन्तन में लगाया देशी नरेशों से भिक्षा माँगी और अपने शिष्यों को विदेशों में क्रान्ति के लिए भेजा इस प्रकार आज की भारतीय राजनीति में ऋषि दयानन्द ही प्रथम व्यक्ति थे जिन्होंने स्वराज्य के लिए सबसे अधिक किया उन्होंने उस मार्ग का निर्माण किया था जिसपर चलकर आज हम इस मंजिल पर पहुँच सके हैं। भारतीय स्वाधीनता के पुण्य पर्व पर ऋषि के चरणों में हम श्रद्धाञ्जलियाँ अर्पित करते हैं।

—०—०—

मुद्रक—श्रीधर पण्डित
८९ चिंतामणि प्रिंटिंग प्रेस, यशवंतगंज इन्दौर.

प्रकाशक—किशोरीलाल गोयल,
आर्यावर्त कार्यालय ७२ महारानी रोड

आर्य-जगत्

महेश्वर गुरुकुल के लिए धन संग्रह—

समसपुरा, २-८-४७ को गुरुकुल के आचार्य श्री लक्ष्मीनारायणजी विद्या भास्कर तथा मुख्याधिष्ठाता जी व गुरुकुल के ब्रह्मचारी ग्राम में पधारे, प्रातः श्री सुखदेवजी की कन्या तथा अन्य दो कन्याओं का नाम करण संस्कार आचार्यजी द्वारा सम्पन्न हुआ। आचार्यजी ने उपस्थित ग्राम वासियों के लिए ग्रामोपयोगी उपदेश दिया। सायंकाल ब्रह्मचारियों द्वारा व्यायाम प्रदर्शन हुआ जनता ने ब्रह्मचारियों के कौशल की प्रशंसा की। ब्र. अभय देव का प्रदर्शन सर्वोत्तम रहा। इसी अवसर गुरुकुल के लिए श्री रत्नाकरजी शास्त्री मुख्याधिष्ठाता गुरुकुल द्वारा गुरुकुल के लिए सहायतार्थ अभ्यर्थना करने पर निम्न दान प्राप्त हुआ।

५१) श्री सुखदेवजी पटेल, ५) श्री मुरारलालजी मुकाती, ५) श्री मांगीलालजी विजयवर्गीय देपालपुर, ३) श्री बद्रीलालजी १) श्रीमती अयोध्याबाईजी, १) श्री मुरारामजी, १) श्री हीरालालजी सुतार, =योग ६७)

रात्रि में भोजनोपरान्त सत्संग में श्री पं. देवकृष्णजी के मधुर भजनोपदेश तथा ब्रह्मचारियों के शिक्षाप्रद गायन हुए। श्री पं. रत्नाकरजी शास्त्री ने ग्रामोपयोगी भाषण देते हुए जनता से शिक्षित बनने की अपील की। श्री आचार्यजी ने दक्षिणा में प्राप्त धन भी गुरुकुल के लिए ही भेंट कर दिया है।

मन्त्री—
आर्य समाज, समसपुरा.

आर्य समाजों से—

आर्य कुमार सभा के संगठनार्थ श्री सुखदेवजी शास्त्री आर्गेनाईजर केंद्रीय कार्यालय की ओर से मध्य भारत में भ्रमण कर रहे हैं। जिन समाजों या सभाओं में शास्त्रीजी पहुंचे हों वे उनके विवरण से सूचित करें। श्री शास्त्रीजी भी आजकल जहां हो अपने पते से केन्द्रीय कार्यालय को सूचित करें। जिस समाज या सभा को उनका पता ज्ञात हो वे भी उस से कार्यालय को सूचित कर दें।

—भारत वर्षीय आर्य कुमार परिषद
कार्यालय मुरादाबाद

हिन्दी दिवस

खाचरोद हिन्दी साहित्य सभा की ओर से भारतीय विधान परिषद से स्वतन्त्र भारत की राष्ट्र भाषा हिन्दी एवं लिपि देवनागरी बनाये जाने का प्रस्ताव पास किया गया। और सरकार से अनुरोध किया गया कि हिन्दी के विद्वानों को शासन में लिया जाय जनता से हिन्दी को ही जीवन की एक मात्र भाषा मानने की अपील की गई।

नारी रक्षा कार्य

श्रीमती कमलाबाई आयु १६, पत्नी श्रीप्यारेलाल। जब प्यारेलाल महू सी. आई. पुलिस में काम करता था तब महू में उसी पुलिस के गुन्डों ने उस बाई के साथ अनुचित सम्बन्ध के प्रयत्न किये। कुछ दिनों बाद जब प्यारेलाल बदली होकर इन्दौर आगया तो वे गुंडे यहां भी बाई के पीछे लगे रहे। और अन्त में अवसर मिलते ही बाई को गायब कर दिया और महू में रक्खा और उसके साथ बलात्कार किया। १०, ११ दिन बाद जब महू में होने का निश्चित पता लगा तब बाई के पति आदि ने परदेशीपुरा आर्यसमाज के मंत्री को सूचित किया। श्रीगोरेलालजी मंत्री व श्री अमनलालजी मचेल बाई की रक्षार्थ महू पहुंचे और बाई को गुन्डों से छुड़ाकर इंदौर में ले आये। बाई का उचित प्रबंध समाज की ओर से कर दिया गया है।

आर्यावर्त पंजाब सहायता-निधि

५) श्री छोगालालजी चिन्तामणिजी
सियागंज इन्दौर
११) दी सायकल हार्ड वेयर मार्ट
सियागंज इन्दौर
२) ,, मेसर्स माहेश्वरी स्टोर्स सिहोर
२) श्री बाबू मुरलीधरजी जैन उज्जैन
२०) इस सप्ताह का योग
१३७४५ पूर्व योग
१३७६५ महा योग

कन्हैयालाल,
कोषाध्यक्ष— दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन,
इन्दौर.

राजस्थान व मालवा में प्रांतीय आर्यकुमार सभा

श्रीजीवानन्दजी आनन्द विशारद सि. भास्कर ने प्रांत के आर्य युवकों से प्रांत में शीघ्र ही प्रांतीय आर्य कुमार सभा स्थापित करने का प्रयत्न करने की अपील की है। केंद्रीय सभा की ओर से श्रीसुखदेवजी शास्त्री प्रांत में संगठन का कार्य कर रहे हैं। राजस्थान व मालवा प्रांत में अधिक से अधिक संख्या में सभाओं की स्थापना की जानी चाहिये। आवश्यक जानकारी के लिए सभाकार्यालय मुरादाबाद अथवा आर्य कुमार सभा सुजानगढ [बीकानेर] राजपूताना से पत्र व्यवहार करें।

प्रचार

श्रीस्वामी जगदीशानन्दजी महाराज (दयानन्द साल्वेशन मिशन) मुर्री ठाकुरों के ग्राम (भूपाल) में प्रचारार्थ पधारे दो दिन तक प्रभावशाली व्याख्यान हुए। जनता पर्याप्त संख्या में भाग लेती रही।

शुभ विवाह संस्कार

इंदौर श्रद्धानन्द अनाथालय की दो कन्याओं का विवाह संस्कार श्री बद्रीप्रसादजी इंदौर तथा श्रीभैरवलालजी ओसवाल चोपड़ा निवासी के साथ २७-७-४७ को समारोह के साथ श्री सेठ जगन्नाथजी की धर्मशाला में सम्पन्न हुआ। नगर के आर्य जन बड़ी संख्या में उपस्थित थे।

—मन्त्री पूरनमल

आर्यावर्त के ग्राहकों को सूचनाएं
आगामी अंक बन्द रहेगा

आर्यावर्त का यह अंक १६ पृष्ठ का निकल रहा है और ३१ ता. का अंक श्रावणी पर्व सम्बन्धी बृहद् अंक होगा अतः निश्चय किया गया है कि २४-७-४७ का अंक बन्द रहे। प्रेमी पाठकों तथा एजेन्टों को नोट कर लेना चाहिए।

ग्राहकों से निवेदन

हमारे पास प्रायः आर्यावर्त न पहुँच ने की शिकायत आती रहती है। यहां से आर्यावर्त प्रति शुक्रवार को पोस्ट हो जाता है। जिन को इतवार या सोमवार तक न मिल सके उन्हें अपने पोस्ट आफिस में जांच करनी चाहिए तब फिर लिखना चाहिए और पत्र व्यवहार करते समय सदैव ग्राहक नम्बर लिखना चाहिए पत्र व्यवहार में विलम्ब और असुविधा न हो इसका यही उपाय है। व्यवस्थापक—
आर्यावर्त साप्ताहिक

आर्यावर्त

आर्य समाज १५ अगस्त का स्वतन्त्रता-दिवस हर्ष व उत्साह पूर्वक मनायेगा।

प्रत्येक आर्य समाज मन्दिर में यज्ञ हो, ओ३म् की पताका मन्दिर में फहराई जाय, और स्वतन्त्र भारत के लिए शुभ कामना की जाय

— सार्वदेशिक आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा का आदेश —

दिल्ली में सार्वदेशिक आर्य प्रतिनिधि सभा ने अपना एक विशेष अधिवेशन ३ अगस्त को १५ अगस्त स्वाधीनता दिवस के सम्बन्ध में आर्य समाज के कार्यक्रम पर विचार करने के लिए बुलाया था। इस अधिवेशन में १५ अगस्त के सम्बन्ध में जो निर्णय किया गया वह इस प्रकार है—

प्रस्ताव संख्या १— भारतीय उपनिवेश— यद्यपि सभा की दृष्टि में भारतवर्ष का इण्डिया और पाकिस्तान नामक दो भागों में विभाजन देश के लिए सांस्कृतिक और राजनैतिक दोनों प्रकार से अत्यन्त हानिकारक है, तथा १५ अगस्त के बाद स्थापित होने वाले विधान में वैदिक आदर्शों की दृष्टि से कतिपय न्यूनताएं हैं, तथापि यह सभा विदेशी शासन से मुक्त होने पर प्रसन्नता प्रकट करती है और भारत के आर्य जनों को आदेश देती है कि वे स्वतन्त्रता-दिवस को हर्ष तथा उत्साह के साथ मनावें। उस दिन समाज मन्दिर में यज्ञ किया जाय और ओ३म् की पताका फहराई जाय तथा स्वतन्त्र भारत के लिए शुभ कामना की जाय।

प्रस्ताव संख्या २— पाकिस्तान उपनिवेश— पाकिस्तान का वैधानिक चित्र इस समय तक अस्पष्ट है अतः यह सभा पाकिस्तान के आर्य जनों को १५ अगस्त का दिन मनाने अथवा न मनाने के सम्बन्ध में कोई आदेश नहीं देती। पाकिस्तान का वैधानिक स्वरूप प्रकट हो जाने पर ही सभा इस सम्बन्ध में वहां की जनता को कोई आदेश देगी।

हिन्दुस्तान और पाकिस्तान के गवर्नर जनरलों तथा गवर्नरों की नई नियुक्तियां—

भारतीय उपनिवेश

गवर्नर जनरल—	लार्ड माउण्टबेटन
गवर्नर पश्चिमी बंगाल—	श्री. राजगोपालाचार्य.
,, पूर्वी पंजाब—	श्री. चन्दूलाल त्रिवेदी.
,, मध्य प्रान्त और बरार—	श्री. मंगलदास पकवासा.
,, बिहार—	श्री जयरामदास दौलतराम.
,, उड़ीसा—	श्री कैलाशनाथ काटजू,
,, युक्त.प्रान्त—	श्री डा. विधानचंद्रराय =
,, आसाम—	सर मुहम्मद अकबर हैदरी

पाकिस्तान उपनिवेश—

गवर्नर जनरल—	मियाँ मुहम्मदअली जिन्ना.
गवर्नर पश्चिमी पंजाब—	सर रार्बट फ्रांसिसमुडी
,, सिन्ध—	सर गुलामहुसेन हिदायतुल्ला
,, सीमाप्रान्त—	सर जार्ज कनिंघम
,, पूर्वी बंगाल—	बाद में घोषित किया जायगा.

= श्री विधानचन्द्र राय इस समय अमेरिका में हैं, उनके वापिस आनेतक श्री सरोजनी नायडू युक्तप्रान्तकी गवर्नर रहेंगी। भारतीय उपनिवेशमें बम्बई और मद्रासके गवर्नर ही यथापूर्व कुछ समयतक कार्य करेंगे।

दिनांक १०अगस्त४७
मूल्य ५) वार्षिक

सम्पादकः— स्नातक उमेशचन्द्र

अंक सं २१
एक अंक =)

—००—दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर का मुखपत्र—००—

हिन्दी कैसे राष्ट्र-भाषा बने

अखिल भारतीय हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन की स्थायी समिति के महत्व पूर्ण निश्चयः-

प्रस्ताव सं. १

[१] भारतीय विधान परिषद द्वारा यह स्वीकार कर लिया जाय कि भारतवर्ष की राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी और राष्ट्र लिपि देवनागरी है।

[२] समस्त अन्तःप्रांतीय और केन्द्रीय कार्यों के लिए जिन विभागों तथा कार्यक्षेत्रों मे अबतक अंग्रेजी अथवा अन्य किसी भाषा का व्यवहार होता हो वहां सर्वत्र हिन्दी भाषाका और जहां रोमन या फारसी लिपि का प्रयोग होता हो वहां देवनागरी लिपि का व्यवहार किया जाय।

[३] हिन्दी भाषा भाषी प्रांतों (संयुक्त प्रान्त, बिहार, मध्यप्रान्त, पूर्वीय पंजाब, दिल्ली, अजमेर, मेरवाडा, तथा मध्यभारत और उपर्युक्त प्रान्तों की अन्तवर्ती रियासतों में सर्वत्र देवनागरी लिपि के द्वारा हिन्दी भाषा की अनिवार्य शिक्षा दीजाय और उर्दू तथा अंग्रेजी की अनिवार्यता को तुरन्त समाप्त कर दियाजाय। प्रांतीय तथा रियासती शासनों के सभी विभागों में हिन्दी भाषा और देवनागरी लिपि का व्यवहार अनिवार्य कर दिया जाय। अन्य प्रांतों और रजवाडों में वहां की भाषाएं शासन कार्यों में मान्य रह सकती है।

[४] उपर्युक्त तीनों धाराओंमें प्रतिपादित मन्तव्यों के अनुकूल सम्मेलन निम्नलिखित सुझाव उपस्थित करता हैं—

[अ] केन्द्रीय तथा प्रान्तीय शासनों के द्वारा और उनकी सहायता से हिन्दुस्तानी के निर्माण और प्रसार का जो कार्य चल रहा है वह तुरन्त बन्द कर दिया जाय।

[आ] रक्षा विभाग के सैनिकों की शिक्षा और कामकाज के लिए रोमन लिपि में लिखी जानेवाली उर्दू अथवा हिन्दुस्तानी के स्थान पर देवनागरी लिपि में लिखी हुई हिन्दी भाषा प्रचलित कीजाय।

[इ] ध्वनि-प्रसार [रेडियो] विभागके द्वारा प्रसारित सभी अखिल भारतीय प्रोग्रामों की भाषा अंग्रेजी और उर्दू तथा हिन्दुस्तानीको हटाकर हिन्दी कीजाय।

(ई) केन्द्रीय तथा हिन्दी भाषा भाषी प्रान्तों और रजवाडों के समस्त विभागों में हिन्दी भाषा और देवनागरी लिपि १५ अगस्त १९४८ तक अपना स्थान ग्रहण करले। जो अधिकारी तथा कर्मचारी हिन्दी भाषा और देवनागरी से अनभिज्ञ हैं उनको आदेश दियाजाय कि वह इन्हें शीघ्रातिशीघ्र सीख ले।

[उ] हिन्दी भाषा भाषी प्रान्तों और रजवाडों की सारी शिक्षा का माध्यम तुरन्त हिंदी घोषित कर दिया जावे। सभी विश्व विद्यालयों की शिक्षा का माध्यम तुरन्त हिंदी घोषित कर दिया जाय। और यह प्रस्ताव तीन वर्षके अन्दर कार्य में परिणत कर दिया जाय और कोई भी विश्वविद्या- इसका अपवाद न बनाया जाय।

[ऊ] अधिकारियों और कर्मचारियों से समिति का आग्रह है कि वे देश के प्रति अपने कर्तव्य को समझते हुए दृढतापूर्वक हिन्दी का ही प्रयोग करें। दूसरी किसी भाषा का नहीं तथा जिन्हें हिन्दी नहीं आती वे हिंदी सीखें तथा दूसरों को प्रेरित करें।

प्रस्ताव सं. २

सम्मेलन की यह समिति उन सरकारों से प्रार्थना करती है कि जिनके यहां ऐंग्लो हिन्दुस्तानी स्कूलों में कक्षा ५ से ८ तक छात्रों को अनिवार्य रूप से उर्दू पढना पडता है वे उसें तुरन्त रद्द कर दें। अनिवार्य द्वितीय भाषा के रूप में भी उर्दू का अध्ययन बन्द कर दिया जाय।

प्रस्ताव सं. ३

पुलिस, अदालत आदि सार्वजनिक सरकारी स्थानों में सूचनाएं और अभियोग कार्यक्रम हिन्दी में किए जाने की आज्ञा जिन सरकारों ने निकाली हैं उन्हे इस ओर आज्ञा निकाल कर चुप नहीं बैठना चाहिये आज्ञा को क्रियात्मक रूप देना चाहिये।

प्रस्ताव सं. ४

युक्तप्रान्त की सरकार ने हिन्दुस्तानी के प्रचार के लिए जो ५००००) पचास हजार रुपया रक्खा है उसका उपयोग हिन्दी की उन्नति में सम्मेलन की योजनानुसार किया जाय।

—इन निश्चयों में से बहुत से ऐसे हैं जिनका संबंध सरकार के साथ है परन्तु हम हिन्दी भाषा भाषियों का भी कर्तव्य इन प्रस्तावो में उल्लिखित है। सरकार के अपनाने पर यदि कोई हिन्दी को अपनाता है तो उसका कोई महत्व नहीं है। महत्व तो उसका है और रहेगा जो हिन्दी को अपनी राष्ट्र भाषा समझ अपने जीवन में उसे ओतप्रोत किये है और किये रहने में गर्व अनुभव करता है। आज पहलेसे अधिक दायित्व हिन्दी को राष्ट्र भाषा माननेवालों पर आपडा है हमें अपना कर्तव्य निभाना चाहिये और राष्ट्र भाषा के महत्व पूर्ण पदपर हिन्दी भाषा को बिठाने में सफलता प्राप्त करनी चाहिये।

—सम्पादक

आर्यावर्त

सृष्टि १९७२९४९०४७] दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर का मुखपत्र [दयानन्द जन्माब्द १२३

वर्ष २] इन्दौर, रविवार दिनाङ्क १० अगस्त १९४७, श्रावण वदी ९ वि. सं. २००४ [संख्या २१

स्वाधीनता का पुण्य पर्व

सहस्रों वर्षों के बाद स्वतन्त्रता सूर्य अपनी उज्वल रश्मियों के साथ भारत में प्रवेश करने आ रहे हैं। सामाजिक अधःपतन के कारण प्राप्त राजनैतिक दासता से हम मुक्त होने जा रहे हैं। क्या आज कोई भी ऐसा व्यक्ति होगा जो इस महान पुण्य पर्व पर अपने अन्दर हर्ष और उल्लास अनुभव न करता हो। भारत के इतिहास में १५ अगस्त का दिन निश्चय ही एक स्वर्ण दिवस के नाम से स्मरण किया जायगा। संसार के इतिहास में इस प्रकार के शान्तिपूर्ण परिवर्तन का गौरव भारत के सिवाय किसी को प्राप्त नहीं है। भारत का स्वातन्त्र्य आन्दोलन और उससे प्राप्त आज की यह स्वाधीनता एक आश्चर्यजनक घटना है जो संसार का प्रत्येक पुरुष भारत का नाम स्मरण करते हुए दुहराया करेगा।

आज जो हम पा सके हैं उसके पीछे एक लम्बा इतिहास है, अनेकों दिग्गज विद्वानों, सहस्रों संस्थाओं, लाखों करोड़ों व्यक्तियों के त्यागपूर्ण बलिदान की कहानियाँ इस इतिहास में जुड़ी हुई हैं। आज का स्वाधीनता सूर्य उन सब त्यागी तपस्वियों राष्ट्र-भक्तों के प्रति अपना श्रेष्ठ समर्पण कर हमें आगे उस स्वाधीनता को स्थिर रखने का सन्देश देने आरहा है। हम उस दिन कैसे प्रसन्नता प्रकट करें, उस दिन नये और पुराने युग की सन्ध्या वेला पर हम क्या उत्सर्जन और ग्रहण करेंगे ये प्रश्न हैं जो हमें विचारने हैं।

आर्य समाज के प्रवर्तक ऋषि दयानन्द ने भारतीय स्वाधीनता के वर्तमान आन्दोलन में सबसे प्रथम अपना समर्पण किया था। ऋषि के हृदय में आर्यावर्त और आर्य जाति की महत्ता थी जो अग्नि प्रज्वलित की उसे कौन भूल सकता है? इस प्रकार स्वराज्य शब्द की आद्युद्घोषक ऋषि की आत्मा आज कितना सुख अनुभव कर रही होगी यह नहीं कहा जासकता हम आर्यों का कर्तव्य है कि ऋषि की आत्मा की प्रसन्नता के साथ स्वयं आनन्द मनायें और इस प्रकार का व्रत लें कि जो दुखदायी घटना विभाजन के रूप में हमारे सामने घटित हुई है उसे अपने त्याग, बलिदान और सामाजिक उत्थान के द्वारा सुखमय बना सकें। विभाजन के दुख को नष्ट करने के लिए हमें कटिबद्ध होना पड़ेगा। देश के अन्दर से सामाजिक सड़ांदको जिसका फल आज का विभाजन है हमें ही नष्ट करना है इस दृष्टि से प्रत्येक आर्य पर सबसे अधिक भार है। संसार का उपकार करना जिस समाज का मुख्य उद्देश्य है वह अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय होते हुए भी राष्ट्रीयता से दूर नहीं भाग सकता, राष्ट्र के उत्थान का मूल-मन्त्र आचार्य दयानन्द के शब्दों में सामाजिक उत्थान है। इसलिए स्वाधीनता दिवस के पुण्य पर्व पर हमें अपनी पूर्ण शक्तियों के साथ राष्ट्र के सामाजिक जीवन में एक क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन लाने का निश्चय करना चाहिए। इस निश्चय को कार्य रूप में परिणत करने के लिए हमें अपने व्यक्ति-गत जीवन की कमियां दूर करनी होंगी और तब एक महान सेना के रूप में राष्ट्र की सेवा के लिए आगे आना होगा।

उत्सव मनाने का जहां तक संबंध है सार्वदेशिक सभा की ओर से सूचना दी जा चुकी है। राष्ट्र का नागरिक होने के नाते राष्ट्रीय रूप से जो भी उत्सव समारोह मनाया जावे उसमें प्रत्येक को भाग लेकर अपने राष्ट्र प्रेम का परिचय देना चाहिये। अभी तक धार्मिक, सामाजिक संस्था रहने के कारण आर्य समाज मन्दिरों में स्वतन्त्र रूप से ओ३म् पताका फहराने का जो कार्यक्रम है उसका नीति से सम्बन्ध है किसी प्रकार का विरोध नहीं। हां, प्रत्येक समाज की ओर से भारतीय स्वाधीनता के प्रति शुभ कामनायें तथा दीपमालिका, नगर कीर्तन आदि की व्यवस्था स्वयं की जा सकती है इसमें किसी प्रकार का कोई बन्धन नहीं है। राष्ट्र ने जिस रूप में उत्सव मनाने का निश्चय किया है उसमें प्रत्येकको सोत्साह सम्मिलित होना ही चाहिये। भारत के इतिहास में वह दिन राष्ट्र भक्ति प्रदर्शन का दिन होगा। उस दिन स्वतन्त्र भारत का निर्माण होगा इससे किसे प्रसन्नता न होगी इसलिए प्रत्येक आर्य का कर्तव्य है कि वह अपनी पूरी शक्ति के साथ इस समारोह को मनाये और मनाने में सहयोग दे।

स्वाधीनता दिवस जिस स्वाधीनता की नींव डालने आ रहा है उसको गौरव

पूर्ण बनाना और उसकी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीयता को व्यापक और प्रभावशाली बनाना हमारा ही कर्तव्य है इस लिए इस दिन से हम ऐसा कोई भी कार्य न करने का निश्चय करलें जिस से भारत की इज्जत खतरे में पड़ती हो। संसार का नेतृत्व भारत के हाथों में आना चाहता है यदि हम साव-धानी से चले तो हम इस गौरव को तुरन्त पा जायेंगे और फिर एक बार मनु के उस समय को पा सकेंगे जब— एतद्देश प्रसू-तस्य सकाशादग्र जन्मनः स्वं-स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्व मानवाः। प्रभो हम भारतीयों में वह शक्ति भक्ति और बल दो जिस से हम इस स्वर्ण अवसर से लाभ उठा अपनी स्वाधीनता को स्थिर रख सकें और विश्व शान्ति के अग्रदूत बन संसार को सत्यंशिवं सुन्दरं का पाठ पढ़ा सकें और सारे विश्व को एक परिवार बनाने का गौरव प्राप्त कर सकें। स्वाधीनता की जय हो, भारत माता की जय हो।

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वि चा र—क ण...

विवेक भ्रष्टा न शोभन्ते

देश के राज नैतिक परिवर्तनों ने एक नई जागृति को जन्म दिया है इसमें किसी को सन्देह नहीं है। आज जब हम एक शक्तिशाली साम्राज्य की दासता से मुक्त होकर स्वतन्त्रता का आलिंगन करने जा रहे हैं, जिस स्वतन्त्रता की आराधना में हमने अपने बलिदानो का सिञ्चन किया है वह हमारे पास पहुँच रही है तब कुछ ऐसी कार्य वाहियां दिखाई दे रहीं हैं जिन्हें देश का दुर्भाग्य ही कहा जा सकता है। हम फूट की बीमारी से अभी मुक्त नहीं हो पाये हैं, इसी फूट के कारण निरन्तर एक हजार वर्ष तक हमारा अधः पतन हुआ और हमने पराधीन बन अपने गौरव पूर्ण इतिहास को कलंकित किया है अब जब एक लम्बे साधना पूर्ण संघर्ष के बाद हम अपने जन्म सिद्ध अधिकार को पाने जारहे हैं हमारे अन्दर ईर्ष्या द्वेष की भावनायें नहीं रहनी चाहिये, परन्तु जैसे जैसे निर्धारित समय समीप आरहा है हमारा पारस्परिक विरोध बढ़ता चला आरहा है क्या इस पर गम्भीरता से प्रत्येक भारतीय को विचार नहीं करना चाहिए।

कांग्रेस और हिन्दू महासभा में इस समय जोसंघर्ष छिड़ गया है उसे सामयिक नहीं कहा जा सकता सभा के नेताओं ने पहल करके अपनी प्राप्त जनप्रियता को नष्ट करने का अनायास अनजाने में प्रयत्न किया है और सम्भव है, महा सभा को इस आन्दो-लन से भारी धक्का भी लगे। सम्भव है महासभा के प्रति बढ़ता हुआ धार्मिक भावनापूर्ण प्रेम राष्ट्रीयता के वर्तमान स्वरूप में विलुप्त हो सकता है। इसलिए जो शीघ्रता की गई है उसे तत्काल वापिस लेकर आन्दोलन को विशुद्ध राष्ट्रीय बनाने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए।

कांग्रेस जैसी राष्ट्रीय संस्था के ऊपर इस समय जो महान् उत्तर दायित्व आपड़ा है उसको सम्हालना कांग्रेस की उच्च सत्ता का कर्तव्य है। पिछले दिनों देश के रक्त-पात एवं देश के विभाजनके प्रश्न को लेकर कांग्रेस जनता की जिस आलोचना का विषय रहीहै उसमें बहुत कुछ सार है और उसी तत्व को लेकर कांग्रेसेतर पार्टियों अपने प्रभाव को व्यापक बना रहीं हैं। महासभा का सत्याग्रह इसी प्रकार का एक प्रयत्न है। वास्तव में देश की भलाई इसी में है कि जनता की विचार धारा को समझा जाय और एक निश्चित समय के अन्दर जन प्रिय नीति की घोषणा कर दी जाय। कांग्रेस की उपयोगिता इसी में है कि वह समझौता प्रिय नीति को त्याग तुरन्त सैद्धान्तिक राष्ट्रीयता को स्वीकार करले राष्ट्रीयता के जो अन्तर राष्ट्रीय नियम हैं उनका पालन किया जाय और किसी प्रकार की सम्प्रदाय विशेष की सुविधा को कोई महत्व न दिया जाय। आज जो संघर्ष छिड़ा हुआ है उसके सम्बन्ध में महासभा के दृष्टि को^{ण} ^{र्न} समर्थन नहीं किया जा सकता पर साथ ही कांग्रेस सरकार की उस शिथिल नीति में जो उसने मुस्लिम लीग के "सीधी कार्यवाही" के समय बर्ती थी अचानक एकदम इतना कठोर परिवर्तन देखकर हम कहे बिना नहीं रह सकते कि कांग्रेस की ओर से नेतृत्व के मोह को बनाये रखनेके लिए ही यह किया गया है। गलती यही है कि जो व्यवहार महासभा के साथ करने का साहस सरकार ने किया है वह व्यवहार पहले मुस्लिम लीग के साथ किया जाता तो सम्भव था वर्तमान स्थिति कुछ बदली होती केवल नेतृत्व को कायम रखने के लिए यदि दोनों पार्टियां संघर्ष में जूझना चाहती हैं तो यह स्वाधी-नता के लिए त्याग बलिदान करने वालों के प्रति अन्याय ही कहा जायगा। विशुद्ध भारतीय राष्ट्रीयता के सिद्धान्तो पर देश का भविष्य निमार्ण करने की घोषणा कर दोनों पार्टियां अपना महत्व बढ़ा सकती हैं। जमीदारों का आश्रय लें और उनके अस्तित्व को कायम रखने के प्रयत्न मे जो भी पार्टी राष्ट्रीयता या हिन्दुत्व की ओट लेगी वह अधिक दिन जीवित नहीं रह सकती।

(शेष पृष्ठ ९ पर)

हरिजनों के लिए कुएं

इन्दौर मालवा मिल और आसपास के मिल एरिया में अछूत संघ, व श्री रमेशचन्दजी तथा डा० दूबने प्रयत्न करके हरिजनों के लिए कुओं से पानी भरने का अधिकार हिन्दुओं से स्वीकार करा लिया है। भविष्य में इस क्षेत्र के हरिजन सम्पूर्ण कुओं से पानी भर सकेंगे। वहा के उत्साही कार्यकर्ताओं और हिन्दुओं का प्रयत्न सराहनीय है।

पाक-विज्ञान.......

खुशी में क्या खायें

१५ अगस्त हमारे जीवन में सबसे सुन्दर और महान् दिवस होगा जब प्रत्येक भारतीय चिरकालीन दासता से मुक्त हो स्वतंन्त्रता के गौरवपूर्ण पदका अनुभव करेगा। खुशीमें भारतीय प्रथाके अनुसार घरों में पकवान बना करते हैं। आज हम अपने जीवनकी सब प्रसन्नताओं से बड़ी प्रसन्नता मनाने की सोच रहे हैं तब मां अन्नपूर्णा के अनुग्रह से हम अपने प्रेमी पाठक-पाठिकाओं के सामने कुछ पकवानों का उल्लेख कर देना ठीक समझते हैं। लीजिये सबसे प्रथम——

पूरनपूरी प्रयाग अंक ११

सामग्री—चनेकी दाल १ सेर, चीनी आधा सेर या गुड़, गेहू का आटा या मैदा घी, इलायची, गोला आदि।

विधि——चने की दाल को मामूली तौरपर उबालकर उतार लें और दाल का थोड़ा ठण्डा होने दें मामूली ठण्डा होनेपर उसमें चीनी या गुड़ मिला दीजिये और फिर उसको आगपर चढ़ा दीजिए जब चाशनी में १ तार आजाय तब नीचे उतारकर सिलबटे पर पिट्ठी बना ले और इलायची, गोला आदि मिलाकर तय्यार कर लें। गेहूं का आटा या मैदा लेकर लोई बना बेलकर उसमे चने की दाल आदि की जो पिट्ठी है उसे लोई में लपेट घी में सेक लीजिये और गरम गरम खाते जाइए। ठण्डी होने पर पूरीमें आनन्द नहीं आता।

नागौरी पूरी प्रयोग अंक १२

सामग्री मैदा १ सेर, घी डेढ़पाव नमक, अजवायन।

विधि——मैदेमें घी नमक, अजवायन डालकर गुन गुने पानी से गूंथ लें लोई बना घी में सेंक लीजिये।

नान खताई प्रयोग अंक १३

सामग्री—१ सेर मैदा, १ सेर घी, १ सेर बूरा या पिसी चीनी, ९ माशा समुद्र फेन, (१ सेर सामान में ३ माशा के हिसाब से)

विधि—मैदा, घी, बूरा तीनोंको मिला समुद्र फेन डालकर उसन लें, पानी बिल्कुल भी न डालें गोल गोल लोई बनाकर चाकू से बीच में काटकर रख ले। कोयलो को अच्छी तरह सुलगाकर तीन ईंटों के त्रिकोण में घेर लें, इसी प्रकार एक तसले में कोयले अलग सुलगाकर रख लें, एक थाली में नीचे कागज बिछाकर थोड़ी थोड़ा दूरपर उन आधे टुकड़ों को जमाकर रखिए। पहले सब सामान एक या दो जितनी थालियों में आये उतनी थालियों में ठीक प्रकार से जमाकर रख लीजिये और फिर ईंटावाली आग पर थाली को रखिए और थाली के ऊपर से आग के तसले को रखिए। जब आग के सेक से टिकियों का रंग बादामी पड़ जाय तब निकालें और दूसरी तय्यार थाली इसी भांति रखकर सेक लें। सिक जाने की पहिचान यह है कि जब नानखताई का रंग बादामी हो जाय और वह खिल जाय तब समझिए अच्छी तरह सिक गई है।

नारियल की बर्फी

प्रयोग अंक १४

सामग्री:——नारियल आधा सेर खोवा आधा सेर, चीनी एक सेर, इलायची एक तोला, घी इच्छानुसार।

विधिः — इसके बनाने के लिए कच्चा नारियल अधिक उपयुक्त होता है परन्तु सूखा गोला भी हो तो कोई हानि नहीं, चाकू से सूखे गोले के ऊपरी काले छिलके को साफ कर सिलपर पीस डालिए, कच्चा नारियल हो तो उसे भी पीसिए. पिसे नारियल में खोवा डालकर भूनिए। पीछे से इलायची मिला कर चीनी की बनी हुई चासनी मे डालकर मिलादें और थाली में घी चुपड़ कर बर्फी जमालें और चाकूसे कतौरियां काट खावें। —पाक शास्त्री

मध्य-भारत –

राजगढ राज्य की कौन्सिल में जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व

राज्य के शासन मे जनता का अधिक सम्पर्क लाने के लिये राजगढ दरबार ने एक सुधार कमेटी बनाने का तय किया है। जिसमें अधिकांश गैर सरकारी सदस्य रहेंगे वर्तमान कौन्सिल में जनता का प्रतिनिधित्व एक दम प्राप्त करने के लिये जनता के दो कौन्सिलर नियुक्त किये जायेंगे। ज्योंही शासन विधान बन जायगा और चुनाव का प्रश्न हल होजायगा त्योंही ये कौन्सिलर चुन लिये जावेंगे। राज्यके कस्बों और गांवों से म्यूनिसिपिलेटी व पंचायतों द्वारा इनकी नियुक्ति के लिये नाम मांगे गये हैं और आखरी चुनाव के पहिले महत्व के विषयों पर विचार प्रगट करने का मौका दिया जायगा।

(पृष्ठ ४ का शेष)

इसलिए आवश्यकता है इस बातकी कि उभय पक्षी नेता गण स्वाधीनता के उदय काल में राष्ट्र के साथ ईमानदारी का व्यवहार करे और राष्ट्र का नव निर्माण करने में कन्धेसे कन्धा भिड़ाकर आगे बढे यदि हमने ऐसा किया तो खोया भी पालेंगे और यदि हम लड़ते रहे तो याद रखिये पाया भी खो देंगे। समय आने से पूर्व चेतिए नहीं तो विवेक-भ्रष्ट व्यक्ति, जातियाँ, देश जिस प्रकार नष्ट हो जाते हैं उसी प्रकार हम गौरव पूर्ण भारत को नष्ट करके ही छोड़ेंगे। हे प्रभो— तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय।

— गुरुकुल महेश्वर समाचार —

—कुलभूमि मे २७—७—४७ को गुरुकुल सम्बन्धा आवश्यक विषयों पर विचारार्थ गुरुकुल के अधिकारियों, पालको और हितेच्छुओं की सम्मिलित सभा हुई। दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन क कार्य कर्त्ताओं ने गुरुकुल के आय-व्यय पत्र का निरीक्षण किया और उसे सन्तोषजनक पाया। गुरुकुल के आर्थिक संकट पर गम्भीर विचार किया गया और निम्न व्यक्तियों ने मासिक सहायता के रूप में निम्न प्रकार धन देना स्वीकार किया।

१००) दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर द्वारा मासिक सहायता वर्तमान मंहगाई व अन्न संकट काल तक दी जायगी।

५) श्री माधवरावजी कसरावद
५) „ मुकुन्दजी „
९) „ नारायणजी बाकसमुद
२४) „ मुरारजी समसपुरा
१२) „ देवदत्त हीरालालजी ग्रामकुआँ
४) „ दयारामजी „
९) „ देवदत्तजी झापडू „
५) „ सकरलालजी आजाद दवाना
५) „ चम्पालालजी मांदरा
५) „ रणछोडजा इन्दौर
४) „ रघुनाथजी मुकाती सुन्देरल
५) „ गगारामजी भाई घटवाँ
१९२)

इस प्रकार १९२) मासिक सहायता के निश्चित आश्वासन दिए गये।

वर्तमान में गुरुकुल में प्रत्यक ब्रह्मचारी से १६) मासिक व्यय किया जाता है। जब कि औसत व्यय २८) पड रहा है। कुछ सरक्षकों ने गुरुकुल सहायतार्थ १६) के अतिरिक्त होनवाले १२) के अधिक व्यय को भी स्वय देना स्वीकार किया हुआ है और वे १६) शुल्क+१२) महंगाई सहायता दे रहे हैं। परन्तु यह स्मरणीय है कि वे २८) देने के लिए नियमतः बाध्य नहीं हैं। इस प्रकार उस भ्रमको दूर कर देना चाहिये जो कि गुरुकुल के सम्बन्ध में कुछ लोगोंने प्रचारित किया है कि जब २८) मासिक शुल्क लिया जाता है तब व्यय पूरा क्यों नहीं पडता। कुछ पालकों द्वारा २८) प्राप्त होन का यह अर्थ कदापि नही है कि सभी बालकों क सरक्षक इतनाही शुल्क या सहायता देते हैं। शेष बालकोंके लिए व्यय होता है उसकी पूर्ति आवश्यक है। इसलिए गुरुकुल की सहायता सबको करनी चाहिए।

गुरुकुल के मन्त्री श्री बाबूलालजी का त्याग-पत्र प्रस्तुत होकर स्वीकृत किया गया और भविष्यके लिए उनके स्थान पूर्त्यर्थ श्री. सेठ रामलालजी महेश्वरवाले सर्व सम्मतिसे मन्त्री एवं कोषाध्यक्ष निर्वाचित हुए।

पूर्व सूचनानुसार गुरुकुल की त्रैमासिक परीक्षाए २८,२९-८-४८ को गुरुकुल भवन में श्री. घासीरामजी, श्री. भगीरथजी व श्री रामचंद्रजी, श्री. रामाजी व श्री. देवदत्तजी हीरालालजी की उपस्थिति में आचार्यजी व अन्य उपाध्यायों द्वारा की गइ। समस्त छात्र उत्तम अंको से उत्तीर्ण रहे। उपस्थित सज्जनोंने छात्रों की शिक्षाके सम्बन्ध में अपना सन्तोष व्यक्त किया। दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन के कार्यकर्ताओं तथा पालकों न गुरुकुल की स्वच्छता एव प्रबन्ध व्यवस्था की अत्यन्त प्रशसा की। समस्त छात्र स्वस्थ चित्त है।

वर्षा-ऋतु में ब्रह्मचारियों को प्रकृति विज्ञान का व्यावहारिक अध्ययन कराने के विचारसे ब्रह्मचारियों को पुष्पवाटिकायें बनाने के लिये प्रोत्साहन दिया गया है। ब्रह्मचारियों ने थोडे ही समय में अपने परिश्रमसे सुन्दर वाटिकायें बनाली हैं इस समय वाटिकाओं में मौसमी सब्जियां, वर्षा कालीन पुष्प एवं लताए लगी हुई हैं। शाक—भाजी के खर्च के लिए इस वाटिका से पर्याप्त लाभ गुरुकुल को हो सकेगा। वर्षा की विशेष कमी है आशा की जाती है- प्रभु हम पर कृपा कर इस प्रान्त की समृद्धि को कायम रक्खेंगे।

रत्नाकर शास्त्री
मुख्याधिष्ठाता—
गुरुकुल महेश्वर, इन्दौर (निमाड)

—आर्य समाज मवीसा (मुजफ्फरनगर) का वार्षिकोत्सव ता. १५–१६ जौलाई को बडे समारोह के साथ मनाया गया। जिसमें श्री. पूज्य स्वामी विवेकानन्दजी महाराज, श्री प. धर्मदेवजी शास्त्री सिद्धांती संस्थापक 'सम्राट' श्री प निरञ्जनदेवजी एम. शास्त्री, महापदेशक, श्री प. मुकन्दरामजी आर्य भजनापदशक आ. प्र सभा पजाब, श्री कविरत्न वीरेन्द्रजी धनुर्धर आर्य्य भजनापदेशक पधार थे। हिन्दुस्तान की वर्तमान परिस्थिति पाकिस्तानी गुण्डागर्दी, पजाब बंगाल, गुडगांवा अलवर- भरतपुर राज्य में हिन्दु जाति पर मुसलमानों द्वारा किये गये अत्याचारों की कारुणिक कथायें और तात्कालिक कर्त्तव्यों का परिज्ञान कराया गया। देहली सूबे के बनाये जाने की मांग की गई। यह प्रान्त भाषा-वेषभूषा-आचार व्यवहार और पारस्परिक सम्बन्धोंकी दृष्टिसे एक होगा। प्रस्ताव सवसम्मति से स्वीकृत हुआ। आर्यविद्वानों, एव भजनीक महोदयों के सामयिक व्याख्यानों व भजनों का जनता पर बडा प्रभाव हुआ। उत्सव पूर्ण रूपन सफल रहा।

बाजसिंह
मन्त्री आर्य समाज मवीसा

'वेद प्रचार सप्ताह'

इस वर्ष वेदप्रचार सप्ताहके सुअवसर पर यजुर्वेद के सस्वर संहिता पाठ, पद पाठ, क्रम पाठ जटा पाठ, घन पाठ आदि की व्यवस्था की गई है। जो सज्जन वेद के सस्वर पाठों का अभ्यास करना चाहें वे वेद प्रचार सप्ताह मे जो श्रावणी से कृष्णाष्टमी तक मनाया जायगा उस समय अभ्यास के लिये उपस्थित रहें। इन्दौर से बाहर क व्यक्ति भी इस सुअवसर से लाभ उठाने के लिये सहर्ष आ सकते हैं। ठहरने एव भोजनादि की व्यवस्था उन्हें स्वय करनी होगी।

अध्यक्ष—
दयानन्द वैदिक मिशन इन्दौर

आर्यावर्त पंजाब सहायता निधि

पंजाब की समस्या अभी हल नहीं हुई है जो कुछ हो चुका है उसका हमे मुकाबला करना ही होगा। शरणार्थियों की समस्या आज हमारा प्रधान सामाजिक कर्तव्य है। प्रत्येक मनुष्य मात्र को शरणार्थियों की सहायतार्थ अधिक से अधिक धन देकर इस महान् कर्तव्य को पूर्ण करना चाहिए। आर्यावर्त की सहायता निधि में धन देकर आप अपना कर्तव्य पूरा कर सकते हैं। श्री वैद्य मगीलालजी पुरोहित के प्रयत्न से ५२) इस निधि में हमारे पास पहुंचे हैं। हम वैद्यजी के प्रयत्न की सराहना करते हैं। और दाताओं को धन्यवाद देते हैं।

दान दाताओं की नामावली

११) श्री मगीलालजी बलदेव दासजी
५) ,, विजयलालजी
५) ,, केशवदासजी भीला भाईजी
१) ,, के. एम. गुप्ता.
१) ,, जोशी एन्ड कम्पनी
२) ,, जगदीश डेवरी फर्म
२) ,, मोहनलालजी छोगालालजी जैन
१) ,, कल्याणमलजी मूलचन्दजी
५) ,, नन्दलालजी बाबूलालजी
२) ,, रतनलालजी हरचन्दजी
५) ,, गोविन्दरामजी
१) ,, कामरेड रामकरणजी गुप्ता
११) ,, सेठ राधाकिसनजी चम्पालालजी
५२ इस तालिका का योग
१३६९३ पूर्व योग
१३७४५ महायोग

कन्हैयालाल,
कोषाध्यक्ष— दयानंद वैदिक मिशन
इंदौर

मुद्रक—श्रीधर पण्डित
८९ चिंतामणि प्रिंटिंग प्रेस, मल्हारगंज इन्दौर.

प्रकाशक—किशोरीलाल गोयल,
आर्यावर्त कार्यालय ७२ महारानी रोड

tain: whether Veii made one last attempt to recover her control of the left bank of the Tiber, or Rome determined to thrust her foes beyond the river. Probably their recent victory over the Aequi on the Algidus encouraged the Romans to break down Veii's outposts. Thirty years later they carried the war to their enemy's gates

At the end of the fifth century Rome and Veii grappled in a mortal struggle and after a long siege Veii fell in 396. In this contest Veii received little help from Etruria. A federal council of the Etruscans is said to have met, but it did little and abandoned Veii to its fate; the excuse that the Gauls were becoming a pressing danger is sometimes put forward, but more probably lack of national sentiment explains Veii's isolation [1] Even the neighbouring Caere refused help and maintained a benevolent neutrality towards Rome. Tarquinii indeed is said to have raided Roman territory in 397, but it was elsewhere that Veii found substantial support Two cities, Capena near Mt Soracte, and Falerii further up the Tiber valley, which were racially Latin but politically Etruscan, anticipated Rome's northern advance and rallied to Veii's cause in 402; Falerii had also helped Fidenae earlier. Traditionally the Romans besieged Veii for ten years with varying fortunes until in 396 M Furius Camillus was appointed dictator, with his appearance a series of marvellous portents and stratagems enliven the narrative. When it was reported by the Delphic oracle that Veii would not fall until the waters of the Alban Lake, which had risen abnormally high, had been drained, the Romans at once set about draining the Lake.[2] Camillus then drove a tunnel under Veii and the Roman sappers heard the King of Veii, who was sacrificing to Juno in the temple above their heads, say that whosoever should offer the sacrifice should have the victory, breaking through, the Romans offered the sacrifice and thus Veii fell. But Camillus, who was accused of

Sergius Fidenas and of the dictator Q Servilius Fidenas, these may have been given because these men owned property around Fidenae rather than because they won triumphs It is, however, possible that they were involved in earlier operations around Fidenae, though the details of the war of 437 undoubtedly belong to 428–425.

[1] How Roman annalists knew what happened at an Etruscan meeting at the Fanum Voltumnae is uncertain. Again, it is not known whether the object of such meetings was religious or political.

[2] The *emissarium* of the Alban Lake is a great engineering work some two thousand yards long. It was certainly not constructed later than the siege of Veii.

keeping back part of the spoil, withdrew from Rome in exile. Much of the story is to be rejected, but the traditional date of Veii's fall is probably roughly correct. The ten years' siege, though suspiciously like the ten years' siege of Troy, may be correct. A very important innovation was made during the war by introducing pay for the yeoman soldiers; this marks the first stage in the transformation of a citizen-militia into a professional army. Its connection with the siege of Veii lends probability to the length of the siege and suggests that this was the first time that the army, which was used to short summer campaigns, had to keep the field the whole year round. The tunnelling under Veii, a stratagem which is also attributed to the attack on Fidenae in 435, is improbable in view of the city's precipitous position, it may have been suggested by the draining of the Alban Lake, if this was roughly contemporary. A memorial of the war survived into later times. Camillus had vowed a tithe of the booty to Delphi, so that a golden bowl was sent there and placed in the Treasury of the Massiliotes.[1]

The capture of Veii, which was facilitated by Rome's possession of Fidenae as a base of operations, marks an important stage in Rome's external advance. The captured land was annexed and soon afterwards was formed into four new rustic tribes This not only made Rome the largest city in Latium, but also increased her military strength since the Roman army was recruited from men who held property; further, it gave great impetus to the democratic movement, as much of the land was made available for the plebs. Rome quickly came to terms with Veii's allies, Capena and Falerii (395 and 394). These towns were not reduced, since Capena was not at first included in one of the new tribes and Falerii survived to challenge Rome later.[2] The Romans secured their northern frontier by advancing further and reaching some agreement with Sutrium and Nepete, which Livy describes as the very gateway of Etruria: 'velut claustra inde portaeque ' Latin colonies were soon settled at these two towns, though the

[1] Though the bowl was stolen later, the base remained. This dedication is important because it shows the early friendship of Rome and Massilia (on their early relations see G. Nenci, *Riv di st Ligure*, 1958), and Rome's interest in Greece and in Apollo. It is not surprising that Rome should send a gift to Delphi when her neighbour Caere maintained a Treasury there

[2] The one fact that emerges from the story of the Faliscan schoolmaster (Dionys , XIII, 1–2, Livy, V, 27) is that Falerii was not stormed (despite Diodorus XIV, 96) It was saved by its precipitous position.

exact dates are uncertain, Sutrium was perhaps colonized after the fall of Veii and Nepete some ten years later.[1] Rome thus shared her conquest with her allies to whom she allotted the northern towns, she herself kept the *ager Veiens* which marched with the *ager Romanus* Her northern horizon now reached the Ciminian Hills and Etruria lay open to attack.[2]

The century had been one of territorial conquest for both Rome and the Latins, but it also witnessed a gradual change in their relations. In the early decades conquered territory had been used for Latin colonies, such as Signia and Norba; these became full members of the Latin League and comprised citizens from any of the League cities or Rome. But the Romans and Hernici soon became discontented, since all the benefits fell to the League alone, and many of their citizens would hesitate to sacrifice rights at Rome or Anagnia merely to become members of a Latin colony. So they began to claim some of the conquered district for themselves, for instance, Rome earmarked some land near the Algidus, and the Hernici kept Ferentinum But these acquisitions of Rome, even including the Veientane territory, were easily eclipsed by the later conquests of the League when it obtained Circeii, Velitrae, Antium, Satricum and Anxur, in addition to Sutrium and Nepete, which had been ceded to, if not colonized by, the Latins before the Gallic invasion In extent the Latin League had won more than Rome, perhaps a third as much again; but it was at a grave disadvantage. Whereas the Roman territory was a compact mass, the Latin possessions were scattered and often separated by Roman property. In these circumstances the Latins found common action difficult, so that a profound change came over the League. Rome almost unconsciously assumed the leadership. A city in distress would turn more readily to the united and ready forces of Rome than to the disunited Latins, and the Romans would often call on the Latins to supply their contingents without waiting to summon a federal council. Gradually the arrangement for an alternating military command and the meetings at the Ferentine Spring fell into disuse. The initiative passed to

[1] Diodorus (XIV, 98) Sutrium 390, Nepete 383 (cf Livy, VI, 3, 2, 21, 4). But Velleius (I, 14) gives Sutrium 383 and Nepete 373 'To go to Sutrium' remained a proverbial phrase meaning 'to be ready for war ' It was an exposed outpost Cf Plautus, *Casina*, 524.

[2] The tradition (Livy, V, 31–32, Diod , XIV, 100) of a Roman war against Volsinii (392–391) is hardly reliable· at the most it represents a frontier raid It is rejected by De Sanctis, II, p 140, but is accepted by Ed Meyer, *Gesch d Altertums*, V, § 816.

Rome and the equal alliance collapsed. The Latin League was further weakened by some of the new colonies; in some a large proportion of the settlers might be Roman citizens, mindful of their origin, others included Volscian states which were forced into the League and would hardly live at peace with their neighbours. Rome, on the other hand, increased in strength when any Latins migrated thither and sought citizenship. In short, by a century of hard defensive fighting Rome had nearly doubled her own territory and had extended her horizon to the Ciminian Hills in the north and Anxur in the south, she dominated, if she did not yet lead, the Latin League; the moment was ripe for the Latins to make one last bid for independence. But suddenly the storm-clouds swept down past the Ciminian Hills and there burst upon Rome the tempest of the Gallic invasion [1]

§ 4. THE GALLIC CATASTROPHE

During the fourth century marauding bands of Celts, migrating from their great empire in central Europe, spread terror throughout the peninsulae of southern Europe.[2] Various tribes began to pour into Italy. The Insubres entered by the Ticinus valley and defeated the Etruscans near Melpum (Roman Mediolanum and modern Milan), which they captured and settled. Other tribes followed: the Cenomani, Boii, Lingones and Senones Gradually some advanced over the Po and a few over the Apennines. But they met with a stout resistance from the Etruscans Naturally the countryside submitted easily and the ancient Ligurians, if any survived, were pushed back into the mountains or else were assimilated. But the towns were not so swiftly won. Felsina, for instance, resisted till about 350 and the funeral *stelae* of the citizens, which depict battle scenes against the Gauls, show the rigour of the struggle. The Etruscan town at Marzabotto also bears witness the foundations of its buildings are covered with a thick layer of ashes; skeletons and weapons are scattered over its soil. The Veneti succeeded in beating off the attack and retained their independence, but most of the valley of the Po down to the Adriatic shore had succumbed before the end of the fourth century; to the Romans the district was known as Cisalpine Gaul.

[1] On the relations of Rome and the League, see De Sanctis, II, p 151 ff.

[2] J. M. de Navarro, *Cambr. Anc Hist*, VII, ch ii, H Hubert, *The Rise of the Celts* (1934), *The Greatness of the Celts* (1934), T G E Powell, *The Celts* (1958).

These restless Celtic hordes had attained a high level of culture in some respects, but in others they were mere savages. Given to drunkenness, human sacrifices and head-hunting, fickle, adventurous and brave, they rushed naked into battle on foot, on horseback or in chariots; their iron weapons, long swords, high stature, streaming hair and weird cries terrified the disciplined armies of the south when first they appeared But their staying power and sense of unity were short-lived, as they scattered to plunder or to enjoy their spoil. They were warriors and stock-breeders, impatient of the discipline of agriculture, but with ready adaptability some gradually settled down and became good farmers. In North Italy they eagerly adopted the products of the superior Etruscan civilization and began to till the land, until Cisalpine Gaul became a land of peasants. But some tribes remained upon the war-path and in 390 a horde of Senones led by Brennus crossed the Apennines in search of plunder rather than of land and appeared at the gates of Clusium Etruria was in truth waning Disunited at home, deprived of Latium and Campania, hard pressed by Rome in the south and now battered by the Gauls on the north, she was at her last gasp. Yet it was Rome that bore the full blast of the storm which threatened to wreck the patient building of a hundred years.

Clusium is said to have appealed for help to the Romans who despatched envoys to negotiate. These men, however, abandoned their position of strict neutrality and fought shoulder to shoulder with the men of Clusium: one of them even killed a Gallic chief. Thus Rome drew on herself the vengeance of the Gauls. This improbable account seems to have been designed to explain the subsequent defeat of the Romans as divine punishment for the crime of their ambassadors, the appeal made by the barbarians to the *ius gentium* is ridiculously anachronistic Nor is it likely that Clusium would appeal to Rome, more probably Diodorus is correct in saying that the Romans heard of the invasion and sent a force to Clusium to reconnoitre In any case the Gauls abandoned their attack on Clusium and swept like a mountain torrent towards Rome which lay only eighty miles away.[1] Their numbers reached some 30,000 The Romans had only two legions, which inclusive of the cavalry and light-armed troops might number 10,000 men. Even if they were not abandoned by their allies to

[1] Not perhaps down the Tiber valley which was too swampy, but round through Sabine territory to Reate and thence by the Via Salaria. See Kromayer and Veith's *Atlas, Röm Abt*, Blatt 1.

face the peril alone, as is recorded, they would hardly muster more than 15,000 men, but it was perhaps the greatest army that Rome had yet put into the field.[1] Then dawned that day which ever stood in black letters in the annals of Rome's history. In the narrow Tiber valley to the north of Fidenae at the eleventh milestone from Rome flowed the little stream of the Allia. Here on the left bank of the Tiber the Romans took up their position. Their left wing was covered by the river, their main force was on the level plain, their right wing of reserves rested on the lower slopes of the Crustumian mountains.[2] The Gauls swiftly turned the Roman flank by routing the force on the hills and drove the main army back to the Tiber. Here some escaped across the river to Veii, but large numbers were cut to pieces; some of those on the hills may have fled to Rome. Three days later the Gauls arrived at Rome The priests and the Vestal Virgins had fled to Caere. There was no resistance except in the citadel on the Capitol; the rest of the unresisting city was plundered and burnt.[3]

At this point legend steps in and relates how the Gauls found the Senators who were too old to fight sitting on their ivory seats like gods upon their thrones, awaiting their fate in quiet dignity Then the survivors at Veii besought Camillus to return from exile and to save his country. Pontius Cominius swam the Tiber and reached the Capitol, whence he brought word that the Senate and People of Rome had chosen Camillus dictator. But the Gauls had marked the track of Pontius and would have taken the Capitol by surprise, had not the sacred geese aroused M. Manlius, surnamed Capitolinus, in the nick of time. After a siege of seven months the defenders were forced by famine to offer the Gauls a thousand pounds of gold to withdraw. But as the gold was yet being weighed Camillus and his men appeared and drove the

[1] Others give the Gauls 70,000, the Romans 40,000 Cf Diodorus, XIV, 113, 114 Plut., *Camil*, 18

[2] The battle is placed on the left or eastern bank by all ancient writers except Diodorus who places it on the right bank The main objections to the right bank are (1) the Allia which gave its name to the battle is on the left bank, (2) a flight to Veii would be unlikely if the Romans were forced back on the right bank, (3) it is *a priori* probable that the Gauls would advance on the Roman side of the Tiber Mommsen, followed by Ed Meyer, argues for the right bank See the Bibliography, *Cambr. Anc Hist*, VII, p. 920, and more recently Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, IV, p. 449 ff., and Schachermeyr, *Klio*, 1929, p 277 ff, who support the left bank.

[3] In 390 B C. (Varronian) or more correctly in 387. see p 416. For a tradition that the Capitol fell, see O. Skutsch, *J.R S*, 1953 For traces of destruction see E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome* III (1960), index s v 'Gallic invasion'

Gauls out of the city.[1] This last incident is plainly designed to retrieve Roman honour The story of Camillus' exile was perhaps invented to save the conqueror of Veii from blame for the catastrophe and in order that he might be able to rally the survivors outside Rome, doubtless he played a leading part in the story of Rome's recovery. All that results is that the Romans on the Capitol held out and at length bought off the Gauls, who had attained their object of plundering Rome; it is not likely that they had come to settle, and their departure was hastened by their sufferings from fever and by the fact that their own territory in Cisalpine Gaul was being threatened by the Veneti. The departing guests may even have been speeded on their way by a force of survivors, refugees from Rome and Latin volunteers, who mustered at Veii, but it was the Gauls' own decision to retire.

Rome suffered serious internal damage, especially as most of the houses were made of wood; traces of the work of the destructive fire have been found on the Palatine. But the later Romans tended to overestimate the loss, partly from a desire to explain the paucity of early historical documents, in fact, however, the Gauls from superstitious awe may have left untouched some of the temples, where official documents were kept. Soon the city arose fresher and stronger from among her ashes, but the damage to her prestige took longer to heal. Rome's power in central Italy collapsed, as it had in 509 when the Etruscan dynasty fell; the work of the fifth century had to be repeated in the first half of the fourth. Yet there was another side to the picture, common fear of the Gauls strengthened the idea of unity among the Italians Finally, it was largely owing to Roman courage in defeat and resolution in rebuilding a barrier against the north that France and not Italy became the home of the Celts.

§ 5 THE RECOVERY OF ROME

The city was destroyed, its internal stability was shaken, there was no army of defence; the alliance with the Latins and Hernici had collapsed, the Gauls might return. But in these dark days the spirit of the Roman people did not waver Wise leadership and the patriotism of the citizen body saved Rome. The internal struggle of the Orders reached fever pitch in 367, but concessions were granted just in time to avoid disaster. So Rome

[1] According to one tradition, Hellenic perhaps in origin, the friendly Greeks of Massilia advanced the ransom money (Justin, XXIV, 4, 3)

set her shoulder to the gruelling task of reconstruction at home and abroad; that she accomplished so much is due largely to the sapient direction of Camillus.[1] The main work was to rebuild and protect the city. As earthworks had proved useless against the Gallic attack, a solid stone wall some 12 feet thick and 24 feet high, backed by the earlier *agger* which was now raised to the same height, was constructed around the whole city, including the Aventine, a distance of 5½ miles; traces of this so-called Servian wall still survive. It was perhaps not begun till 378 and was constructed of large blocks of tufa from the Grotta Oscura near Veii; the masons' marks suggest that Rome, like any contemporary Greek city, imported a special building staff of Greek contractors, though the labour may have been supplied by the Roman army.[2] The modernization of the army and the adaptation of the constitution to meet the pressing demands of the plebs, whose military services were more vital than ever, will be discussed later. How Rome addressed herself to her external problems is now the question.

Once again the Romans were forced to fight on many fronts and to face the hostility of Etruscans, Hernici, Aequi, Volsci and Gauls, and although there was no general revolt of the Latins as in 496 or 340, individual cities were restless and discontented. The traditional account of these wars is accepted in outline by some modern historians,[3] but by others it is completely rejected: for instance, the verdict of K. J. Beloch is that 'in the thirty years after the Gallic catastrophe Rome had not to wage any great wars.'[4] The tradition is confused and confusing great battles are won with little or no apparent result; cities are taken and re-taken with monotonous regularity, the indefatigable Camillus is here, there and everywhere, vanquished foes reappear in full force the year after their defeat and even Livy begins to wonder whence the Volscians derived their inexhaustible supply. 'unde totiens victis Volscis suffecerint milites' (VI, 12, 2) The chronology is confused; many incidents are obviously duplicated and

[1] The story that he resisted a proposal to abandon Rome and to settle in Veii is a reflection of the Romans' fears at the end of the Republic that the capital might be moved to the East

[2] T Frank (*Roman Buildings of the Republic*) had supposed that it was built by the Roman army with Veientane captives serving as quarrymen. But see Saeflund, *Le Mura di Roma Repubblicana*, and I A Richmond in *Journ Rom. Stud*, 1932, p 235

[3] e.g. L. Homo, *Cambr. Anc. Hist*, VII, ch. xviii.

[4] *Romische Geschichte*, p 319.

some are mere inventions dictated by national or family pride. But if due allowance is made for the unevenness of the annalistic tradition, and for the fact that many of these wars are merely glorified border raids, it may be conceded that the main lines of Rome's recovery are clearly defined. With this warning in mind the traditional account may be briefly followed

The Etruscans, who were the first to avail themselves of Rome's weakness by attacking Sutrium and Nepete in 389, were quickly beaten back by Camillus.[1] It was at this time that the territory of Veii was annexed and formed into the four new tribes and now, if not earlier, Sutrium and Nepete received their Latin colonists. Rome's willingness to share these two outposts against Etruria with her Latin allies is the measure of her weakness and her wisdom. For the next thirty years Etruria gave little trouble [2] Of the Latin towns Tibur severed relations with Rome, though it did not break into open war until 360. Praeneste, which had probably remained outside the League, and Velitrae were ready to join hands with the Volsci. Tusculum, which was surrounded by Roman territory, showed slight hesitation in 381; but when the Romans approached it and found everything quiet they granted it peace and soon afterwards full Roman citizenship. Aricia, Ardea, Lavinium and Lanuvium remained loyal, as did some Latin cities in Volscian territory: Cora, Norba and Signia, together with Setia which received a colony in 382. It is recorded that the Latins in alliance with the Volsci were defeated in 386 and 385 and again in 377 after they had captured Satricum; thereafter they remained quiet. The Hernici, who joined in the disturbances of 386, shared in the defeat and remained inactive for twenty-three years. The neighbouring Aequi had already been vanquished at Bola in 388. It was the Volsci that gave most trouble. They were led by the men of Antium and Satricum and supported by Velitrae; but these western towns were separated from the eastern ones of the Liris valley by the colonies at Circeii and Setia The war ended with the destruction of Satricum and the forced re-entry of Antium and Velitrae into the League, but the details are doubtful It is said that the Volsci who advanced to Lanuvium were defeated by Camillus at Marcion (or Maecium) in 389 and at Satricum in 386, and by A. Cornelius Cossus in 385, when a colony was planted at Satricum. Further Roman victories

[1] Livy (VI, 3, 9) wrongly recounts similar events in 386

[2] For possible pro-Etruscan influences at Rome in these years see M Sordi, *I rapporti romano-ceriti* (1960), 73 ff

are recorded in 381 and 377; in the course of the war, which was not completed till 338, Satricum was said to have been captured no less than four times and Velitrae was repeatedly besieged.[1]

During the decade following 377 Rome enjoyed comparative peace abroad, but suffered at home from the disturbances which led up to the Licinian reforms, the annalists had sufficient domestic news without having to elaborate the border fighting. At the end of the sixties foreign affairs again predominate. With their internal difficulties now alleviated the Romans turned to the Hernici. After a defeat in 362 they captured Ferentinum in 361; three years later the Hernici asked for peace and were re-admitted to alliance with Rome, but on less favourable terms than before. The Latin cities of Velitrae, Tibur and Praeneste were also restless and even employed Gauls as mercenaries against Rome; these were defeated near the Colline Gate in 360. By 358 Rome reasserted her authority over the Latins, who had to renew the old treaty of Spurius Cassius, probably on less favourable terms. Naturally they were no longer allowed to appoint a commander in turn; the new League was under the nominal control of two annual praetors who were subordinate to the Roman consuls in the federal army. The defaulting cities were forced to re-enter the League; Velitrae, Antium, Tibur, Nomentum, Pedum, Privernum and Praeneste had all toed the line by 354. Antium was deprived of part of its territory, which was not incorporated into the League but was annexed by Rome and formed into two new tribes (the Pomptina and Poplilia; 358) as the Veientane territory had been. This raised the total number of tribes to twenty-seven

The renewal of the Latin League appeared as a threat to Etruria. In 359 the men of Tarquinii took up arms and were aided two years later by Falerii. In 353 Caere joined Tarquinii, but was quickly defeated by Rome and was accorded a hundred-years' truce. Tarquinii and Falerii were brought to heel in 351 and were granted a forty-years' truce. Eight years later Falerii exchanged the truce for a permanent alliance with Rome. The details of these Etruscan wars are uncertain, but the result is important. For forty years Rome was free from danger on her northern front while she was busy asserting her authority in central Italy. Rome's treatment of Caere is controversial. At some time Caere

[1] Beloch, *op cit*, regards the victory of 389 as a fictitious counterblast to the battle of Allia, and those of 386 and 381 as reduplications of that of 389.

received *civitas sine suffragio*, which meant that it shared the private privileges and obligations of Roman citizenship (*commercium, conubium,* and *militia*) It was later regarded as the first *municipium* to receive this privilege, which was granted as a reward for protecting the Vestal Virgins during the Gallic invasion of 390. Another tradition, which suggests that this treatment was regarded as a punishment (for some unspecified revolt in the third century?), reflects conditions of a later period when *civitas sine suffragio* was considered an inferior form of citizenship. If this latter tradition be accepted, Caere probably received a contract of *hospitium* with Rome in 390, a treaty of alliance for 100 years in 353, and *civitas sine suffragio* perhaps not until *c* 274 [1]

For thirty years after the sack of Rome the Gauls, according to Polybius, refrained from further attack; when they returned Rome was safe behind her new-built walls. Livy, however, recounts various battles against the Gauls in 367, 361 and 360, in one of these T. Manlius Torquatus fought a duel with a gigantic Gaul and robbed him of his torque or collar Doubtless the Gauls who had penetrated as far south as Apulia occasionally raided Latium, but the traditional Roman victories in the field may be questioned [2] In 332–331 when the Celtic advance on the Danube was checked by Alexander the Great, the Romans concluded a thirty-years' treaty with the Senones The Gallic effort was slackening They could not capture walled towns and began to question their ability to repeat the performance of Allia For fifty or more years they had been a serious menace, but they had presented no real hindrance to Rome's revival Indeed, by weakening Etruria, by forcing on Rome the rôle of Italian martyr, and by making the Italic tribes more conscious of their ethnic unity and their indebtedness to Rome, the Gauls hastened the recovery of the city they had laid low After a number of transitory raids and one or two major episodes they withdrew beyond

[1] See A N Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, p 50 ff , De Sanctis, II, p 256 ff , Beloch, *op. cit* , p 363 ff For a defence of a grant in 386 see M. Sordi, *I rapporti romano-ceriti* (1960)

[2] Polybius records that in 357 they reached the Alban Mount unopposed and that in 346 or 345 they returned to the attack but withdrew when challenged by the Roman army, Livy attributes a Roman victory to Camillus' son in 349 when the picturesque incident of the intervention of the raven on behalf of M Valerius Corvus took place Perhaps the events recorded in 349 and 346 refer to one affair, while Livy's raid of 360 may be equated with the Polybian incident of 357.

the Apennines, but they left behind an uncomfortable memory from which the Romans never quite shook themselves free.

§ 6. ROME'S WIDENING HORIZON

At one moment it appeared possible that the growing power of Rome might have been ground to insignificance by the upper and nether millstones of Etruria and Magna Graecia, but in the end the central power expanded at the expense of the extremities. The decline of Etruria, caused by internal dissension and weakness and by the pressure of other nations, had been gradual. After the loss of Rome and Latium southern Etruria had echoed to the tramp of Roman armies. Carthage, Etruria's ally, had so weakened under the Greek attack in Sicily, that the Sicilian Greeks became strong enough to help Cumae to break the Etruscan sea power in 474 The Etruscan hold on Campania was finally lost at the end of the fifth century when the Sabellian tribes swept down from the mountains over the Campanian plain, overwhelming Etruscan and Greek alike Finally, the Etruscans had lost control of the region of the Po under the assault of the Gauls, by 350 their stronghold Felsina succumbed and some fifteen years later the Adriatic shore submitted. At the same time Hellenism in South Italy was weakening. As ever, the Greek cities were frequently torn by party strife, even if united internally they often quarrelled with their neighbours, whether for racial, political, constitutional, or economic reasons But a more potent cause was the threat from the inland peoples, a danger to which Greek coastal colonies were always exposed. In South Italy they had easily reached a *modus vivendi* with the early inhabitants, but the balance was upset by the arrival of the Sabellian tribes.

The steady southward movement of the Sabellian peoples has already been mentioned. Caused by over-population and pressure from the north and expedited by the custom of the Sacred Spring it led to a new grouping of the powers, by which the Etruscan and Greek colonies lost their primacy. The Sabellian mountaineers, shouldered off by the Etruscans and the warlike Picenes, had pressed further southwards, thus incidentally forcing the Aequi and Volsci down into the Latin plains where they had been checked by the Latins The Sabellians themselves had gradually reached the hills and glens above the Campanian plain and were soon tempted down by its fertility. The invaders quickly swept over the plain; Capua succumbed *c* 440 and Cumae in 428

Neapolis served as a refuge for the fleeing Greeks, but virtually the whole of Campania from Cumae to Salerno became Sabellian. Yet the superior Greek and Etruscan civilization of the earlier inhabitants soon conquered the hardy mountaineers who adapted their mode of life to their new surroundings These Campanians, now in possession of the richest land in Italy which produced three garden crops a year, soon settled down to city life and grew very wealthy. Their chief city, Capua, became the second city of Italy and the head of a League, which did not, however, include all the Oscan towns of Campania. The attractiveness and ease of their life led to a certain deterioration of character, so that later they more readily became a spoil to their mountain kinsmen, especially as foreign tyrants were constantly draining their military resources by hiring mercenaries from them.

South of Campania another band of Sabellians, known as the Lucanians, settling in what is practically the instep of the foot of Italy, absorbed the earlier population. Here the Greek cities were hard pressed by Dionysius of Syracuse, who, having defeated the Carthaginians in Sicily, tried to carve out in South Italy a continental addition to his Sicilian empire (405–367). To this end he leagued himself with the Lucanians and recruited Gallic mercenaries. The allied Greek cities were defeated by the Lucanians in 390 and at Elleporus in 389 by Dionysius himself, who captured Rhegium, raided the Etruscan coast,[1] reoccupied Elba and pressed up the Adriatic coast, founding colonies at Ancona and Adria Hellenic Italy was saved from the Syracusan danger on the death of Dionysius' son, but it had not learnt its lesson. Cities continued to quarrel, though Tarentum under the wise rule of Archytas attained some eminence. This weakness elicited further attacks from the Italians in the second half of the fourth century. The aggressions of a league of the Bruttians in the toe of Italy forced the Greeks to appeal to the mother country whence King Archidamus of Sparta and later Alexander of Epirus came to champion the cause of western Hellenism, just as Timoleon had come from Corinth to save the Sicilian Greeks. It was during these disturbed days which followed the break up of Dionysius' empire that some Greek privateers raided the coast of Latium [2]

The Sabellians who settled in central Italy were known to the Romans as Samnites They formed a loose league, which did not include outlying tribes as the Lucanians, the Oscans of

[1] For traces of his sack of the sanctuary at Pyrgi see *Arch. Class*, IX, 1957, p 213

[2] In 349 There seems no reason to doubt Livy, VII, 25, 4, 26, 13

Campania, the Paeligni, Marsi, Marrucini, or Vestini. Each glen probably had its local chief, the *meddix* or *meddix tuticus* (= *iudex populi*), all of whom doubtless gathered together with other representatives at some centre, perhaps Bovianum Vetus But there was no real capital and the people were mostly scattered in villages; this lack of an adequate central administration rendered it difficult for them to sustain a long war. Though the Samnites could easily be roused to heroic vigour and a passionate sense of unity in defence of their country, they tended to scatter quickly when on the quest for booty. Common fear of the Gauls drove them into alliance with the Romans in 354 and when this fear became less urgent the preoccupation of Rome with the Latins and of the Samnites with South Italy rendered the alliance still useful. In the same year Rome had made a truce with Praeneste; perhaps she feared a coalition of Latins and Samnites But beside bringing the Romans and Samnites into contact for the first time, the Samnite alliance created a barrier in central Italy against the southward thrust of the Gauls and the northward spread of Greek civilization

In another direction also Rome's horizon widened In 348 she made a treaty with Carthage, which revised the old agreement reached at the beginning of the Republic The fact that the Romans allowed Carthage to stiffen up the conditions shows that their real interests were still confined to Italy and that their commercial ambitions were very humble. The treaty asserted Rome's claim to speak for the cities of the Latian coast as far south as Tarracina (Anxur). Antium and the Volsci naturally disliked this and trouble followed; in 346 M Valerius Corvus captured Satricum and celebrated a triumph over the Antiates, Volscians and men of Satricum.[1] This discontent quickly communicated itself to the Latins who decided to make one supreme bid for freedom. But before the Latin revolt broke out the Campanians, who by defending the Sidicini had drawn a Samnite attack on themselves, are said to have appealed to Rome for help against the Samnites, the Romans responded and waged the First Samnite War in 343–341 against their erstwhile allies. The military details of this war are very confused and improbable and Diodorus knew of no such war before the great Samnite War of 327 Further, it is very unlikely that the Romans would risk

[1] The capture of Sora on the Upper Liris and the victory over the Aurunci attributed to 345 (Livy, VII, 28) are probably an anticipation of the events of 314 See De Sanctis, II, p 266.

breaking with their Samnite allies on the very eve of a Latin revolt The war may very well have been invented to justify Rome's later dealings with Campania: to accept it one would have to postulate 'folly in the Romans, blindness in the Latins, a short memory for benefits in the Campanians and a short memory for injuries in the Samnites.'[1] The evidence is not conclusive, but the whole narrative of these years becomes clearer if the war is rejected In any case the Romans renewed their alliance with the Samnites in 341 and disclaimed any responsibility for the Sidicini, the very people on whose behalf their war with Samnium is said to have been fought

§ 7 THE END OF THE LATIN LEAGUE

The Latins determined to profit by Rome's domestic troubles (p 95) In 343 they launched an attack against the Paeligni in an attempt to cut the communications between Rome and Samnium When two years later these two states renewed their alliance the Sidicini, feeling themselves threatened by the Samnites, appealed successfully to the Latins for protection Thus the Latins and Sidicini, together with the Campanians, ranged themselves against Rome and Samnium.[2] The storm broke when the Latins demanded from the Romans independence or equality; the request that Livy puts into their mouths—full Roman citizenship and a half share in the government—is clearly an anticipation of the claims made by the Latins two hundred and fifty years later on the eve of the Social War. Their demand was

[1] F E Adcock, *Cambr Anc Hist* , VII, p 588 De Sanctis, II, p 269 ff., however, accepts the war as historical in outline Though rejecting the *deditio* of the Campanians to Rome, he believes in a Roman-Campanian alliance and in the two Roman victories at Suessula and Mt Gaurus, but he rejects the battle at Saticula as an anticipation of Caudium If the war is accepted, Rome's motives may have been to get a foothold in the rear of the Volsci, Aurunci and discontented Latins, to win control of one of the wealthiest cities in Italy and to prevent the Samnites from strengthening their position in Campania. so S W Spaeth *The Causes of Rome's Wars, 343-265*, p 20

[2] Those who accept the First Samnite War and the Roman-Campanian Alliance have to explain this sudden change in the Campanians De Sanctis, II, p 274, suggests that as they were allies of the Roman-Latin alliance they had to choose between the two and chose to support the weaker side because they could thus hope to preserve their independence in the event of being victorious

refused and the Latins mustered for their war of independence.[1] In 340 while one consul protected Rome, T. Manlius led a force through the territory of the Paeligni, joined the Samnites and marched with his allied forces down the Liris [2] At Trifanum near Suessa he met the Latin allied forces in a great battle.[3] The Campanian horsemen, who might have outflanked the Romans, played a sorry part, and the Latin resistance was broken. The Romans quickly made peace with the Campanians and two years later all resistance was stamped out: in 339 Q Publilius Philo celebrated a triumph over the Latins and in 338 L. Furius Camillus defeated the northern Latin towns of Pedum and Tibur, while C. Maenius overcame the southern Latins and Volscians in a battle near Antium, which was taken. The various Latin cities submitted and their independency was ended (338) [4]

The Latin League, which had survived numerous changes, was now dissolved. Many of the cities and colonies were deprived of their rights of *commercium* and *conubium* with each other and of all common political activity. Although religious gatherings on the Alban Mount might continue, the meetings at the Caput Ferentinae were forbidden and the League was politically dead. If the Romans had followed this destructive policy alone, they would merely have driven the Latin opposition underground, stored up trouble for the future, and weakened themselves for their future struggles against the Etruscans, Gauls and Samnites by forfeiting the military support of their old allies. Instead they created a confederacy. They bound the conquered Latins to themselves by ties of common interest and by a wise liberality they stimulated the patriotism of the Latins for a state of which they became members. Not all were to be fully privileged members from the beginning; complete citizenship was a prize which the Romans held out as an attainable ideal of practical value. Rome became the mother of Italy, training her children by carefully graded stages up to the privilege of full family life. This was an immense stride forward in Rome's history and indeed in the

[1] The Volscians of Privernum, who raided Setia and Norbia, were defeated by the consul of 341 according to Livy (VII, 42–VIII, 1), this is probably an anticipation of the incident of 329

[2] This route is rejected by De Sanctis, II, p. 276, but see F E. Adcock, *Cambr Anc Hist*, VII, p. 590

[3] The second battle near Vesuvius which Livy records is due to a confusion. Dionysius places the battle near Capua.

[4] The prows (*rostra*) of the ships of Antium were taken to adorn the Comitium in the Forum at Rome

history of mankind. The conquered people were not to be dragged along at Rome's chariot wheels as slaves, they were asked to share in the privileges and responsibilities of their conqueror. Rome thus grounded her hegemony of Italy on moral principles, however much they may have been dictated by self-interest. The moral justification of the Roman conquest of Italy is that when Pyrrhus and Hannibal came to deliver the Italian peoples from the yoke of Rome, they failed because the Italian confederacy preferred to remain loyal to Rome's leadership.

The elaborate scheme of enfranchisement which Rome evolved was not the work of a moment, but its main lines were laid down by the settlement of 338. First, some of the nearest Latin towns (Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum and Pedum, together with Tusculum if it had not already been incorporated in 381) were granted full Roman citizenship and retained their municipal governments. Rome thus counterbalanced the ravages of war by increasing the number of her full citizens, within a generation a Tusculan noble reached the Roman consulship (322). In 332 two new tribes were formed in Latium, named Maecia and Scaptia Secondly, some towns (*municipia*) accepted *civitas sine suffragio*, which at this time was not regarded as an inferior brand of Roman citizenship, but was an alliance whereby Rome and the *municipium* exchanged social rights (*conubium* and *commercium*). These *municipia* remained separate *respublicae* with full local autonomy except that they surrendered an independent foreign policy, provided Rome with troops (their *munus*), and were liable to visits by Roman judicial prefects. Their status thus resembled that of *ius Latii*, while their citizens could obtain full Roman citizenship by settling in Rome itself, gradually, however, the balance of power was tipped further in Rome's interest and the character of the *municipia* declined. The first towns to accept *civitas sine suffragio* were not Latin, but Campanian or Volscian: Fundi, Formiae, Capua, Suessula and Cumae; and Acerrae in 332.[1] Thirdly, the other Latin cities and colonies retained their old status. Officially they remained on the same footing as Rome, being allies (*socii Latini nominis*), bound by an 'alliance on terms of equality' (*foedus aequum*) But in view of the disparity of strength between themselves and Rome, they would in practice have to fight on Rome's behalf rather than on their own. And they were limited by being bound to Rome and not to each other.

[1] The aristocracy of Capua is said to have received full citizenship, but this is improbable.

They were forbidden *commercium* and *conubium* with one another, but retained these rights with Roman citizens; as about half Latium consisted of Roman citizens the limitation was not drastic. The underlying principle of 'divide and rule' was a keystone of Roman policy. The cities of this class were the Latin colonies, Signia, Norba, Ardea, Circeii, Sutrium, Nepete and Setia. Tibur and Praeneste were deprived of some of their territory, but, like Cora and Gabii, retained their alliances with Rome. Fourthly, Antium received special treatment. It occupied an important position and had practised piracy for some time. After destroying its fleet the Romans allowed the Antiates to enjoy their city, but a small Roman colony was sent to occupy a part of their territory. These settlers retained their Roman citizenship and had local home rule, like the *municipia*, but instead of serving in the Roman army they guarded the seaport Only nine Roman citizen-colonies of this sort were founded before the First Punic War, since the type of Latin colony was preferred. Velitrae received somewhat similar treatment the rebels were driven into exile and their lands were distributed to Roman settlers who kept their citizenship.

Such in brief was the organization by which Rome built up a federation in Italy. The allies supplied troops to fight alongside the Romans in their common interests, but it was the Roman citizens who paid the taxes to support citizen and allied troops alike The allies of Athens, who soon contributed money in place of naval help, came to feel that they were paying tribute to a mistress. Rome avoided levying tribute; she fought her battles side by side with her allies who thus felt the reality of their alliance. It was this policy of generating mutual interest and sentiment that won for Rome the hegemony of Italy and the power to unify its peoples into a nation.[1]

[1] See also Ch VI, § 7 The relations of Rome and Capua between 343 and 338 are discussed by A Bernardi, *Athenaeum*, 1942, p 86 ff , 1943, p 21 ff On early Capua see J Heurgon, *Capoue préromaine* (1942).

CHAPTER V

THE UNION OF THE ORDERS AND THE CONSTITUTION

§ 1. ECONOMIC DISTRESS

THE Gallic invasion brought in its train a period of extreme distress. Amid this confusion the demands of the plebeians became more clamant until in 367 the Licinian Rogations won for them a considerable political victory which went far to unite the Orders. Before considering this political aspect, it will be well to turn to the economic depression which formed the background to much of the discontent. This centred around conditions of land tenure and the harsh laws of debt, it was aggravated by actual shortage of food. It has already been seen how pressing were these problems in the early days of the Republic.[1] During the fifth century, and especially in the last decades thereof, Rome's conquests in Italy had increased the amount of *ager publicus* If the plebs had been refused a fair share of Roman territory earlier, it would obviously be fatal to refuse their demands when this territory had been so greatly increased partly as a result of their efforts. So although some land may have been sold by the state to those who could afford to buy, some was distributed in plots to individual citizens as their absolute property (*assignatio*). The tribunes were not yet powerful enough to propose such measures, which were moved by magistrates and voted by the Comitia Centuriata with the Senate's approval. Part of the land taken from Veii was distributed in this way in 393 in allotments of perhaps 4 *iugera* each.[2] Patricians could apply for such land, but would probably sell or lease their portions; the poorer citizens were the chief gainers. By such grants of land the Romans secured the proximity and the interest of responsible self-supporting property owners who would rally to defend the state in hours of need. There were other means of relief for those who lacked land· they could share in the founding of colonies where they received allotments, and it is estimated

[1] Chapter III , § 2
[2] Dionysius, XIV, 102, 4. Livy, V, 30, 8, gives 7 *iugera*.

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that some 50,000 people may have gone to colonies between 450 and 290 B C. Or land could be obtained by squatting (*occupatio*) on state property with the right of *possessio* Nominally a rent was paid, but most of such land fell into the hands of the richer farmers who could afford to develop it and who in practice seldom paid their dues.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the legislation of this period should include some agrarian enactments Such are found in the Licinian Rogations of 367 by which the amount of public land held by any individual was limited. Since the form of the law, as preserved, is similar to that enacted by Tiberius Gracchus in 133 B.C., many historians reject the economic clauses of the Licinio-Sextian legislation as anticipations of later conditions. This radical criticism seems unjustified. Some details, for instance, that the limit was set at 500 *iugera* (300 acres), may be due to Gracchan influences, but a clause which limited the tenancies of public land may be accepted [1] This measure, however, did not solve the land problem, which was rather met by the rapid advance of Rome in Italy, by the increasing number of colonies, by fresh distributions of land and perhaps by the slow growth of industry.

The second main grievance arose from the harsh laws of debt. The story of how the patrician M. Manlius Capitolinus, who had saved the Capitol from the Gauls, gave up his property to redeem debtors from slavery and was killed for aiming at a tyranny, may deserve little credence, but it does reflect the serious economic situation. As Solon at Athens proclaimed a *Seisachtheia*, so the tribunes Licinius and Sextius in their Rogations of 367 decreed that interest already paid should be deducted from the original loan, and the balance, if any, should be repaid within three years. Modern attempts to discredit this measure are not

[1] Rejected by Niese, *Hermes*, 1888, p 410 ff , De Sanctis, II, p 216 ff , Beloch, *Röm Gesch* , p 344. Defended by Munzer in *Pauly-Wissowa*, XIII, s.v. Licinius Stolo, Last, *Cambr Anc Hist* , VII, pp 538–40, T. Frank, *Econ. Survey*, I, pp. 27, 28. A clause limiting the number of sheep and cattle which could be kept on public pastures may have been included The provision of a certain proportion of free labour is obviously an anticipation G. Tibiletti in his discussion of *possessio* of *ager publicus* (*Athenaeum*, 1948, p 173 ff., 1949, p 1 ff , 1950, p. 245 ff) accepts a Licinian law *de modo agrorum* but argues that it admitted plebeians to *possessio*; it is doubtful, however, whether this right was hitherto restricted by law to patricians He also believes that a law establishing 500 *iugera* and limiting pasturage was passed after the Hannibalic War

very convincing; it was a temporary expedient which treated the symptoms rather than the disease.[1]

Attempts at relief consisted either in limiting the rate of interest or in bankruptcy laws, neither of which was very successful. No experiment was tried on the lines of allowing the debtor to compound with his creditor for a sum rather less than the full amount In 357 M. Duilius and L. Menenius, two tribunes, fixed the rate of interest at one-twelfth ($8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent); if such a law had been contained in the Twelve Tables it was now re-enacted (p. 53). In 352 a Commission of Five was set up by the consuls as a state bank. They had powers to make advances from the state to debtors in difficulties, to take over mortgages on adequate security, or to settle them by allowing bankruptcy proceedings. Five years later the legal rate of interest was reduced by half and another three-years' moratorium was declared, as the state had taken over many mortgages, the Treasury would have to stand the loss in such cases In 342 a tribune, L Genucius, carried a measure to forbid loans and usury; Livy appears a little doubtful about this law, but it may well have been another temporary expedient which soon fell into disuse. Foreign conquests and increased colonization offered some relief in the following years, but in 326 or 313 the question of enslavement for debt was once more faced and finally settled [2] It was scarcely possible to amend the law relating to *nexum* laid down by the Twelve Tables, but it could be rendered harmless. The *lex Poetelia* stands out like an ancient Magna Charta 'In that year,' wrote Livy, 'the liberty of the Roman plebs had, as it were, a new beginning, for men ceased to be imprisoned for debt ' The details are obscure, but apparently it was decreed that judgment must be obtained before execution was carried out, and Pais may be correct in supposing that loans were to be made on the security of the property, and not of the person of the borrower.[3] 'The bonds of the citizens were released and thereafter binding for debts ceased,' wrote Cicero [4] A landmark had been set up, but the financial and agricultural problems still awaited a permanent solution.

[1] For a defence of the measure see H. Last, *Cambr. Anc Hist*, VII, p 543

[2] Livy, VIII, 28, gives 326, Varro, L. L, VII, 105, implies 313 B.C

[3] *Ricerche*, IV, p. 44 ff

[4] *De Rep*, II, 59.

§ 2. VICTORIES OF THE PLEBEIANS

Since plebeians had been elected Consular Tribunes, it would be illogical to exclude them from the consulship if it should be re-established Yet the plebeian demand for this privilege resulted in the most famous constitutional struggle in Roman history. the ten-years' agitation which produced the Licinian laws In 376 two tribunes, C Licinius and L Sextius, proposed that the consulship should be restored and that one consul should be a plebeian; their economic proposals have already been mentioned. Their eight colleagues blocked the measure. For ten years, it is said, Licinius and Sextius were re-elected to office while the struggle raged. According to Livy no patrician magistrates were elected for five years, though Dionysius reduces the period of *ἀναρχία* to one year. Twice was Camillus elected dictator. In 368 the patrician resistance began to weaken. the number of commissioners who regulated various religious ceremonies (*sacris faciundis*) was raised from two to ten, of whom five were to be plebeians. At one point the poorer plebeians were willing to drop the law about the consulship, if only the economic measures were passed· but the plebeian leaders stiffened their backs, until finally in 367 all the measures were passed and became law; L. Sextius himself was elected as first plebeian consul for 366. Many details of this struggle are suspicious, but the passage of the bill in 367 should not be questioned.[1]

The patricians tried to minimize their loss by depriving the consuls (or *praetores consules*) of some of their duties. The ordinary civil jurisdiction of the city was handed over in 366 to a regular magistrate with *imperium*, inferior to that of the consuls, he was named, like them, praetor, but was never called consul, while the consuls themselves retained this part of their title and dropped the additional *praetores* This praetor probably was to be a patrician, but by 337 the plebeians won admission to the magistracy. In 367 two curule aediles were elected from the patricians, but in the following year it was arranged that this office should alternate annually between the two Orders And thus, notwithstanding attempted patrician evasions, a settlement had been reached. The wealthy plebeians had secured access to the consulship. the

[1] See now K. von Fritz, 'The Reorganization of the Roman Government in 366 B C,' *Historia*, I (1950), p 1 ff, who emphasizes the influence of administrative needs

other magistracies would be attained in course of time. The Licinian Laws decided the Struggle of the Orders in every real sense. The final compromise may have been brought about partly through the intervention of the aged Camillus, 'the second founder of Rome,' who died two years later, but not before he is said to have vowed a temple to Concord (Concordia Ordinum) to commemorate the equalization of the Orders.[1]

When once the principle of equality of office had been established, the plebeians soon reached all the magistracies; a plebeian was dictator in 356 and censor in 351. But the number of plebeian families which held the consulship was small: the Genucii and Licinii were the chief representatives before 361, the Poetelii, Popillii, Plautii and Marcii in the following few years. Sometimes there were apparently no suitable plebeian candidates, or else they were shouldered out by their rivals, since on six or seven occasions between 355–343 two patrician consuls were elected.[2] In consequence some legislation was carried in 342, resulting from a mutiny of the army in Campania and from the initiative of a tribune, backed perhaps by a secession. A *lex sacrata militaris* forbade the degradation of a military tribune and the forcible discharge of a soldier, thus checking the power of the consul on active service. L. Genucius is said to have passed laws (1) prohibiting the taking of interest, (2) forbidding the holding of the same office twice within ten years, and (3) declaring that both consuls might legally be plebeians. Of these measures the first is reasonable; the second, if genuine, was certainly not observed; the third is possible as a theoretical ruling; it was not till 172 B.C. that two plebeians held the consulship together, yet it is unlikely that two patricians did so after 342.[3]

More important than these *leges Genuciae* were the *leges Publiliae* of 339. The consul Q. Publilius Philo, who later had a distinguished career, becoming the first plebeian praetor in 337 and the first consul to have his magistracy extended by a *prorogatio imperii* in 326 (p. 109), was named dictator by his colleague in 339. In the Comitia Centuriata he carried three laws in favour of the plebeians; two of them strengthened the popular sovereignty. These concessions were obtained perhaps because of the

[1] See A. Momigliano, *Cl. Qu.*, 1942 (= *Secondo contributo*, 1960, 89).

[2] Munzer's view (*Röm. Adelsparteien*, p. 30) that at this time the consulship alternated annually between the Orders is improbable.

[3] Possibly the *leges Liciniae-Sextiae* had made one plebeian consulship merely permissive, while the *lex Genucia* made it obligatory.

severity of the Latin Revolt which emphasized the value of the Roman people on the field of battle. The measures were (1) That one of the censors must be a plebeian; this ended the patrician monopoly of an office which had been created partly to evade the consequences of admitting the plebeians to the consulship. (2) That the sanction of the *Patres* must be given beforehand to all laws proposed by a magistrate in the Comitia Centuriata. Before this enactment the only exclusive rights left to the patricians were the occupancy of a few priesthoods, the appointment of an *interrex*, and the *patrum auctoritas* by which they decided on the form of a law. By this last privilege they could block a law passed in the Comitia Centuriata on the ground of its faulty form, but by Philo's enactment faults could be corrected before submission to the Comitia and so the power of the *Patres* was weakened. Yet as a magistrate proposing a law now had to discuss it before the Senate, the influence of that body as a whole increased over the magistrates, as it decreased over the people. The *Patres*, however, had been robbed of a useful political weapon. (3) That *plebiscita* should be binding on the whole *populus*. This was a reassertion of one of the clauses of the Valerio-Horatian laws of 449, if the latter are considered genuine. It is not, however, probable that *plebiscita* were recognized as having the force of laws (*leges*) without some limiting clause until 287.[1] But the Publilian legislation was another landmark in the history of the Orders, and during the fifty years which followed the Gallic invasion the equalization of the Orders had been almost completed.

§ 3. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ADJUSTMENTS

Before reaching calmer waters the ship of state encountered further squalls, arising partly from a radical social readjustment which had begun with the Licinian-Sextian legislation. These laws had in practice abolished the outstanding political differences between the Orders, and the patricians were forced to hand over the helm to a new nobility, composed partly of themselves and partly of plebeians But while this exclusive body absorbed many of the older plebeians, there grew up in the place of the latter a new populace in Rome with fresh demands. Thus the old con-

[1] See above, p 61, and Appendix No 6 Possibly it was enacted in 339 that the consul must bring *plebiscita* before the Comitia Centuriata for confirmation—or rejection It is not likely that they were ever subject to the *auctoritas patrum*, cf. *Cambr. Anc Hist.*, VII, p. 483.

trast between patricians and plebeians gave place to a coalition of the moderates of both parties, while at one extremity there remained a small right wing of patricians, at the other an urban proletariate.

The creation of this new patricio-plebeian nobility was caused by the decline of the patricians, whose *gentes* were steadily decreasing in number, and by the increasing political influence and numbers of the plebeians, which were due to the large annexations of territory, the extension of Roman citizenship in Italy, the attraction of the capital and the value of the plebeians in war. Their leaders gradually fused with the more moderate patricians and formed a new caste during the second half of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries Outstanding personalities were the patrician P. Valerius Publicola and Q. Fabius Rullianus, and the plebeian Q. Publilius Philo, P. Decius Mus and his son, C. Marcius Rutilus and M' Curius Dentatus. The number of plebeian families to attain to the consulship varied at different times· when the office was first opened to them it was monopolized by few, during the decade after 340 eight new *gentes* were admitted to the charmed circle, but then the numbers lessened until the last decade of the century when more *novi homines* were successful. It is uncertain to what extent families from Latin and Campanian cities shared this privilege of office Tusculum gave Rome the Fulvii and Ti. Coruncanius and indeed more consular families than any other municipality.[1] Many Latins doubtless settled in Rome, where they enjoyed the right of *commercium* and intermarriage and where by residence they could claim full citizenship. But a large number of them probably belonged to the poorer classes and had little prospect of or desire for office, and many being landless, would be enrolled in one of the four urban tribes where their voting power was restricted since the constituency was larger than those of the rustic tribes.

In contrast to the new nobility was the steadily-increasing urban population, which included these poorer Latins and indeed all the humbler artisans that were attracted to the capital Many half-citizens (*cives sine suffragio*) and strangers would take up residence in Rome, as economic conditions and the growth of small industries increased the importance of the city. A large part of this urban populace consisted of freedmen The manu-

[1] Cic *Pro Plancio*, 8, 19 Not all the cases advanced by Munzer (*Röm. Adelsparteien*, p 46 ff) are acceptable, see *Cambr Anc Hist* , VII, p. 548

mission of slaves was becoming common, especially as many were prisoners of war who were often as civilized as their masters. As early as 357 a government tax of 5 per cent was levied on manumission and, although a freedman (*libertus*) could not officially be enfranchised, his sons (*libertini*) could, and he himself doubtless was often able to circumvent the law. As most of the *libertini* would be engaged in industry rather than in possession of land, they too would be included in the four urban tribes For possession of land, which was not a necessary qualification for registration on the citizen-roll and the tribes, probably alone entitled a man to registration in a rustic tribe

The first attempt to improve the position of this urban population was made by Appius Claudius, one of the outstanding personalities of early Rome, at a time when the Romans needed to mobilize their resources against the Samnites and Etruscans The censorship of Appius in 312 was memorable for his public works and political independence. He improved the water supply by building the first of the Roman aqueducts, which brought water from the Sabine Hills to the increasing population of the city, and he constructed one of the great military roads, with which Rome secured her hold on Italy, the Via Appia between Rome and Capua. Though a patrician, he attempted to win over the landless urban population by distributing these *humiles* throughout all the tribes (i.e. rustic as well as urban), and by allowing each man to register his property where he chose. This reform gave the landless (but not necessarily poor) population an advantage over the landholders of the rustic tribes, who might not always be able to leave their farms and come to Rome in sufficient numbers to assert their will in public business, whereas previously they had been able easily to out-vote the four urban tribes. Appius' measure won him the support of the proletariate and the extreme patricians at the expense of the new nobility He is said to have given further offence to the nobility in revising the list of the Senate, a right which recently had been transferred to the censors from the consuls by a *lex Ovinia*. He admitted the sons of freedmen to the Senate, but they were promptly rejected by the consuls of the next year, if they were in fact ever admitted But now that the curule magistracies were open to them and they had a voice in the Assemblies they might reach the Senate through a magistracy: for instance, Cn. Flavius, aedile in 304, was the son of a freedman. The reform of Appius provoked considerable opposition and it was repealed by the

censors of 304, Q Fabius Maximus Rullianus and P. Decius Mus, leaders of the new nobility.[1] The proletarians and *libertini* were again confined to the four urban tribes, and landed property came back into its own. Appius' career, which seems more typical of a Cleisthenes or Pericles than an early Roman statesman, was checked for the moment, though he crossed swords with the new nobility more than once in the first decade of the next century

Cn Flavius, a magistrate's clerk (*scriba*) and the son of a freedman, who was elected aedile in 304, published a legal handbook of phrases and forms of procedure (*legis actiones*) and posted up in the Forum a calendar of the *dies fasti* and *nefasti*, showing the court-days The traditional account presents many difficulties, since *inter alia* the Calendar already had been included in the Twelve Tables. According to Pliny's version, Flavius was acting with the help of Appius, but Pomponius relates that Flavius stole the book of *legis actiones* from Appius, who had composed it, and presented it to the People who promptly elected him tribune, senator and curule aedile. Though the law was common to both Orders, magistrates could often block proceedings on technical grounds, through their more intimate, if not exclusive, knowledge of the precise and intricate phraseology. Perhaps by publishing for the first time, or more probably by making widely known these forms of procedure, the *ius civile Flavianum* marks a real step in the equalization of the Orders

In the year 300 the Struggle of the Orders entered its penultimate phase. The consul M Valerius Maximus passed a law which defined and confirmed the right of appeal to the people against a capital sentence, the judicial and coercive powers of the magistrates in the city were checked. At the same time two tribunes, Cn. and Q Ogulnius, despite the opposition of Appius Claudius, carried a law to enlarge the priestly colleges and throw them open to plebeians. The number of Pontiffs was raised from

[1] Tradition is weighted against Appius, it may derive from Fabius Pictor whose clan was hostile to the Claudii His censorship is dated 312 (Livy, IX, 29, 6) or 310 (Diodorus, XX, 36, 1) Livy records that he refused to resign office, according to some annalists he was still censor when elected consul in 308. This hostile tradition may have arisen from doubt about the date of his office He may also have suffered from the reputation of his tyrannical ancestor, the Decemvir On tribal registration see P Fraccaro, *Athenaeum*, 1933, p. 150 ff , H. Last, *Journ Rom. Stud.*, 1945, p. 40 ff Appius is depicted by A Garzetti (*Athenaeum*, 1947, p. 175 ff) as a 'moderate' factional politician, by E S. Staveley (*Historia*, 1959, 410 ff) as promoting commercial interests.

five (probably) to nine by the inclusion of four plebeians; and the four patrician Augurs received five plebeian colleagues. Thus the plebeians won a majority in the lesser of the colleges, and later even in the college of Pontiffs where they were assigned another post some time between 292 and 218 Thus the plebs had won their way into the very heart of the camp of the patricians, who retained the monopoly only of the offices of *interrex*, *rex sacrorum* and *flamen*. Some time after 293 a *lex Maenia* extended the clause of the Publilian law of 339, which decreed that the sanction of the *Patres* must be given beforehand to legislative enactments, such preliminary sanction was now made necessary in elections, so that the privileges of the patrician members of the Senate were reduced to pure formality.

About 287 at the end of the Samnite wars the final scene of the drama was enacted. Unfortunately our knowledge of it is small in comparison with its importance. Troubles arising from debt provoked the last secession of the plebs, who withdrew over the Tiber to the Janiculum. A plebeian, Q Hortensius, was appointed dictator and carried a law that the resolutions of the plebeian Assembly (*plebiscita*) should have the force of law and be binding on the whole community Thus the right first claimed by Valerius and Horatius more than a hundred and fifty years earlier was at last conceded. The *lex Hortensia* has been called the final triumph of democracy at Rome. The people were sovereign At the time when the Romans were completing the unification of Italy, the Struggle of the Orders was ended.

§ 4. THE MAGISTRATES AND SENATE

The Republican constitution was now unified. The plebs had constructed a state of their own within the patrician state and without a revolution the two had been fused into one There was naturally much overlapping of function, for instance, there were four Assemblies, the aedileship was duplicated and the tribunes of the plebs did not fit easily into the magisterial picture, but thanks to the Roman genius for adaptation, tempered by traditionalism, the constitution was co-ordinated When setting up new institutions the Romans preferred to modify rather than to abolish the old, which had religious as well as secular sanctions; practices which were at first adopted for emergencies were then tacitly assumed to be authoritative Guided less by political theory than by the need to overcome everyday difficulties, the

Romans had built an edifice which could always be modified; it was not a cast-iron structure like some of the written constitutions of the Greeks that could only be changed by revolution. Previous enactments could be repealed by subsequent legislation, as they can in England in contrast with the United States of America, where certain fundamental rules cannot be abrogated.[1] The Roman constitution endured because it was internally flexible and adapted the substance while retaining the form. This flexibility can be traced, for example, in the fundamental changes in the nature of the tribunate or quaestorship or in the growth of the power of the Senate with its theoretical inability to legislate. 'The reason of the superiority of the constitution of our city to that of other states,' Cato is reported to have said, 'is that the latter almost always had their laws and institutions from one legislator But our Republic was not made by the genius of one man, but of many, nor in the life of one, but through many centuries and generations ' Polybius writes in the same strain that the Romans did not achieve their constitution 'by mere thinking, but after many struggles and difficulties, always choosing the best course after actual experience of misfortune.'[2]

There had been three main tendencies at work in the early Republic. the struggle for political equalization, the devolution of power among an increasing number of magistrates, and the extension of the power of the Senate. Amid the constant clash of interests three great organs of the state had been evolved the magistrates, the Senate and the Assemblies. That they worked in harmony was a triumph of compromise and common sense We must next consider them separately. At the fall of the monarchy the king's power had passed mainly to the two consuls (or praetors) who had been forced to share it in the course of time with an increasing number of magistrates These had been created partly in a vain attempt by the patricians to retain a monopoly of government, partly because the growing needs of an expanding state necessitated the sharing of responsibility. The most characteristic feature of the magistracy is perhaps that it was simply an *honos*: no salary was paid to any official This determined its nature, for only the well-to-do propertied classes could attain to

[1] There were, however, certain restrictions, e.g. the XII Tables established that laws should lay down general principles, by forbidding a law to be passed against an individual *privilegia ne inroganto*. Forbidden *privilegia* would cover an English Act of Attainder, as that by which Henry VIII disposed of Thomas Cromwell

[2] Pol , VI, 10, 13 Cato, apud Cic , *de Rep* , II, 1, 2

it. The plebeians might win the right of entry into the patrician preserves, but only their richer representatives could go in In theory the magistrates were elected by the whole citizen body, but this electorate was so scattered that the elections were often easily manipulated in favour of a given class; as early as 358 a tribune, C Poetelius, tried to regulate electioneering propaganda outside Rome.[1] Thus there had grown up the new nobility of rich landowners who handed down from generation to generation the tradition of office within their own families, and it became more difficult for a *novus homo* who belonged to a family outside the governing circle to win his way to a magistracy. Hence a steady level of efficiency was maintained, but few men of outstanding genius were produced. The early Roman magistrates seem types rather than individuals.

A remarkable feature of the magistracy is the fewness of the offices Each year there were two consuls, primarily for military affairs, one praetor for jurisdiction, two quaestors for the Treasury and two to accompany the consuls, two curule and two plebeian aediles for policing the city; there were ten plebeian tribunes who at first tended to hinder rather than assist the work of government but who later were worked into the scheme; there were *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*, later at any rate judges in suits which involved liberty and citizenship, at intervals two censors were appointed to revise the list of citizens and of Senators, to supervise public behaviour and to let out state contracts; finally, in an emergency a dictator might be appointed. Thus the higher administrative magistrates, excluding the tribunes, numbered only eleven or at the most fourteen They were assisted sometimes by a board of technical advisers of senatorial rank (*consilium*), and by numerous subordinates, such as lictors, clerks (*scribae*), messengers (*viatores*) and heralds (*praecones*). Later other appointments were made. the four prefects (*quattuorviri*) to whom the praetors delegated the administration of justice in Campania in 318, the police officers, *triumviri capitales*, appointed about 290, and the *duoviri navales* chosen by popular election in 311. But a more important method of dealing with the paucity of magistrates than that of allowing them to delegate authority or of establishing minor magistracies was the *prorogatio imperii* whereby a consul or praetor after his year of office was allowed to act *pro consule* or *pro praetore*. First established in 326 to meet specific military needs, this practical device later became a

[1] Livy, VII, 15, 12.

normal part of constitutional procedure and from such small beginnings there grew the basis of the military commands that undermined the Republic.

Of the magistrates the consuls, who acted as presidents at home and generals abroad, retained their primacy, but their wings had been clipped The establishment of consular tribunes had damaged the prestige of the consulship, the creation of other magistracies had robbed it of many of its functions, the extraordinary appointment of proconsuls in effect widened the basis of the office, dictators were appointed frequently, and the growing power of the Senate encroached on the consular field of action. But nevertheless the consul's powers remained very great, especially as the theatres of war increased. The comparative frequency of the appointment of dictators was due to the exigencies of the great wars of 366–265, but many were nominated for special non-military purposes, such as for holding the elections in the absence of the consuls (*comitiorum habendorum causa*) or for religious purposes. Like the military dictators, these special dictators were required to resign their office when their business was ended. This new use of the dictatorship was one cause of its decline; further, a dictator's sentence was made subject to *provocatio* within the city, perhaps by the *lex Valeria* of 300.

The new magistracy created in 366, the praetorship, proved very useful. By custom the praetor relieved the consuls of their civil jurisdiction, as their colleague, though vested with lesser *imperium*, he took their place in Rome when they were absent, summoning and presiding over the Senate, calling an Assembly, or if necessary himself commanding an army. But it was his judicial duties that came to be the peculiar mark of his office Enough has already been said in connection with Appius Claudius to demonstrate the increasing power of the censors, especially when the *lectio senatus* came within their competence. In 339 it had been enacted that one censor must be a plebeian and no act was more symbolic of the real union of the Orders than the ceremonial cleansing of the state (*lustrum*) by a plebeian censor in 280. The two sets of aediles, curule and plebeian, were soon harmonized; they were responsible mainly for municipal administration, such as the safety of roads and buildings, public order, market-regulations, weights and measures, the water and corn supply, and arrangements for public festivals, but they also had judicial authority to prosecute for offences against the community such as usury and the occupation of public land. The

quaestors, whose numbers were raised to four in 421, and to eight in about 267, remained chiefly financial officials, but those who served on a consul's military staff not only administered his financial affairs but also could themselves undertake military duties. Finally, the tribunes of the plebs, though not strictly magistrates of the Roman people, were gradually recognized as such; by a wise compromise the patricians worked these plebeian officers into the constitution. At first the tribune was the revolutionary officer under whose aegis and leadership the plebeians had won political equality, but after the middle of the fourth century he became less of a class leader and more of a representative of the rights of the individual over against the claims of the state. He could act as public prosecutor against any magistrate for political offences except the dictator[1] and he could pass laws through the Concilium Plebis. Gradually he acquired the right to speak in and finally (in 216) to convoke the Senate, which soon realized the value of the tribune's veto as a means of controlling the other magistrates as well as his fellow-tribunes; and there would be few years when the Senate was unable to win the support of at least one of the ten tribunes.

While magistrates came and went the Senate remained. The need of a permanent governing body which could make quick decisions in times of crisis led to an immense increase in its powers. Theoretically it could not legislate, but its resolutions (*senatus consulta*) were generally obeyed, and it came to wield a predominating moral guidance in the state. After the fifth century more plebeians won entry, and the rise of the new nobility strengthened its authority at a time when patrician prestige was weakening Originally its numbers had been filled by the kings and then by the consuls at will, but tradition gradually restricted the consuls' choice to ex-magistrates. When the duty of revising the list was transferred from the consuls to the censors by the Ovinian law they were instructed to give preference to ex-magistrates. As members retained their seats for life, the Senate might justly be considered a representative council, embodying all the experience of past and present. The sovereign people who claimed ultimate authority were more ready to acquiesce in its rule, since it was they who elected the magistrates and thus they were indirectly responsible for the composition of the Senate. It tended, however, to remain conservative, since

[1] As was done in 423, 420, 362 and 291, in the last case in the interests of the Senate See *Cambr. Anc. Hist*, VII, p 552.

the higher magistrates were elected by the Comitia Centuriata where wealth predominated. Its great reverence for custom, *mos maiorum*, together with its numbers, tended to stereotype its policy in a safe and mediocre mould; but if it lacked brilliance it guided the state safely through many troublous seas and its collective wisdom often checked the extravagant or dangerous whims of the sovereign people.

The people with their more cumbrous Assemblies were willing for the most part to acquiesce in the growth of the Senate's power still more were the magistrates over whom it soon exercised almost absolute control. It became customary for the consul to refer every matter of importance to the Senate and he was morally bound to follow its advice when formally expressed in a *senatus consultum*. The average official would not dare to challenge the authority of a body composed of ex-magistrates, on which he himself would sit for the rest of his career, if he was bold enough to withstand this moral pressure, he could generally be checked by a tribune. And so the magistrates became the executive of a Senatorial administration which claimed by right of custom alone to direct the policy of the state in all its important branches, especially in finance and foreign affairs. Only the actual declaration of war and concluding of peace were left to the people, and even then the preliminary diplomatic negotiations had been conducted by the Senate which was able to give the people a strong lead. Finally, the dignity rather than the actual power of the Senate has found its classic expression in the report of Pyrrhus' ambassador, Cineas, that the Senate was an assembly of kings.

§ 5. THE ASSEMBLIES AND PEOPLE

In practice the Roman people were willing to allow the Senate and magistrates to conduct a large part of the business of the state, but in theory they claimed to represent the ultimate source of authority During the century that followed the Gallic invasion they expressed this authority through the legislative, judicial and electoral activity of their Assemblies, the Curiata, Centuriata and Tributa and of the purely plebeian Concilium Plebis: but they could only take action on matters submitted to them by the presiding magistrate. The tendency was, however, in the direction of real democracy, but it was checked by the skill with which the nobles manipulated the tribunate and religion and by the rapid expansion of Roman arms which distracted attention

from domestic affairs and increased the control of the Senate. But in theory the Comitia were sovereign.

In conformity with their custom and conservatism the Romans allowed the various Comitia to exist side by side; none was abolished, although their functions were more clearly differentiated as time passed. The Comitia Curiata continued to assent to private acts like adoption and bequests, but its chief function remained its right formally to confer *imperium* on consuls and praetors. This, however, became such a formality that thirty lictors and three augurs could form a quorum of the *curiae*. The three other Assemblies, Centuriata, Tributa, and Concilium Plebis all had the right to legislate by the year 287; before this date the Concilium Plebis only claimed the right without possessing it by law The Comitia Tributa gradually superseded the Comitia Centuriata in many spheres, though it is not always easy to determine through which body a given bill was passed, the Tribal Assemblies, especially the Concilium Plebis, were becoming the main legislative organs, partly because the 35 Tribes were easier to handle than 193 Centuries, and partly because when the presiding officers, who were the regular magistrates, included an increasing number of plebeians, these would tend to lay their proposals before the newer Assembly.[1] So the influence of wealth and age, which prevailed in the Comitia Centuriata, gave place to the predominance of the smaller country landowners who formed the backbone of the tribes, in which every man, rich and poor alike, had an equal vote. Indeed, it may have been the growing importance of the middle classes to the state that led to the shift from the centuries to the tribes, and later the Comitia Centuriata itself was reformed to bring it more into line with the Tribes and to give greater weight to the small landowner (p. 168). But while most legislation was carried through the Tribal Assemblies, the Centuries still legislated regarding the declaration of war, the signing of peace, and conferring plenary power on the censor. The electoral functions of the Assemblies remained divided, the Centuries elected consuls, praetors and censors, the Tribes curule aediles and quaestors, the Concilium Plebis tribunes and plebeian aediles. Jurisdiction likewise was divided The Comitia Centuriata remained the court of appeal in capital cases, while the Tribes heard cases on appeal when the punishment was only a fine, it is possible that trials still took place before the separate Concilium Plebis.

[1] Cf. W E Heitland, *Roman Republic*, I, p 130

In all branches of government the Roman people was supreme, but in all the Senate overshadowed them 'senatus populusque Romanus' was not an idle phrase The people, or more precisely all adult male citizens, comprised the electorate, but in practice their choice of candidates was limited to those who could fulfil the duties of office In legislation they had ultimate authority, but the resolutions of the Senate had in effect the same validity as their laws; and in time the Senate and praetors took over much of the detailed legislation from the Assemblies. Further, the Senators often invited tribunes to discuss a measure with them, before presenting it to the Tribes Judicial affairs also gradually passed into the hands of the praetors and Senate, though the Assemblies did not allow interference in certain cases, as has been seen. The executive was elected directly by the people, but it was to the Senate rather that the magistrates showed deference. Finally, the administration was in practice transferred by the People to the Senate which acted as a Cabinet in place of the unwieldy Assemblies, and the people only elected the Senate in an indirect manner. Thus at the very time when the *lex Hortensia* proclaimed the sovereign right of the Roman people and Rome was approaching a democracy, the pendulum swung back in favour of a more oligarchical form of government This was partly due to the draining off to the colonies of many poorer citizens with the consequent increase in the influence of the remaining land-holding nobility, and partly to the complication of business which forced the Senate and magistrates to take the initiative Further, the average Roman was not much interested in politics. Elections generally meant merely a change in the executive magistrates, not in the policy of the state: the legislative Assemblies and the Senate, which determined Rome's policy, remained the same. As long as the government protected his interests the small farmer cared little about the form of that government. Some of the nobility might be inspired by abstract Greek theories of government, a tribune might be a progressive democrat or the tool of the conservatives, but while his daily life ran smoothly the average farmer or town worker worried less about who governed him than about the efficiency and justice of that government. Thus at the very moment that the theoretical powers of the Roman people were emphasized and a real democracy was within their grasp, they did in fact succumb more and more to the control of the senatorial oligarchy.[1]

[1] Cf G B Grundy, *A History of the Greek and Roman World*, p 290 ff

CHAPTER VI

ROME'S CONQUEST AND ORGANIZATION OF ITALY

§ 1. ROME AND CAMPANIA

WHETHER or not Rome had already crossed swords with her Samnite allies, the days when such a conflict would blaze up were fast approaching. Though distracted by the presence of Alexander of Epirus in southern Italy, the Samnites coveted the fertile plain of Campania and would not be held at bay for ever, and the Latin revolt had already drawn the Romans into the vortex of Campanian politics. Rome had granted half-citizenship to many cities there: Fundi, Formiae, Capua, Suessula and Cumae. The Sidicini were still unpunished for their participation in the Latin war: those around Teanum were attacked in 336 and granted alliance with Rome, while Cales was stormed and received a Latin colony (334). This outpost, which commanded the valley between Latium and Campania, protected the Campanian plain from the Sidicini and formed a buffer state between the Samnites on the east and the Roman possessions on the west. Despite the recent Latin revolt Rome wisely continued her policy of founding Latin colonies, in which all her allies were allowed to share; Cales received 2,500 colonists and was granted the right of coinage. In 332 Acerrae was granted the Roman *civitas sine suffragio* and soon afterwards Rome entered into alliance with Fabrateria and Frusino, which lay in and above the Trerus valley not far from the Samnite frontier (*c.* 330). In 329 Privernum was taken and the anti-Roman leaders were banished, it was granted *civitas sine suffragio*, part of its territory was confiscated and was later formed into a Roman tribe, the Oufentina (318). In the same year Tarracina, which commanded the coast road, received a Roman colony, and in 328 a Latin colony was settled at Fregellae to block the north-western entrance to the fertile plain of the middle Liris.[1] Thus the Romans gradually extended the bounds of their new confederacy and created a barrier against the north-west frontier of the Samnites.

In 326 the Romans strengthened their influence in Campania

[1] Beloch, *op. cit.*, p. 395, places the colonization of Fregellae in 313 and only an alliance with Rome in 326.

by winning the alliance of Neapolis (Naples), the Greek commercial centre of mid-Italy The detailed account of how this came about is largely apocryphal, but the cause was political dissension within the city.[1] The 'Old Citizens' (the Palaeopolitai, perhaps the refugees from Cumae; p. 84) with the help of Nola introduced a Samnite garrison into the town, or at any rate entered into friendly relations with the Samnites. Capua appealed on behalf of the Neapolitans to Rome. Q. Publilius Philo was sent to besiege the town in 327 and as the siege continued he was kept in his command for the next year as proconsul. Neapolis ultimately got rid of the Samnite garrison; the pro-Roman Greeks surrendered the town to the Romans and were doubtless glad to put their commercial activity under Roman protection against Samnite raids. An alliance was granted to Neapolis on favourable terms, by which the city was freed from the obligation of military service in return for patrolling and guarding the harbour.[2]

Not only had the Romans thus acquired an alliance which the Samnites had desired to preserve, not only had they gained control of all Campania except Nola, but they followed up this success by capturing Rufrium and Allifae on the Samnite frontier. War was at hand. The actual cause of the outbreak is uncertain and unimportant. Samnite expansion and Rome's desire for order on her frontiers led to the inevitable clash, which was hastened by the recent extension of these frontiers by colonization and alliance [3] At the same time Rome found allies on the other flank of Samnium in the Apulians who, after long struggles with Tarentum, realized that their interests lay with the Greeks against the Oscan invaders The Romans, however, found it difficult to join hands with their new allies, since they could not pass Oscan Nola and the Lucanians without violating their neutrality, consequently Apulia played little part at the beginning of the Second Samnite War.[4]

[1] Livy, VIII, 22–6, wrongly says there were two cities in one at Naples Some (e g Tenney Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p. 45) reject the siege entirely The fact that is certain is the alliance with Rome On Rome's relations with Naples see W. Hoffmann, *Rom und die Griechische Welt im vierten Jahrhundert*, p 21 ff.

[2] About this time Nuceria also entered into alliance with Rome

[3] 'All that has been written in recent histories regarding Rome's encroachment upon the Samnite "sphere of influence" and upon Samnium's trade-route through Naples is quite beside the point.' Tenney Frank, *op cit*, p. 47

[4] Rome was not allied to the Lucanians as Livy states

§ 2. THE GREAT SAMNITE WAR

Mommsen's fervid nationalism led him to declare that 'history cannot but do the noble people (the Samnites) the justice of acknowledging that they understood and performed their duty,' that is, they fought for Italian liberty. In the same strain Livy made a Samnite spokesman declare. 'Let us settle the question whether Samnite or Roman is to govern Italy.' But probably neither side was conscious of what fate held in the balance. War developed from some petty frontier dispute and its result was still hidden in the womb of time. Rome was conscious, or soon became conscious, of the immediate difficulty rather than of the ultimate meaning of the task that lay ahead. The mountain warriors of Samnium might be defeated by the Roman phalanx and the Campanian cavalry on the plains, but once they had to be tackled amid the broken ground of their mountain glens, fighting for their homeland in small bands of mobile troops, they would present the Roman legionaries with a stiffer problem, though one not insuperable to a nation so adaptable as Rome

The military history of the early years of the Second Samnite War, which broke out in 326, is very obscure, as the details given by Livy are unreliable While one legion covered Latium or Campania a second could take the initiative. In 325 D. Junius Brutus in a turning movement through the central Apennines won a victory over the Vestini, the other small Sabellian tribes, the Marsi, Paeligni, and Marrucini, were presumably friendly to Rome. The dictator of 324, L. Papirius Cursor, is credited with a victory at the unknown Imbrivium. The Romans scarcely penetrated into Apulia, as tradition maintains, though a Samnite attack on Fregellae is plausible. Little is known of these years of guerilla warfare, during which the Romans were learning more pliant tactics In 321 they determined to launch a more vigorous frontal attack. The two consuls, T. Veturius and Sp Postumius, marshalled both consular armies at Calatia in Campania, where they received news that the Samnite army under Gavius Pontius was in Apulia Hoping perhaps to cut it off from its base and to win a decisive victory on the Apulian plains they advanced into the valley of the Caudine Forks, where they found the way blocked by the Samnites who had trapped them by false reports.[1]

[1] The exact site is uncertain (*a*) the pass between Arienzo and Arpaia, so Kromayer (*Schlachtfelder*, IV, p 481 ff , and *Atlas, Rom. Abt* , col 2 ff , see the former for a full discussion), (*b*) the more open plain between

On trying to withdraw they discovered that the entrance to the defile was also held by the enemy. After vain attempts to cut their way through the encircling ring the consuls surrendered to avoid starvation. Pontius dictated terms: the Romans were to withdraw their garrisons from territory which the Samnites regarded as their own; they were not to reopen the war; six hundred Roman knights were to be given as hostages; and the Roman army was to pass under a 'yoke' of spears.

Roman annalists tried to palliate the disgrace by making the Senate repudiate the agreement,[1] and by crediting the Roman legions with a series of fictitious victories. In fact, however, the peace was observed, the Romans surrendered Fregellae and refrained from hostilities against the Samnites Yet the blow to Rome's prestige made some of the subject communities restless. Hostages were exacted from Canusium and Teanum in Apulia, and Roman prefects were sent to steady Capua and Cumae in 318. Two new tribes were formed out of land which was still lying idle; the territory confiscated from Privernum became the Oufentina tribe, and the district north of Capua the Falerna.

By 316 both sides were ready for war again [2] The Romans had quietened much of the discontent and were now able to put four legions into the field each year, the Samnites were looking askance at Rome's increasing influence in Apulia War restarted when the Romans seized Satricum-on-Liris, in 315 they sent L. Papirius Cursor to capture Luceria,[3] where he established a Latin colony (in 314). But the Samnites, who were now strengthened by the adhesion of the league of Nuceria, advanced past Sora to the Liris valley and the coast where they defeated a hastily-levied army of Roman reserves at Lautulae, near Tarracina[4] (315). Rome was in grave danger, her prestige was

Arpaia and Montesarchio, so De Sanctis, II, p 307 ff.; (*c*) between S Agata dei Goti (Saticula) and Moiano, so Adcock, *Camb Anc Hist.*, VII, p. 599

[1] The story is based on the Senate's attitude to the capitulation of Mancinus in Spain in 137 B C See p. 296

[2] E. T Salmon, *Journ Rom. Stud* , 1929, p 13, believes that in 318 the Romans had prolonged the *pax Caudina* by forming a two-years' truce with Samnium (Livy, IX, 20) But this may have been invented by the annalists who did not admit the *pax Caudina* in order to account for the peacefulness of these years The Second Samnite War (which was the First if the struggle of 343 is rejected), really consists of two wars, from 326 to 321, and from 316 to 304

[3] Livy (IX, 21) gives Saticula, but see E T. Salmon, *Tr Amer Phil. As* , lxxxvii, 1957, 98 ff Satricum-on-Liris is 10 miles north of Fregellae

[4] Perhaps they thus forced their way into the Latin plain and raided

shaken, the Aurunci and Capua revolted, the Campanian cities began to waver, but the Latins remained loyal, The Samnites had reached the high-water mark of their success and could not shake the solidarity of the Roman confederacy. Lautulae, no less than Hannibal's successes later, tested and proved the wisdom of Rome's treatment of her allies. In the next year with characteristic doggedness and untiring energy the Romans gathered strength to launch an offensive and won a great victory over the Samnites, probably at Tarracina

It remained to reassert their leadership. Capua and the Aurunci were speedily brought to heel; Fregellae and Sora were recaptured and the latter was severely punished (313 or 312); Nola and Calatia were defeated and made allies. Latin colonies were sent to Suessa Aurunca and Pontia to watch the coast road, to Saticula to cover the Campanian frontier, and to Interamna to guard the middle Liris valley. The construction of the 'Queen of Roads,' the Via Appia, through the Volscian and Campanian coast land was commenced. In 311 the Romans, persuaded perhaps by their new Greek allies at Naples, turned their thoughts to the sea, a small Naval Board, *duoviri navales*, was set up, perhaps to reorganize the fleet captured from Antium in 338. The following year a small squadron, doubtless manned largely by Greeks, was sent to effect a landing at Pompeii and to attack the district of Nuceria, but the move was not a success. The days of an effective Roman fleet were not yet, though the ships may have afforded some protection to the colony at Ostia Thus by 312 Rome had recovered from the disasters of Caudium and Lautulae, had strengthened her hold on Campania and her influence in Apulia, and had begun to hem in Samnium by a narrowing ring of allies and fortress-colonies. Her recovery was due not a little to her superior numbers and to her wisdom in adapting her equipment, tactics and strategy to meet her foe (p. 338).

The Etruscans had long remained quiet and had taken no share in the Roman-Samnite struggle, partly perhaps because remembering how the Samnites had overthrown their empire in Campania they did not desire to see the restless Samnites become their southern neighbours in place of the more civilized Romans, and partly because towns like Sutrium, Nepete, Caere, Tarquinii

Ardea (Strabo, V, 232), an incident which Beloch (*Rom Gesch*, p. 399) connects with the Social War. Traces of the catastrophe appear to survive at Ardea; see *Boll. Stud. Medit*, 1931, 2, 15.

and Falerii were on friendly terms with Rome and would check any hostile feeling on the part of their northern kinsmen, who, in the days of their decadence, were preoccupied with the Gauls. But when this danger decreased and when they saw that Rome's star was rising, they were more ready to interfere to restore the balance. Further, Rome's forty years' truce with Tarquinii was now expiring. In 310 therefore the Etruscans threw in their lot with Samnium and advanced against Sutrium. But the Roman consul, Q. Fabius Rullianus, as a counter-stroke boldly forced his way through the dread Ciminian Hills into central Etruria where he is credited with a victory.[1] The Romans made treaties with Cortona, Perusia and Arretium, Volsinii was reduced and in 308 the alliance with Tarquinii was renewed for another forty years and alliances were made with the Umbrian towns of Camerinum and Ocriculum.

Meantime the Samnite war dragged on. In 312 the Romans captured Peltuinum in the country of the Marrucini, and attacked Samnium from northern Apulia, where they only succeeded in reducing Allifae. No sooner had Q. Fabius induced Nuceria to return to her alliance with Rome than he had to hasten north to the country of the Marsi, which the Samnites invaded in 308. Just when Rome might have been expected to undertake a more vigorous offensive, the Hernici revolted Sora, Arpinum, Frusino, Anagnia, and Calatia all went over to the Samnites, though Aletrium, Ferentinum and Verulae remained inactive. In 306 Q. Marcius stormed Anagnia, which received *civitas sine suffragio*, while the inactive towns were made Roman allies; Frusino surrendered. In 305 the Aequi and Paeligni supported the uncrushed Hernici, and the Samnites broke into the *ager Falernus* They were repulsed and after a severe struggle a relieving Samnite army was defeated near Bola,[2] the capture of Arpinum, Sora and Cerfennia ended the resistance of the Hernici and Paelígni. In 304 the Aequi were defeated by P. Sempronius and the Samnites at long last accepted the *foedus antiquum*. Alliances

[1] This is rejected by Beloch, *op cit*, p 413 ff, as a reduplication of the events of 295, he limits the operations to a fight between Q Aemilius and the Etruscans at Sutrium (Livy, IX, 37, Diod., XX, 35) and places the alliances with Cortona, etc, in 294 B C, with Camerinum and Ocriculum in 295 (see pp 424, 443, 444) Piganiol, *Conquête Romaine*, p. 182, suggests that Rome's alliance was with Clusium, not Camerinum.

[2] See F E Adcock, *Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, VII, p. 606, n 1. According to the Livian tradition (IX, 44) the Romans penetrated to Bovianum in the heart of Samnium

were made with the Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, and Frentani, and two years later with the Vestini. *Civitas sine suffragio* was granted to Arpinum and Trebula A Latin colony was settled at Sora, and two strong ones on Aequian territory at Alba Fucens (303 or 300) and at Carsioli (302 or 298) The Aequi were mulcted of territory, which was confiscated and distributed to Roman citizens Two new tribes were formed in 299, the Aniensis from Aequian territory south of Carsioli and the Teretina in the Trerus valley from land taken from Frusino.

Thus after twenty years of stiff fighting the Samnites still retained their independence but had been thrust back into their own country Rome's gains were not spectacular but solid She had won some frontier-towns, as Saticula, Arpinum, Sora and Luceria; she had allied herself with the hill folk of the Abruzzi in central Italy and with the people of Northern Apulia; the treaties with Nola and Nuceria completed her hold on Campania, and her fortresses along the Liris and at Luceria were real accessions to her strength She had thus become the first state in Italy, and, as such, a Mediterranean power.[1] Consequently, when the Carthaginians wished to avert the risk that Agathocles of Syracuse, who was contesting their control of western Sicily, might appeal to Italy for help, the two Republics may well have entered into a closer political agreement which excluded the Romans from interfering in Sicily, and the Carthaginians in Italy (306).[2] Though Rome was not yet ready to measure her strength against Carthage or against those kingdoms of Macedon, Egypt and Syria which at this very time were being carved out of Alexander's Empire, yet her territory exceeded not only that of each of the surviving Leagues of Italy, but also that of the Syracusan Empire of Agathocles.

§ 3. ROME'S TRIUMPHANT ADVANCE

The consolidation of Rome's confederacy was rudely interrupted by a Gallic invasion which tempted the Samnites and

[1] Bruttians, Lucanians and Etruscans visited the court of Alexander the Great at Babylon The story of the visit of a Roman embassy (Pliny III, 57, Arrian, VII, 15, 5) and the belief that Alexander contemplated the ultimate invasion of Italy must both be dismissed. The former (not from Cleitarchus) may have been invented in the late 1st cent B.C. See W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, II (1948), pp 21 ff , 374 ff.

[2] On the historicity of this treaty, which is guaranteed by the Sicilian historian Philinus, see Appendix No. 7.

some of the Etruscans to try conclusions with the Romans once again. New hordes of Celts had crossed the Alps and were unsettling their kinsmen in Cisalpine Gaul. One band swept down through Etruria and even invaded Roman territory in 299, but the main body was fighting the Veneti. The Romans hastily tried to block their southern advance by forming an alliance with the Picentes and capturing the Umbrian Nequinum where they founded a Latin colony named Narnia. While Rome was thus preoccupied, the Samnites made a final bid for freedom and invaded Lucania.[1] One of the consuls of 298, L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, captured Taurasia and Cisauna in south-west Samnium, drove back the Samnites, and exacted hostages from the Lucanians. Meantime his colleague, Cn. Fulvius, attacked northern Samnium where he captured the old centre of the Samnite League, Bovianum Vetus, together with Aufidena.[2] But while the consuls Q Fabius Rullianus and P. Decius Mus continued the campaign in Samnium during the next two years and captured Murgantia and Romulea in the east, the Samnites under the leadership of Gellius Egnatius conceived the bold plan of co-operating with the northern enemies of Rome in a combined attack In 296, while the storm was gathering, the Samnites raided the Falernian plain, perhaps to distract attention from the north, but they were driven back by Volumnius, and two maritime colonies of Roman citizens were planted at Minturnae and Sinuessa on the Appian Way, Volumnius himself was recalled to support his colleague Appius Claudius in southern Etruria. The next year the Romans hurried their full force through Umbria to prevent the Samnites joining hands with the Gauls. They were too late and their advance guard was defeated near Camerinum. The situation was very grave. It remained to face the allied forces of Samnites, Gauls, and perhaps some

[1] The theory that the Third Samnite War of 298–290 was mainly fought against the Sabines rather than the Samnites, and that the Roman tradition had confused these names (cf e g. Beloch, *Rom Gesch.*, p. 426 ff) is not conclusive. See F. E Adcock, *Cambr Anc. Hist* , VII, p 615

[2] This incident may be taken to illustrate the confused nature of the sources for this war According to the Fasti Triumphales Fulvius triumphed 'de Samnitibus Etrusceisque ' Here Beloch finds support for his Sabine theory, he rejects the capture of Bovianum as a duplicate of its capture in 305 by M. Fulvius (but see p 113) and believes that Fulvius campaigned against the Sabines and Falisci. It is, however, more probable that Fulvius' Etruscan operations are an anticipation of those of 295; see Adcock, *op cit.*, p 611

Umbrians.[1] A great battle was fought at Sentinum, where the heroic sacrifice of the veteran Decius Mus, the skill of Fabius, and the steadiness of the Roman legions broke the forces of the coalition [2] The disaster of Allia was avenged and the fate of central Italy was sealed. The surviving Gauls and Samnites scattered to their homes, while Fabius marched back through Etruria. The next year the Romans ended the unrest in Etruria by granting a peace for forty years to Volsinii, Perusia and Arretium, as they still had to deal with the Samnites, they were ready to be lenient in Etruria.

But although the coalition was broken and its designer, Gellius Egnatius, lay on the field of Sentinum, the Samnites were far from crushed and succeeded in defeating L Postumius near Luceria in 294. The Romans were hampered by the visitation of a plague, but in 293 they again took the offensive. The geographical details of the campaign are obscure, but it appears that Sp Carvilius captured Amiternum to check some Sabine restlessness, while his colleague L. Papirius won a great victory at Aquilonia (Lacedogna) on the Apulian frontier and thus completed the work begun at Sentinum. In the following year a truce was reached with Falerii which had revolted; in 291 L. Postumius stormed Venusia which controlled the main route from Campania to Apulia and a large Latin colony was settled there. The Samnites were at last exhausted and peace was re-established, presumably on the same terms as in 304. In this same year, 290, M'. Curius Dentatus marched through the territory of the Sabines who were still independent, though doubtless they had become largely romanized. The whole population was granted *civitas sine suffragio* and enrolled in the Roman state; not long afterwards they received full franchise. A few square miles of the territory of the Praetuttii, an off-shoot of the Sabines, was annexed; a Latin colony was established at Hadria and a Roman one at Castrum Novum to guard the coast road along the Adriatic.

After a few years of peace the Gauls again gave trouble. The

[1] Polybius (II, 19) mentions Samnites and Gauls only. Beloch naturally converts the former into Sabines Livy, perhaps wrongly, adds a large force of Etruscans whom the Romans skilfully detached by a counter-attack on Etruria

[2] The story of the *devotio* of Decius to the Gods Below is told of three Decii his father at Veseris in 340, and his son at Asculum in 279. The matter is uncertain. Beloch would even rob this Decius of his death at Sentinum and believes he fought later in Samnium

Senones crossed the Apennines and besieged Etruscan Arretium which remained faithful to its alliance with Rome. Caecilius Metellus who tried to relieve Arretium met his death in a battle which cost the Romans some 13,000 men (284). This grave disaster encouraged Etruscan Vulci and Volsinii to revolt, while some Samnites and Lucanians in the south followed suit. But though the Romans had to face danger from several directions, their enemies could not unite to form another coalition. After the Senones had murdered some Roman ambassadors, M'. Curius Dentatus marched into the *ager Gallicus* and drove them out with merciless vigour.[1] Their land was annexed and a Roman colony was settled at Sena on the Adriatic. In 283 the Boii took up the cudgels laid down by their kinsmen and joined the Etruscan cities in their revolt On their southward march they were defeated by Cornelius Dolabella at Lake Vadimo, only fifty miles from Rome. The next year a similar attempt ended in a similar disaster near Populonia; after this the Boii remained quiet for fifty years. Volsinii and Vulci held out till 280 when they were reduced, mulcted of part of their territory and enrolled as Rome's allies. It is possible that the Etruscan towns of Tarquinii, Rusellae, Vetulonia, Populonia, and Volaterrae had participated in the revolt and were now reduced to alliance with Rome.[2] But no sooner were the Gauls defeated and the Etruscans pacified, than the Romans were forced to turn to South Italy where the Samnites and Lucanians were restless, where Thurii appealed for Rome's help and where in 280 the Greek adventurer, Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, had landed

§ 4. THE GREEKS OF SOUTH ITALY

The sun of Hellenism was slowly sinking in the west. The Greek cities in southern Italy had long suffered at the hands of the Sabellic Lucanians and Bruttians, who were receiving the final thrust of that pressure of peoples which began beyond the Alps. Unwilling, as always, to co-operate voluntarily, and not forced into a semblance of unity by the strong hand of a tyrant, many Italiote cities had succumbed to the natives. The southernmost cities, of which Tarentum was the strongest thanks to its trade with the neighbouring hinterland and with Greece, had

[1] So, Polybius, II, 19 See E T. Salmon, *Class Phil*, 1935, p 23 ff On Curius see G Forni, *Athenaeum*, 1953, pp. 170–240

[2] Cf. Beloch, *ibid.*, p. 456 ff

maintained their ground by hiring professional soldiers from Greece. Archidamus of Sparta had been called in and involuntarily did Rome the service of distracting the attention of the Samnites during the Latin Revolt before he fell fighting in 338. Soon afterwards, with the help of Alexander the Molossian, King of Epirus and brother-in-law of Alexander the Great, the Tarentines tried to establish a claim to the downlands of Apulia. It was perhaps at this time that they made a treaty with Rome, by which Roman warships were not to sail east of the Lacinian promontory, near Croton; the Romans were not yet particularly interested in Apulia or the south [1] Alexander's ambitions, which soon outran the desires of his Tarentine employers, were quenched by his death in 330 Rome's alliance with Naples in 327 must have attracted the notice of the southern Greeks, while her operations in Apulia during the Second Samnite War, especially the founding of a colony at Luceria, irritated the Tarentines, who were probably forced to resign their claims to northern Apulia. Renewed attacks by the Lucanians induced the Tarentines to call in Cleonymus of Sparta in 303, his personal ambitions soon caused his dismissal after a defeat by the barbarians, who were probably not supported by the Romans as tradition relates. The intervention of Agathocles of Syracuse temporarily checked the Bruttians (*c.* 298–295), but more significant was the founding of a Latin colony at Venusia in 291.[2] The smaller Greek cities began to look for help from the Romans, who though allied to the Lucanians had overthrown the Samnites, rather than from Tarentum or from Agathocles whose early brilliance had declined and whose empire collapsed at his death in 289.

About 285 Thurii appealed to the Romans for help against the Lucanians. Some aid was apparently given in return for which a Roman tribune was honoured with a golden crown. In 282 Thurii again appealed and the Romans sent C. Fabricius with a consular army to drive back the Lucanians and to garrison Thurii. Rhegium, Locri and perhaps Croton also availed themselves of Rome's protection. Rome had thus suddenly been forced to define her policy towards southern Italy. After due

[1] The date of this treaty is uncertain, whether 348 (Mommsen), 332 (M. Cary, *Journ Phil*, 1920, p. 165 ff), 315 (Burger, *Der Kampf zwischen Rom und Samnium*, p. 55) or 303 (De Sanctis and Beloch)

[2] Possibly Agathocles had relations with Rome, though this is nowhere expressly stated He engaged Samnite, Etruscan, Celtic and Campanian mercenaries Cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, IV, 1², p 205, who regards Venusia as a Roman outpost against Agathocles.

deliberation she had decided to intervene rather than to abandon the Greek cities to the onslaughts of her Lucanian allies; this decision was due perhaps to the influence of the younger democratic leaders whose power was increased by the recent political victory of the plebs in 287 But although it was becoming increasingly evident that the Senate must now think in terms of Italy as a whole and extend the range of its policy, it is equally true that the Romans liked quiet neighbours Alexander of Epirus had advanced as far as Paestum and Agathocles had caused considerable trouble; Rome would be glad to end the need for these foreign *condottieri*. Also the infant Roman fleet might find Thurii a useful station now that Rome had established colonies on the Adriatic Finally, as the Lucanians had become restless when the Gauls attacked Rome's northern frontier, the Romans would welcome the opportunity of punishing them. Thus all considerations forced Rome to undertake the cause of Thurii

The Tarentines, who had done little to justify their hegemony among the Italiotes, replied by attacking ten Roman ships which appeared off their harbour; they sank four, captured another and scattered the rest They followed up this unprovoked attack by marching to Thurii, driving out the Roman garrison and sacking the town. Roman envoys, who demanded very moderate reparations, were insulted. War was forced on the Romans; the consul L Aemilius Barbula was sent to attack Tarentum if it still refused to make redress (281). The Tarentines who had already summoned the help of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, were on the point of capitulating when the King's envoy, Cineas, arrived and turned the scales in favour of war The cause of this remarkable outburst is perhaps found in the party politics of Tarentum. It is true that by sailing east of the Lacinian promontory the Romans had broken their formal treaty; but as this was old and had been made with King Alexander it might well be considered to have been abrogated. The Roman fleet may have been innocently cruising round on a tour of inspection or on its way to the new Adriatic colonies, but more probably it had come to offer moral if not physical support to the pro-Roman oligarchs in Tarentum. The Tarentine democrats may thus have had good cause to distrust its presence and resorted to violence in the expectation of help from Pyrrhus Rome's quarrel with Tarentum would have soon been over and have had little significance, had not Pyrrhus answered the appeal

§ 5. THE ITALIAN ADVENTURE OF PYRRHUS

Pyrrhus, the chivalrous king of Epirus, was quite ready to turn his back on the troubled waters of Hellenistic politics and to seek fresh adventures in the west at the call of Tarentum. Being the son-in-law of Agathocles and also a relative of Alexander the Great, this Hellenistic prince may well have dreamed of building up an Empire in the west. Courageous and ambitious, a skilful soldier and an inspiring leader, he could count on the help of the Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians, and Messapians together with the Greek cities of Tarentum, Metapontum and Heraclea in a crusade against Rome. And might he not even hope to shake the Italian confederacy, especially as Rome was distracted on her northern front, where the Gauls had only recently been defeated and some Etruscan cities were still resisting? Beguiled by his ambitions, he landed at Tarentum with a force of 25,000 professional soldiers and twenty elephants (spring 280). Profiting by the experience of his predecessor Alexander the Molossian, he demanded that the Tarentines should hand over their citadel and give him complete control for the duration of the war, in return he promised to remain in Italy no longer than was necessary. He utilized his new powers to force the Tarentines to transfer their attention from the theatres and gymnasium to the parade-ground.

The Romans hastened to the attack, perhaps without full realization of the gravity of the situation. In the early summer of 280 one consul was busy beating out the smouldering resistance in Etruria, while his colleague, Valerius Laevinus, marched south to meet Pyrrhus in battle near Heraclea. The opposing forces were about numerically equal, but the citizen militia of Rome and her allies was face to face with a first-class professional Hellenistic army. The Roman legion met the Macedonian phalanx for the first time. The tactics employed by Pyrrhus were essentially similar to those of Alexander and Hannibal. He sought to hold or wear down the Roman infantry with the serried ranks of his phalanx, which presented to the short swords of the legionaries a hedge of projecting spear-heads, almost as impenetrable as a barbed-wire entanglement; at the same time his elephants and cavalry not only prevented his line from being outflanked but also broke the enemy's wings and turned their flanks instead. So it fell out at Heraclea. The Romans were terrified by their first encounter in battle with elephants, which untrained horses will not face. Their cavalry was driven back and leaving 7,000 men

on the field they fled to Venusia, where Aemilius, a consul of the previous year, was still stationed But Pyrrhus, whose resources were far more limited than those of his foe, lost 4,000 men in this 'Pyrrhic' victory, though his cause was strengthened by the support of the Lucanians and Samnites and by the adhesion of Croton and Locri; Rhegium would have followed suit, but for the energy of the officer commanding the garrison troops [1]

Pyrrhus followed up his victory by a dash towards Rome, not hoping to storm the city, but perhaps anticipating like Hannibal later that the allies of Rome would rally to his cause; he may also have wished to join hands with the Etruscans. But he was disappointed. Capua and Naples shut their gates against him, Laevinus and Aemilius hung on his heels, the Latins gave no sign of disaffection; and the two legions in Etruria, having finished their task, were recalled to block his advance. When forty miles from Rome he turned back to Tarentum, while his army retired to winter quarters in Campania In the autumn he received a Roman embassy under Fabricius, who had come to negotiate for the return of prisoners. Having received proof of the solidarity of Rome's confederacy Pyrrhus was ready to treat and sent Cineas back to Rome with Fabricius, together with some of the prisoners on parole. He offered to restore all prisoners and to end the war, if the Romans would make peace with Tarentum, grant autonomy to the Greeks, and return all territory conquered from the Lucanians and Samnites. This offer was accompanied by lavish presents to the leading senators, who unaccustomed to the ways of Hellenistic diplomacy rejected the gifts as bribes. A party in Rome favoured peace, but it was soon silenced by the oratory of the blind old censor, Appius Claudius, who rebuked the Senate for discussing terms while a victorious enemy was still on Italian soil Pyrrhus must again try the hazard of war.[2]

Having failed in Campania, Pyrrhus threatened the Roman strongholds of Luceria and Venusia in Apulia and might hope to

[1] See Beloch, *Klio*, I, p 284, and contrast T Frank, *Cambr Anc Hist*, VII, pp 645 and 650.

[2] Pyrrhus' peace negotiations are a matter of dispute The possibilities are that Cineas went to Rome (1) in 280, (2) in 279 after the battle of Asculum, (3) twice, in 280 and 279 (cf W. Judeich, *Klio*, 1926, pp 1 ff.), (4) once only in 280, but that peace negotiations were conducted in Campania early in 278 (G N Cross, *Epirus*) Fabricius' mission to Tarentum probably preceded, rather than followed, the arrival of Cineas in Rome See also A Passerini, *Athenaeum*, 1943, p 92 ff, P Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* (1957); M R Lefkowitz, *Harvard St.*, lxiv (1959), 147 ff.

press up the Adriatic coast and detach the northern Samnites. His forces, now strengthened by contingents of Samnites and Lucanians, were about equal to the two consular armies, which were concentrated near Venusia in 279 to check his advance. He met the Romans in a second pitched battle not far from Asculum on rough ground which enabled the legionaries to resist his phalanx for a whole day. The next morning Pyrrhus drew up his troops on more level ground where the phalanx forced back the Roman line, which was breached by an elephant-charge. The Romans avoided complete disaster by regaining their camp, and though they had lost one consul and 6,000 men Pyrrhus left 3,500 men on the field. He was, however, prevented from following up this victory by news from Greece and Sicily which made him eager to conclude peace in Italy.

A Celtic invasion of Macedonia offered Pyrrhus the opportunity of playing the rôle of champion of Greece with the chance of gaining the Macedonian throne, while the Syracusans sent envoys begging him to save them from the Carthaginians who were within an ace of winning the whole of Sicily. Unable to serve the cause of Hellenism in two countries at once, Pyrrhus chose the Sicilian venture and tried to rid himself of his Italian commitments by reaching terms with Fabricius who, as consul for 278, had led his troops into Campania; perhaps Pyrrhus claimed no more than immunity for Tarentum. Carthage, however, was alive to the desirability of keeping Pyrrhus engaged in Italy and sent Mago with 120 warships to remind Rome of their old alliance and to offer help against Pyrrhus. When the Romans abruptly declined this aid, Mago sailed off to visit Pyrrhus; he perhaps promised to arrange peace between Rome and the king, so that the latter would be free to return to Greece, while he threatened to wreck negotiations with Rome if Pyrrhus persisted in crossing to Sicily. His offer was rejected, and Mago returned to Rome, where he obtained an agreement which kept Rome from making peace.[1] No defensive alliance was struck, but it was arranged that if either party made a treaty with Pyrrhus, it should be with the stipulation that it should be lawful to render mutual aid in whichever country Pyrrhus attacked. Whichever party might need help, Carthage was to provide ships for transport or war, and to aid Rome by sea, though she was not obliged to land troops against her will. Rome thus gained money to finance the war and a fleet to blockade Tarentum, while if Pyrrhus crossed to Sicily

[1] F W. Walbank, *Polybius*, I, p 349 ff , P Lévèque, *Pyrrhos*, 409 ff , G. Nenci, *Historia*, 1958, 263 ff

she was not obliged to help Carthage there. His object achieved, Mago sailed off to Syracuse, leaving *en route* five hundred Roman soldiers to strengthen the garrison at Rhegium. Pyrrhus meanwhile had retired to Tarentum where he left half his troops to defend his allies, with the rest he set sail for Sicily in the autumn of 278.

During Pyrrhus' absence the Romans gradually forced the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttians to submission, whether they were equally successful against the Italiote Greeks is more doubtful It is recorded that Fabricius won over Heraclea in 278, that Locri revolted and Croton was captured in 277, and that the Campanian garrison of Rhegium seized Croton for themselves [1] After a meteor-like career in Sicily, Pyrrhus decided to return to Italy; if he failed to win a great victory, which alone could restore his fortunes, he would proceed to Greece On crossing from Sicily late in 276 he was defeated by the Punic fleet in an engagement which must have confirmed his decision to leave the west.[2] He then recaptured Locri and Croton (if it is admitted that he had ever lost them). After pillaging the temple treasure of Persephone at Locri, to the superstitious horror of the Greeks, he reached Tarentum. In 275 he marched northwards with his diminished forces on a brilliantly-conceived campaign, which ended in an inglorious rearguard action. One of the consuls, Manius Curius, was near Malventum (the future Beneventum), the other was posted in Lucania Anticipating the junction of the two armies Pyrrhus hastily struck at Curius, but failed to reach his objective in a night surprise The Romans repelled his attack in open battle and captured several of his elephants.[3] Before he was caught between the two Roman armies Pyrrhus withdrew to Tarentum. There he left some troops to encourage the Italiote allies whom he had failed, with the rest of his army he set sail for Greece. In

[1] These incidents are rejected by Beloch, *Gr Gesch.*, IV, 1, pp 555 and 642; *Rom. Gesch* p. 465 ff. Cf Cross, *op cit*, p 120.

[2] This battle is interpreted by Beloch, *op cit*, p 556, and Cross as an attempt by the Carthaginians in pursuance of their treaty of 278 to relieve Rhegium, which they suppose was being blockaded by Pyrrhus immediately after the king had landed in Italy

[3] The battle was traditionally fought at Beneventum Beloch (*op cit*, IV, 2, p 475, and *Röm Gesch*, p. 466 ff) questions the traditional account of the battle and argues in favour of a site near Paestum, the Campi Arusini (cf. Oros , IV, 2, 3). The fact that the Romans faced Pyrrhus so far north scarcely squares with the traditional account of their recent victories in the south

the following year he withdrew his force, except for a garrison, from Tarentum, and two years later he was killed in street-fighting at Argos by a tile thrown from a house-top by a woman. His Sicilian campaign had prevented the island from becoming a Carthaginian province, while his whirlwind career in Italy had even more far-reaching effects. It sealed the fate of the Italiote Greeks, it demonstrated the rock-like solidarity of the Roman confederacy, against which Pyrrhus had flung his professional soldiers in vain, and it showed the whole Hellenistic world that the unknown barbarians of central Italy were in fact a great military and imperial state, with which Ptolemaic Egypt now established diplomatic relations.[1]

§ 6. THE END OF PRE-ROMAN ITALY

The fate of Magna Graecia was decided when Pyrrhus left Italy and sealed when it was known the king would never return. Rome merely had to put the finishing touches to the work of pacifying and organizing Italy In the south the Lucanians were reduced, but received no severer punishment than the settlement of a Latin colony at Paestum (273), the Bruttians were deprived of half their forest-land though they retained some autonomy; Velia, Heraclea, Thurii and Metapontum became allies of Rome in 272, if not earlier; Croton and Locri were brought back to the Roman fold; the Epirote garrison of Tarentum surrendered at the approach of a consular army (272); the garrison of Campanian mercenaries in Rhegium, who had mutinied and seized the town like the Mamertines in Messina across the Straits, was stormed by Cornelius Blasio and 300 survivors were executed in Rome (270); finally Apulia and Messapia were reduced to alliance (267–266), the Sallentini in the heel of Italy were defeated, and land was confiscated from Brundisium which received a Latin colony some years later (244); by their possession of Rhegium and Brundisium the Romans held the keys to both the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas.

The exact status of these Greek cities which came into alliance with Rome is uncertain, perhaps they were generously treated as 'equals' and were granted protection without return, for unlike the other members of the Italian confederacy they did not have to supply troops. Shortly afterwards, however, they provided a quota of ships, which at first formed a transport service rather

[1] In 273 Ptolemy II of Egypt offered and obtained an agreement (ὁμολογία) with Rome, perhaps *amicitia*.

than a fighting force. These *socii navales* retained full autonomy, except Tarentum, which though granted the status of a *socius navalis* was punished for its part in the recent war by having to offer hostages and to receive a Roman legion in her citadel. This was Rome's first standing garrison, designed to watch over southern Italy and to shut the door against any other Greek *condottieri*

The Romans also settled accounts with their old enemies and rivals in central and northern Italy. By the annexation of a strip of territory, on which a Latin colony was settled at Malventum (now re-christened Beneventum) in 268, the old Samnite League was split into two halves and the Hirpini were cut off from their kinsmen. The League retained less than half the territory it had held in 343, while it was later watched by another Latin colony planted at Aesernia in 263. The Samnites retained their old tribal government and proved loyal allies to Rome during the Hannibalic War. In Etruria a Latin colony was settled at Cosa on land ceded by Vulci (273). In 265 an incident at Volsinii demonstrated the internal unrest in Etruria Commerce had declined, the mines were becoming exhausted and expansion was prevented by Rome, so that the nobles became less wealthy and their retainers less necessary [1] The serfs of Volsinii turned against their masters who appealed to Rome for help The Romans stormed the city and established the aristocracy in a new town on Lake Bolsena (Orvieto?), the serfs perhaps were enslaved (264) In Umbria, which had never attained to a real unity, some of the Senones may have lingered at Sarsina until the town was taken by Rome in 268. At the same time the northern frontier was strengthened by sending a Latin colony to Ariminum in the *ager Gallicus*, where the Apennines reach the Adriatic coast (268).[2] In the same year the Sabines were granted full franchise in place of

[1] Arretium retained a position in the industrial world by producing pottery in place of metal work

[2] In future Latin colonies the *ius migrandi* was probably limited by the proviso that any Latin settling in Rome and claiming citizenship must leave a son behind him, this measure would check any decline in Latin man-power and thus strengthen the Confederacy See A. H McDonald, *J R S*, 1944, p 11 ff On the *ius Arimini* and the *ius duodecim coloniarum* (Cicero, *Pro Caec* 102) see E T Salmon, *J R S*, 1936, p 55 ff, A N Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship* (1939), p. 96 ff., and A Bernardi, *Studia Ghisleriana*, Ser I, 1948, who suggests that the twelve colonies with *ius Arimini* were Latin colonies founded after Ariminum which preserved some of the prerogatives of Roman citizenship as *ius conubii* and *commercii* (with no restriction on *ius migrandi*)

half-citizenship. Finally, the war-like Picentes, who had become Roman allies in 299, revolted in 269 and were reduced the next year. Some were perhaps transported to the hills behind Salernum and Paestum, only Asculum retained a treaty of alliance, while the rest of Picenum was incorporated into the Roman state with half-franchise. Their future behaviour was watched over by a Latin colony at Firmum (264). The neighbouring Greek city of Ancona retained its alliance with Rome Thus the whole of peninsular Italy was brought into the Roman confederacy An epoch was ended and the history of Roman Italy begins

§ 7. THE ROMAN CONFEDERACY

From Ariminum and Pisa to Rhegium and Brundisium, the whole of Italy was now bound together in the Roman federation. The main lines of policy which wrought this crowning achievement of the early Republic have already been described (ch. IV, § 7), but it is well to consider the completed organization which endured nearly two hundred years until all the inhabitants of Italy received full franchise after the Social War. The two guiding principles of Roman policy were Incorporation and Alliance. Peoples covered by the former principle became in some sense citizens of Rome; communities grouped in alliance remained in theory independent states, whose members were politically allies (*socii*) and legally aliens (*peregrini*) But both classes alike were subject to military service under the Roman government

First then the Citizens who fall into two clearly defined classes· full-citizens and half-citizens The full-citizens constitute three groups, two originating direct from Rome, the third formed by incorporation. (*a*) Those who lived in Rome itself or who had been granted individually (*viritim*) allotments of 3–7 *iugera* of public land annexed during the conquest of Italy. All these were enrolled in the four urban or thirty-one rustic tribes (*b*) The Roman colonies, which comprised about 300 Roman citizens and their families and were founded on *ager publicus*. The colonists formed a garrison and this duty excused them military service in the Roman army. At first they constituted a strong contrast to the older inhabitants who were generally made half-citizens; but they gradually mingled. In early days they must have been subject to some local military authority and control, but its precise nature is uncertain, while the civil competence of magistrates must have been small. Later, however, when after 183 B.C the size of new

colonies was increased (p. 312), municipal authority was vested in praetors or *duoviri*. The early citizen colonies were all on the coast (Ostia, Antium 338; Tarracina 329, Minturnae and Sinuessa, 296; Sena Gallica and Castrum Novum Piceni, *c*. 290, and possibly Castrum Novum Etrurii, 264); and they were few in number, because the colonists found it difficult in practice to exercise their rights as Roman citizens, so that Romans preferred to share in Latin colonies which formed autonomous states [1] (*c*) Communities incorporated into the Roman state *oppida civium Romanorum*, as Tusculum and cities like Lanuvium, Aricia and Nomentum, which were incorporated when the Latin League was dissolved. Called municipalities, in imitation of the proper municipalities of half-citizens, they retained their local magistrates,[2] who had however limited judicial and financial power. Their proximity to Rome involved supervision by the Roman praetors, while they were not allowed to mint money But they exercised full political rights in Rome and were registered in the tribes. Occasionally a new tribe would be established to include newly-incorporated communities (e g the tribes Quirina and Velina for Sabines and Picentes in 241), but generally these were enrolled in neighbouring tribes and new ones were formed only for Roman citizens who received viritane allotments.

Secondly there were the incorporated *cives sine suffragio*, who enjoyed only the private rights of *provocatio, commercium* and *conubium*; they could not vote in the Roman assemblies or stand for office and were not enrolled in the Thirty-five Tribes The earliest *municipia* had been willing allies with full local autonomy (p 89), but gradually the status of *municeps* came to be regarded as an inferior limited franchise which was given to conquered peoples (e g. Sabines and Picentes) before they were considered ripe for full citizenship. Thus their conditions varied considerably Some were allowed no local government (e g. Anagnia, which was taken in 306, and Capua after 211); but the majority were allowed to keep their magistrates, local municipal councils and popular assemblies. Roman law was encouraged but perhaps was not enforced. Jurisdiction was divided between the local magistrates and the Roman praetor, who exercised it in Rome

[1] Centres in country districts, Conciliabula and Fora, formed by Roman citizens, originating from Rome, had incomplete self-government. In time they were often transformed into municipalities

[2] So A N Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, p 59 ff *contra* H Rudolph, *Stadt und Staat in röm Italien* On the word *municipium*, J Pinsent, *Cl Qu*, 1954, 158 ff

itself or else locally through deputies (*praefecti*); it is uncertain whether such prefects or circuit judges were sent to all municipalities. The local magistrates had fairly extensive powers and their variety was maintained (e.g meddix at Cumae, dictator at Caere, aedile at Fundi); the local authorities were not adapted to the Roman model as quickly as those of the allies. Local languages persisted and local cults survived, though under supervision by the Roman pontiffs. With certain exceptions, the municipalities were not allowed to mint money, but they enjoyed the civil rights of *conubium* and *commercium* with other Roman citizens. By this training in citizenship they were gradually raised to the privileges of full citizenship, which the Sabines, for instance, received in 268; by about 150 they had disappeared as a class. Thus full or half citizenship was granted to a large part of central Italy from Latium to Picenum, from sea to sea, including the south of Etruria and the north of Campania.

The rest of Italy was associated with Rome by Alliance, and consisted of Treaty States (*civitates foederatae*), whose inhabitants were aliens and allies (*peregrini* and *socii*) and not Roman citizens. Each city or state was bound to Rome by a separate treaty, but while many had only the *ius peregrinum*, others formed a special class of allies with peculiar privileges called the *ius Latinum*. It will be well to consider these allies of the Latin name before those who were merely *foederati*. These Latins, who represent the creation of a new Latium after the destruction of the old Latin League, fall into three classes (*a*) a few original federal colonies of the Latin League, namely, Signia, Norba, Ardea, Circeii, Nepete, Sutrium and Setia; (*b*) Latin colonies founded after the Latin War between 338 and 268 and formed partly by Roman colonists who surrendered their citizenship; (*c*) Latin colonies planted after 268 with restricted *ius migrandi* (p. 125, n 2), such as Firmum, Aesernia or Brundisium. All these Latin colonies had complete internal government. They were bound to Rome, not to one another, but this early mutual segregation must gradually have broken down. With Rome they had rights of *conubium* and *commercium* and any of their citizens on migrating to Rome could obtain Roman citizenship, although after 266 he had to leave a son behind in the colony; further, a Latin visiting Rome could vote in an especially allotted tribe Though Latin colonies had to raise and pay their quota of troops, they did this on their own authority. The number of colonists, which varied in different colonies, was large, varying from 2,500 to 6,000 It was these

fortresses, linked closely with the road-system, that held Italy together. They guarded southern Etruria and the Adriatic coast and formed an iron ring around the Samnites.

The remainder of Rome's allies (*civitates liberae*) were bound to her by treaties, which contained varying conditions, many were bilateral (*foedera aequa*) but some were unilateral Like the Latin colonies, these allies had to supply military or naval contingents, which were kept distinct from the citizen troops The number to be supplied by each state was fixed, but normally it would not be necessary to call up the whole contingent. The majority of the allies were free from direct Roman supervision, although Tarentum had to maintain a Roman garrison They had full independence in civil and ordinary internal affairs, though they tended to adapt their institutions to the Roman model and to refer their disputes to Roman arbitration. Perhaps they had the right to coin money, but apart from purely local coinage, they soon ceased to use this right. Their citizens were probably limited in the exercise of the rights of *commercium* and *conubium* both with Roman citizens and with other allies In this respect their status may have varied individually in accordance with their previous history voluntary alliance and alliance imposed by conquest would produce different privileges. Indeed, the units with which the Romans made treaties varied Their policy was to choose the smallest existing group, either the city as in Etruria and Magna Graecia, or the tribe as among the hills of central Italy Where an ethnic group, as the Samnites, appeared dangerous, it was cut down to the minimum by separate alliances with the outlying members; further, it was watched by Latin colonies Rome ever followed the policy of 'divide and rule,' and when she had made her divisions she tended to treat each section according to its degree of civilization. Etruria, which was alien alike in language and religion, was not assimilated till after the Social War, while the more cognate Sabines were soon welcomed into Roman citizenship. But 'divide and rule' is only a half-truth. By this policy Rome had won the hegemony of Italy; she retained her position only because she welded the divisions into a higher unity.

Such, in brief, was the Roman confederation, ranging from Roman colonies and municipalities of full citizens through municipalities of half citizens to the allies of the Latin name and other allies of varying privilege The claims that Rome made on Italy were small compared with the advantages she bestowed, but she

did demand some surrender of independent sovereignty and the offering of men and money. Those who received the Roman franchise merely merged their interests with a wider loyalty; of the allies some officially retained their independence, though others surrendered all individual foreign policy. In fact, however, as Rome was so much more powerful than her separate allies, her will was paramount and she even interfered on occasion with the internal affairs of cities The main burden imposed by Rome was military service Both citizens and allies had to supply troops; the former provided a little under half the total force. The allied troops were kept distinct from the Roman citizens, but came under Roman command. As in military service, so in taxation the citizens and allies were organized separately. All Roman citizens had to pay a direct capital tax according to their capacity; at first this was levied on real property alone, but after 312 the whole personal estate of the tax-payer was included. This tax (*tributum*), however, was not permanent It was only levied for military purposes in time of need, and taxpayers might later be reimbursed by the Treasury if it could afford it. The allies, on the other hand, were free from all direct taxation, although any who had settled on Roman state land naturally paid a regular rent (*vectigal*) Finally, citizens and allies alike were subject to a tariff in the form of customs-duties (*portoria*).

But Rome's gifts to Italy easily outweighed her impositions The greatest of these was the *pax Romana*. Peace was substituted for war as the normal condition. Foreign invaders, save only Hannibal, were held at arm's length, the coasts were protected by a line of Roman colonies, neighbouring cities could no longer fly at each other's throats, and party strife within each city was quelled. Rome, who had won her hegemony at the point of the sword, now assumed the rôles of judge and policeman. By skilfully grading the status of the various members of the body politic, she avoided the risk that the Italians might develop a sense of unity among themselves as a subject people under the heel of a common mistress. Instead she trained them all to look to her away from one another, and thus she obtained law and order throughout the peninsula as well as the loyal co-operation of its peoples. Rome was the head of a confederacy, not primarily a dominating military power. The *pax Romana* also fostered the growth of economic life. Except under the Etruscans and among the Greek towns of the south, commerce had been somewhat restricted. Now, protected by Roman law, it could spread through-

out Italy along the Roman roads which, like the railways of to-day, began to link up the peninsula. The Viae Appia, Latina, Salaria, Flaminia, Clodia and Aurelia were the real arteries of the economic life of Italy, which was further united when Roman coinage began to oust local currencies. Other public works beside roads, such as bridges, aqueducts and drains benefited Italy. The roads also helped to diffuse Roman culture. The Romans did not impose their civilization on Italy, but just as they themselves succumbed to Greek cultural influences from southern Italy, so their own civilization penetrated slowly throughout Italy. Local languages, customs and cults gradually gave place to a common culture based on the Latin tongue and Roman law, and very slowly but surely the various races of Italy became a nation

The creation of a confederacy which gave the whole of Italy some kind of political, economic and social unity was a landmark in the political history of the ancient world. It was not an enlarged commonwealth like Sparta with her Perioikoi, nor a confederation of separate sovereign states such as the Panhellenic League of Corinth founded by Philip II and upheld by Alexander, it was not a federal state of the type created by a king, as Thessaly, or a League that grew out of a cantonal commune, as the Aetolian League, or a League of Cities, as the Achaean, nor was it the imperial rule of a city state over subject communities, as the Athenian land-empire of Pericles. It was a new creation which blended many of these principles into a unique confederacy. By about 260 B C. it extended for some 52,000 square miles, of which about 10,000 consisted of Roman territory; of the remaining 42,000 square miles of allied territory the Latins occupied nearly 5,000 It thus exceeded the empires of Macedonia, Carthage and the Ptolemies, it was inferior in size only to the Seleucid kingdom The adult male Roman citizens numbered 292,000 in 264 B.C. The allies, excluding the southern Greeks and Bruttians, could supply 375,000 regular troops in 225 B.C ; perhaps this figure should be doubled to represent the total number of adult male allies That is, the Roman and allied adult males numbered over one million, although not all would be fit for active military service The Roman citizens and their families numbered nearly one million, the allies double that figure; perhaps nearly a quarter of the allies enjoyed Latin rights. This total of some three million was small compared to the thirty millions of the Seleucids, the ten millions of the Ptolemies, the five millions of the Carthaginian

Empire; it approximated to the population of Macedonia.[1] But though the numbers were small, the military experience and the moral qualities of the old Roman character easily counterbalanced the hordes of Syria. Rome had become a world power and when once the Carthaginian Empire had been broken there was no other military power in the whole Mediterranean basin that could meet her on equal terms.

[1] On these figures, which are naturally only general calculations, see Beloch, *Gr Gesch.*, IV, 1, p. 662 and *Bevölkerung d. Gr -Röm Welt*, esp p. 367, De Sanctis, II, p. 425 and 462 ff , III, i, p 331, T Frank, *Cambr Anc. Hist*, VII, p 811 ff , and *Econ Survey of Anc Rome*, Vol I, p. 56 ff In addition, there were the slaves whose numbers even at this early period cannot have been inconsiderable (cf. p 352). The population of Italy has been examined in detail in a work by A Afzelius (*Die römische Eroberung Italiens, 340–264 v. Chr* , 1942), he attributes Rome's successful conquest of Italy mainly to her growing superiority in man-power and to her political skill in applying this to the best advantage.

PART II

ROME AND CARTHAGE

CHAPTER VII

THE FIRST STRUGGLE

§ 1 THE CARTHAGINIAN EMPIRE

DURING the Dark Ages of Greek History bands of Phoenician merchants and colonists from the coastal towns of Palestine and Syria were adventuring in the western Mediterranean. The conditions of their native land had ever focused their attention on the sea rather than on the soil as a means of livelihood, while their expanding population was harassed by the Philistines and other Peoples of the Sea and by pressure from the Hebrews of the desert The Phoenicians founded settlements at Utica in North Africa, at Gades on the Atlantic coast of Spain, where they soon encountered the Iberians or Tartessians of Andalusia, and later on the Mediterranean coast at Malaca, Sexi and Abdera [1] Other trading factories and colonies were planted along the African coast, but the most important was the New City, Carthage (Qart Chadascht), which the Tyrians founded about 814 B C.

The Tyrian princess, Elissa, it is said, fleeing from King Pygmalion with a few faithful followers reached Africa, where the tribes granted her as much land as she could cover with a cow-hide (*Byrsa*). By ingeniously cutting this into narrow strips she surrounded enough ground to form the citadel of her new city, the Byrsa of Carthage. Later writers wove around the story of

[1] There is no archaeological evidence for Phoenicians in the western Mediterranean before the eighth century see Rhys Carpenter, *Amer. J Arch*, 1958, p 35 ff If any settlements were earlier (Gades traditionally dates back to *c* 1100), they will have been mere trading posts The earliest deposit (of Greek vases) in the sanctuary of Tanit at Carthage is *c* 725, some Punic pottery is perhaps earlier. This comes within sight of the traditional foundation date of 814 Tartessus (the Biblical Tarshish) lay near Gades and its influence penetrated throughout Andalusia A Schulten (*Tartessos*, 1922) argues that the Tartessians were at first friendly with the Phoenicians but soon (eighth century) were defeated by them and remained under their control until the power of Phoenician Tyre was weakened by Assyria. P Dixon (*The Iberians of Spain*, p 25 f) believes that such imperialistic aims are more characteristic of Carthage than of the mother-city Tyre

Elissa a mass of myth and legend, until the saga received its final shape at the hands of the magician Virgil who moulded from it an undying drama of love and death. Elissa, now named Dido, welcomes to her new city the Trojan hero Aeneas At heaven's bidding he forsakes his new love to fulfil his destiny of founding Rome, while deserted Dido stabs herself on her funeral pyre, and her cry goes up to heaven 'Exoriare, aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.' The drama of the struggle of Rome and Carthage has come to birth.

The native tribes of North Africa, with whom the Phoenician settlers came into contact, had formed no extensive political union although they were all of similar stock, being the predecessors of the modern Berbers and racially distinct from the negroes of the south Those who later became subjects of Carthage were known to the Greeks as Libyans, the rest as nomads or Numidians. Among these primitive and semi-nomadic peoples Carthage soon became the dominating power, thanks to her superior civilization and to her magnificent geographical position Situated on a peninsula which afforded room for expansion and protection from the natives, the city lay sheltered in the heart of a bay. Her hinterland was fertile and her prominent position in the mid-Mediterranean allowed her to trade with east and west and to control trans-Mediterranean shipping.

In her early days Carthage maintained a link with her mother city of Tyre, but from the seventh century the Phoenicians of the home country were smitten by the great oriental monarchies, one after another. Assyria, Babylon, Egypt and Persia. Consequently the Phoenicians of the west were left to their own devices: to preserve their independence, their scattered energies must be united. Carthage stepped into the breach and from the sixth century she became mistress of an Empire which gradually extended far beyond the confines of North Africa.

The centre of this Empire was the hinterland which Carthage reduced, stretching from Hippo Regius in the west, inland to Theveste and thence to Thenae on the east coast, it was guarded by a frontier called the 'Phoenician Trenches' The inhabitants served in the army of their mistress and supplied her with a quarter to one-half of their produce. Under Carthaginian protection agriculture prospered and the population increased. In addition, the inhabitants of the African colonies of Phoenicia and Carthage, which stretched from beyond the Straits of Gibraltar to the three great towns in Tripoli called Emporia, became the

loyal allies of Carthage. Known as Libyphoenicians, they supplied contingents in war-time and in some cases at any rate paid tribute. The individual towns were allied with Carthage on varying conditions, much as the Italian cities were with Rome Including the territory of these Libyphoenician cities, Carthage controlled an area of about 28,000 square miles and a population of three to four million. Further, the Numidian tribes beyond often found it expedient to seek her friendship and thus formed a great potential source of power.

But the ambition and commercial aims of Carthage were not limited to Africa. For many a year she was not strong enough to aid the early Phoenician traders in Sicily, who had been driven to the west end of the island by the advancing tide of Greek colonists, but about 580 B.C she was drawn into the troubled waters, until despite the efforts of Malchus and his successors her advance in Sicily was checked by the battle of Himera, which saved Greek civilization in the west from being overwhelmed (480) The vicissitudes of the struggle between Carthage and the Greeks in Sicily, which recommenced about 400 B C and continued till the days of the First Punic War, belong to the history of the Greek rather than of the Roman world

Carthage was more successful in Spain. In the late seventh and early sixth centuries the Empire of Tartessus was flourishing, freer now from Phoenician influence.[1] Its King, Arganthonius, the 'Silver Man,' encouraged friendly relations with the Greeks who were now penetrating the western seas. As early as 620 B C. a mariner from Samos, named Colaeus, was blown by an easterly gale to Tartessus, and the Phocaeans founded two colonies in Spain at Maenace and Hemeroscopium to open up the Tartessian market. This was little to the taste of the traders of Carthage and the clash of interests ultimately culminated in the sea battle of Alalia, when the combined Carthaginian and Etruscan fleets broke the Phocaean thalassocracy in the west (p 19). As a result Carthage made settlements in Sardinia, leaving Corsica to her allies, and then, as a stepping-stone to Spain, she occupied the island of Ebusus which the Phoenicians had already visited.

[1] A description of the Spanish coast and Tartessus is given in Avienus *Ora Maritima* which embodies the *Periplus* (Sailing Directions) of a sailor from Massilia about 520 B C A flourishing trade was carried on with Brittany, the British Isles and the northern coasts in tin and amber, while a high culture was attained in both intellectual and material achievement See especially A Schulten, *Tartessos* and *Cambr Anc. Hist.*, VII, ch XXIV.

Finally, by destroying Tartessus and Maenace, she entered into the heritage of the Tartessian Empire,[1] although she could not drive the Greeks from northern Spain beyond Cape Palos (near Cartagena). In southern Spain Carthage gained an almost inexhaustible source of natural wealth and of manpower, as well as control over the Atlantic trade of her predecessors. Merchants now sailed forth from Gades instead of from Tartessus; Himilco was sent to explore the tin routes of the north, while Hanno voyaged down the west coast of Africa to bring back gold and ivory. But the Carthaginians were careful not to share this new prize; they zealously barred the gates of the Atlantic and closed the western Mediterranean to foreign shipping.

Carthage had thus won an overseas Empire which she selfishly exploited. The old Phoenician colonies abroad assumed much the same relation to her as the Libyphoenician towns in Africa. In Sardinia and southern Spain some of the natives were reduced to subjection; the rest were exploited commercially and supplied mercenary troops. In Sicily the Carthaginians had to tread still more warily, to avoid driving the whole island into the arms of her enemy Syracuse. The Punic province in the west gradually embraced some native and Greek cities, but these retained their internal autonomy and paid a tithe on their produce instead of supplying troops. Further, Carthage had to keep an open market in her Sicilian province. On the whole the condition of her subjects, though tolerable, was far inferior to that of most of the allies of Rome, who had infused her federation with a feeling of loyalty and imposed no tribute. The subjects of Carthage had no real bond, although common interests might sustain their loyalty for a time. Like the members of the Naval Confederacies of Athens they became increasingly dependent on their mistress without sharing in the advantage which the Greeks had enjoyed of all entering into relation with their leader at approximately the same time.

During this period of external expansion Carthage first came into contact with Rome. The intermediaries were her Etruscan

[1] The destruction was so effective that later writers confused these towns with the Phoenician Gades and Malaca. Archaeological evidence attests Punic influence through Andalusia as far north as the Sierra Morena from c. 500 B.C. Whether this involved political domination (as Schulten believes on the strength of Polybius' remark, II, 1, that Hamilcar 'recovered,' ἀνεκτᾶτο, the district in 237) or merely commercial domination is uncertain. Any direct control probably would be confined to coastal areas and would weaken inland.

allies, whose ports in Italy had long been open to Phoenician merchants. The product of such trade is seen in the rich seventh-century tombs at Caere and Praeneste: silver and gilded bowls, painted ostrich eggs, and ivory plaques like those made for Solomon's temple by Tyrian artists. When the Etruscan dynasty was driven from Rome, Carthage struck a treaty with the new Republic A copy of this treaty, engraved on brass, was preserved in the Treasury at Rome and was known to the historian Polybius.[1] It was obviously the work of Carthage, as all the restrictions imposed were in her favour; only Rome's lack of commercial interests can explain why she accepted it. The Romans agreed not to sail south, and perhaps west, of the Gulf of Tunis, unless driven by stress of weather or fear of enemies; men trading in Libya or Sardinia were to strike no bargain save in the presence of a herald or town clerk, any Romans coming to the Carthaginian province in Sicily should enjoy all rights enjoyed by others. Thus Carthage was already enforcing the policy of a *mare clausum*· Numidia, Morocco, and the Straits of Gibraltar were perhaps closed. conditions of trade in Libya and Sardinia were restricted, though Carthage was not yet strong enough to claim a monopoly there or to close western Sicily Further, it is assumed that the ports over which Rome had any control were to remain open In return for these substantial advantages Carthage merely pledged herself to abstain from injuring certain towns in Latium. When this treaty was renewed, probably in 348, Rome allowed Carthage to stiffen up the conditions very considerably By the new agreement Roman traders were excluded from Sardinia and Libya and from the western Mediterranean from the Gulf of Tunis to Mastia (Cartagena) in Spain; Carthaginian Sicily and Carthage itself alone remained open. Thus the new Republic willingly sacrificed any commercial interests which Rome may have had under the Etruscan régime, for many a long year her thoughts turned landwards while her future rival was transforming the western Mediterranean into a Carthaginian lake.

§ 2. CARTHAGE

The felicity of the Empire of Carthage depended largely on the unusual stability of her constitution, which attracted the interest

[1] For the date of the early treaties between Rome and Carthage, see Appendix No 7

of Greek political thinkers such as Aristotle.[1] The Phoenicians of the west probably did not model their new cities on the monarchical pattern of the mother-country: to have set up new kings (*melakim*) would have smacked of disloyalty. Instead, at the head of the state we find two annually appointed Judges or Suffetes (Shophetim; cf. the Judges of early Israel) whom the Greeks and Romans probably misnamed βασιλεῖς and *reges*. In original function these magistrates were judges rather than generals: the early aims of Carthage were commercial, not military. The real conduct of state affairs rested with a Council of (perhaps) Thirty, which included the Suffetes, and with a Senate of Three Hundred, of which the Thirty were a sub-committee. Matters carefully prepared by these bodies, or questions on which the higher powers could not agree, might be brought before a popular Assembly of citizens, but where agreement was reached, the Assembly would not usually be consulted. In the Assembly, however, there was great freedom of speech, and it was the People who, with certain restrictions, elected the Suffetes, the members of both Councils, and the generals. Common commercial and economic interests helped to preserve the balance of power between the governing class and the people. Stability was further increased by vesting judicial power, not in the People, but in a Council of One Hundred and Four, chosen from the larger Senate. This Court of Judges, which was first established to check the tyrannical tendencies of the house of Mago, supervised the administration of the magistrates Yet as these Judges were elected, not by the People, but by a group of magistrates whom Aristotle called Pentarchies or Boards of Five, the state gradually succumbed to the domination of a close and corrupt oligarchy of Judges and Pentarchs, until the day when Hannibal cleansed the administration.

The effective government was thus in the hands of an oligarchy of nobles. But it is uncertain how far they formed an aristocracy of birth or of wealth, how far they closed their ranks against other aspirants to office, and how far their interests were commercial or agricultural The original settlers may have formed an aristocracy of birth, but being merchants and manufacturers they would gradually become an aristocracy of wealth This in turn may have been somewhat exclusive: the leaders of the nation known to history came from surprisingly few families, and their names, repeated constantly in the same and different genera-

[1] See *Politics*, II, 11, and excursus IV in the edition of Susemihl and Hicks, pp 340–50.

tions, form a very small proportion of the names known from Punic inscriptions But it can scarcely be doubted that the ranks of the nobles were often increased from the aspiring *nouveaux riches*; indeed, the great house of Barca, which appeared in the mid-third century, seems to have been a new family.[1]

Many of these nobles continued to derive their wealth from commerce and industry, but others, in answer to the needs of the growing population for food, gradually turned to agriculture and became large land-owners. Big estates were cultivated by cheap slave labour and the success achieved by the landed gentry in scientific farming may be gauged by the fact that after the fall of Carthage the Roman Senate had Mago's thirty-two books on agriculture translated into Latin for the benefit of Roman colonists. It has been suggested that from the fourth century the nobility became so immersed in their estates that they left the profits of commerce to others;[2] and that politically their interests were represented by the Suffetes and the Senate of Three Hundred, those of the commercial aristocracy by the Hundred and Four and the Pentarchs Such a rigid cleavage, however, is not very probable, though at times a clash of interest may have occurred between the landowners and merchants. And it is not necessary to suppose that all who turned to agriculture automatically lost their interest in trade

To support her Empire Carthage needed money, men and ships The first she derived from tribute and customs dues, but our evidence is insufficient to allow a reliable estimate of the amount [3] Her army, originally formed of citizens, did not suffice for her great wars abroad, so that she commenced to conscript her subjects—Africans, Sardinians and Iberians—and to employ mercenaries By the third century her citizens no longer served in her armies, except as officers or in wars fought in Africa itself This development had many obvious advantages for a people whose interests lay in commerce rather than in war, but it brought its peculiar dangers. Outstanding generals might aspire to military dictatorship, particularly when after the First Punic

[1] De Sanctis, III, 1, pp 50, 54, argues for an ever-open caste, Groag (*Hannibal als Politiker*, p 19) for a closed caste

[2] e g by Kahrstedt (*Geschichte der Karthager*, pp 138 ff., 582 ff) and Cavaignac (*Histoire de l'Antiquité*, III, p. 162 ff) Criticized by Groag, *op cit*, pp 18, 19

[3] The calculations of Kahrstedt (*op cit.*, p. 133 ff) have been rejected by De Sanctis, III, 1, p. 81.

War armies of mercenaries became a permanent feature; but the oligarchical institutions of the city were devised to check the too-successful general, while crucifixion was the punishment for failure. Further, when the subject Africans found themselves serving no longer with citizens but merely with allies, mercenaries, or other subjects, they acquired a dangerous estimate of their own importance; the Numidians also realized their own value when Carthage made increasing use of their cavalry. The army was thus always a potential source of danger Although often a motley crew with little or no national feeling, when disciplined and organized by a general of genius it developed into a first-class fighting machine

The navy also was maintained from the tribute of the subjects, who were relieved of the duty of self-protection The skill of the seamen and navigators of Carthage was well known and the maintenance of a large fleet offered a good excuse for exacting tribute. But it is unlikely that she normally found it necessary to keep her whole navy afloat in order to safeguard her commerce and to protect or threaten her subjects. Many vessels would be laid up in the great arsenals and dockyards at Carthage, and the crews called up only in time of need. The praise accorded to the Punic navy by patriotic Roman writers arose partly from sincere admiration, but partly from a desire to exaggerate the achievements of their own victorious fellow-countrymen.

The civilization of Carthage has left little mark on world history, and our knowledge of it derives mainly from biased Greek and Roman writers and from the results of recent archaeological investigation But when every allowance has been made the resultant picture is not attractive. Carthage tapped the caravan routes of Egypt and Africa, her merchants sailed to Britain and Senegal, and she became one of the richest states of the world, but she was rather a carrier than a productive state; and curiously, she did not adopt a regular coinage, minted at home, until the third century Her industry aimed at mass-production and cheapness rather than beauty. Her art was unoriginal and owed much to Egypt and Greece Her nobles might acquire a taste for Greek art, but this was met by importing foreign artists and works of art or by the imitation of Greek models Even the equipment of the tombs, which in early days were richly adorned, became increasingly cheaper. We hear of Carthaginian books and libraries, but there is no evidence to suggest that she was gifted with any real literary inspiration The Punic language,

however, which belongs to the North Semitic group and is akin to Hebrew, was more virile, as is shown by its persistence and by the numerous inscriptions which have come to light, it is illustrated from the Roman point of view by Plautus' play, *Poenulus*. Carthaginian religion and cult were cruel, gloomy and licentious The Canaanitish deities, Ba'al Hammon,[1] Tanit, Melkart, Eshmun, and Astarte inspired in their worshippers a fanatical devotion, which did not shrink from self-immolation or human sacrifice Contact with the civilized world may have mitigated the barbarity to an extent, but the fires of the sacrifice called Moloch continued to receive their tribute of infants from noble families at hours of crisis in the city's history.[2]

Carthage thus gave the world little of value [3] Even the spirit of the great house of Barca came rather to destroy than to build To the end the Carthaginian remained Oriental and was only superficially tinged with Greek culture; and he was not popular in the western world 'Bearded Orientals in loose robes, covered with gaudy trinkets, often with great rings of gold hanging from their nostrils, dripping with perfumes, cringing and salaaming, the Carthaginians inspired disgust as much by their personal appearance as by their sensual appetites, their treacherous cruelty, their blood-stained religion To the end they remained hucksters, intent on personal gain, careless or incapable of winning the goodwill of their subjects '[4] Thus at any rate were they doubtless conceived by the average Greek and Roman. But it is well to balance the picture with the words of Cicero 'Carthage would not have held an Empire for six hundred years had it not been governed with wisdom and statecraft.' (*De Rep* , I, frg. 3.)

§ 3 THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

The early treaties between Rome and Carthage were treaties of friendship and for trade, formed to limit their spheres of

[1] Many names imply the favour of Ba'al. Adherbal, Hasdrubal, Hannibal.

[2] Urns have been found containing the calcined bones of young children probably victims 'passed through the fire ' See G Picard *Le monde de Carthage* (1956), 20 ff , B H Warmington, *Carthage* (1960), 130 ff

[3] A Hasdrubal, renamed Cleitomachus, however, became head of the Academy at Athens in 129

[4] F N Pryce, *Universal History of the World*, III, p 1642 For Punic civilization see that chapter; M P. Charlesworth, *C.A.H* , VIII, 48 ff , G and C Picard, *Daily Life in Carthage* (1960), and books quoted in n 2 above

influence. But in 306 the two Republics may have formed a closer political agreement which debarred the Carthaginians from interfering in Italy, and the Romans in Sicily (p. 114). Carthage again negotiated with Rome in 279; no defensive alliance was struck, but an emergency measure was designed, chiefly to keep Pyrrhus in Italy (p. 122). During the war Carthage neither received nor asked for help, not wishing to bring Romans into Sicily, Rome also kept to herself.

In 272 a puzzling incident occurred. When the Romans were besieging Tarentum, which was still held by Pyrrhus' lieutenant Milo, a Carthaginian fleet suddenly appeared in the harbour, but quickly sailed off again. Had it come in reply to an appeal from Milo or on its own initiative, to help the Romans or to capture Tarentum? Later Roman writers accused Carthage of having tried to seize Tarentum, alleging that the action was a breach of treaty rights, but the Carthaginians had not tried to land. Indeed, so far from acting contrary to the agreements, the Punic admiral may have sailed up in accordance with Mago's treaty to see whether he could help the Romans. It is perhaps most likely that the Carthaginians were reconnoitring on the off chance of turning the situation to their advantage, but when this seemed impossible they sailed away, while the home government disavowed the admiral's action and Rome accepted the apology, as recorded by Orosius. But whether Rome suspected treachery or merely rebuffed a friendly gesture, the result would hardly improve relations between the two Republics.[1]

When King Pyrrhus left the shores of Sicily he is reported to have remarked: 'What a cockpit we are now leaving for Carthaginian and Roman to fight in.' And the recent history of the island justified this prophecy. The Punic expansion had been checked during the reign of Agathocles as King of Syracuse (304–289), but after his death the Carthaginians again advanced their standards, until driven back by Pyrrhus. When he retired to

[1] The incident is not recorded by Polybius, but by Livy, Epit. xiv (cf. xxi, 10, 8), Dio, frg. 43, 1, Orosius, iv, 3, 1, etc. It has been rejected completely by Beloch (*Griechische Geschichte*, IV, i, p. 642). Frank (*Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, VII, p. 656) rejects the implication of *Punica fides*, on the ground of Polybius' silence and the improbability that Carthage would risk war with Rome for the sake of one Italian harbour—but she did later for one Sicilian town, while Polybius, who did not record the Roman siege of Tarentum, might overlook the incident which did not technically infringe existing treaties and so could not honourably be cited as an act of Punic treachery.

Italy they defeated the Syracusan fleet, recovered their lost possessions and reduced the Greek cities of central Sicily. Thus by 275 Syracuse's influence was confined to eastern Sicily, and even there she met with rivals. Certain of Agathocles' discharged Italian mercenaries on their return home had treacherously seized the town of Messana (*c.* 288). Styling themselves Mamertines, after the Sabellian war-god Mamers, they settled there and proceeded to plunder the surrounding districts, Carthaginian and Greek alike. Defeated but not exterminated by Pyrrhus, they were later defeated by the Syracusans under Hiero who now, if not earlier, assumed the title of king (265–264) and then undertook the siege of Messana. At this point the Carthaginians intervened, refusing to look on while Syracuse won control of the Sicilian straits by capturing Messana. Their admiral threw a Punic garrison into the town with the consent of the Mamertines, and Hiero perforce returned to Syracuse, disregarding the complimentary exhortations of the poet Theocritus to continue fighting. But the Mamertines did not wish to keep their new garrison indefinitely: some advocated reaching an agreement with Carthage by which their autonomy would be respected, others preferred to seek alliance with a less alien people, the Romans. The latter party prevailed and Rome was suddenly faced with a request for alliance and help. What was she to do?

Rome and Carthage were thus brought abruptly face to face. By ejecting from Rhegium the Campanians who had tried to play at pirates like the Mamertines in Sicily the Romans had won control of the Straits (270). But now a Carthaginian garrison at Messana faced them from the opposite shore: it barred their access to Sicily, and constituted a *point d'appui* whence, following the example set by Dionysius and Agathocles, the Carthaginians could sail against the towns of the Italian coast, when once they had reduced eastern Sicily. There could be no doubt that they would extend to Sicily the monopoly which they exercised throughout the western Mediterranean. That might not be of direct concern to the Romans, who were little interested in foreign trade, but it would be a severe blow to their allies in southern Italy. And there was the further danger that if Rome neglected her new Greek allies, they might turn to Carthage for protection in a desperate effort to preserve their Sicilian trade. It did indeed seem that Rome would have to listen to the appeal of the Mamertines, even though this might involve crossing swords with Carthage and possibly a deadly duel.

But the swords which the Mamertines virtually thrust into the rivals' hands could scarcely have been kept permanently sheathed. Rome and Carthage had little in common. Different in race, culture and religion, with divergent moral and material interests, they would gravitate towards conflict when once the minor states between them had been eliminated or assimilated. In the Hellenistic East a common culture held the three Great Monarchies in a precarious Balance of Powers When Rome had absorbed something of that culture, she adapted her policy in order to try to maintain the balance. But in the west rivalry would conduce to war compromise was difficult, if not impossible [1]

The immediate question before the Roman Senate was the appeal of the Mamertines, not war with Carthage, though the more far-sighted must have seen that this would probably follow the granting of the request When the Senate failed to reach a decision, the question was referred (by Appius Claudius?) to the People, who voted to send help to the Mamertines. Polybius, who here follows Fabius Pictor and thus gives at least a pro-Roman account, if not a tendencious justification, explains that the Senate hesitated, in spite of a full recognition of the danger of the advance of Carthage, because it felt unable to ally itself to a robber-state, especially as it had recently executed the brigands at Rhegium But the weight of this moralistic argument has been questioned, since the seizure of Messana by the Mamertines had occurred twenty-five years earlier and the new state was now standing on its own feet and had been recognized by Carthage and several Greek cities; it was presumably autonomous and therefore Rome would not break her fetial law by granting alliance. Further, the parallel with Rhegium is weak, for there Rome interfered on behalf of her own allies, whereas she had had no dealings with Messana. But even if conscientious scruples were among the motives of the Senate's hesitation, others also must be found in the fear of war with a great sea power, and in the aversion of the conservative element in the Senate to an expansionist policy which increased the power of the People and of the popular leaders whom a new war might bring into prominence.[2] A further reason was probably that Roman interference in Sicily would involve a definite breach of the treaty of 306 The democratic leaders who wanted war might argue that the Carthaginians had themselves annulled this agreement by their action

[1] Cf De Sanctis, III, 1, p. 101

[2] Cf. T. Frank, *Cambr Anc Hist*, VII, pp. 670, 1.

at Tarentum, and by their general attitude which was, according to Polybius (I, 7), one motive that had stimulated Rhegium to ask Rome for protection (*c.* 280).[1] But the Senate perhaps hesitated to disregard formal obligations [2]

The People had accepted the Mamertine alliance because of the advantages which their leaders said would attend it. These suggested benefits would not be land, tribute, or even booty, but the checking of the advance of Carthage and the increase of allies with the consequent decrease of effort by the citizen army. The personal advantages to the democratic leaders from success in war was an aspect which they would hardly emphasize, but of which such families as the Otacilii of Beneventum and the Campanian Atilii would be fully conscious. But the main motive which led Rome to accept the alliance of the Mamertines was to secure an outpost which was necessary to the safety of Italy. The two rivals may both have rushed to secure this key position, but their motives were different; defensive imperialism dominated Rome's policy, an exploiting commercial imperialism actuated Carthage.

§ 4 ROME'S NAVAL OFFENSIVE

In 264 the consul Appius Claudius Caudex was sent with two legions to announce Rome's acceptance of Messana's request for alliance and to garrison the town. His advance guard under his relative C Claudius forced the straits with little opposition· after a slight skirmish the Carthaginian admiral merely returned some ships, which he had captured, with the threat that he would not let the Romans so much as wash their hands in the sea. The attitude of the Punic commander in Messana was equally cautious. On the arrival of C. Claudius and under pressure from the Mamertines he evacuated the citadel, only to be crucified later for his lack of initiative and *pour encourager les autres* [3] The scrupulous behaviour of these Punic generals who, wishing to avoid any openly hostile acts, refused either to contest the passage of the Straits or to hold Messana, contrasts strongly with the decisive vigour of the Roman leaders.

[1] A Heuss (*Hist. Zeitschr* , 1949) argues that Carthage had no designs on Italy.

[2] Any reference to this in the Senatorial debates would hardly be enshrined in the work of Fabius, and the official account current in Polybius' day would not paint Rome as a treaty-breaker If Polybius found any such reference in his pro-Carthaginian sources it would automatically be rejected together with the Philinus treaty

[3] The part played by C Claudius is doubted by some see F W Walbank, *Hist Commentary on Polybius*, I (1957) This work is an indispensable aid for the study of the years 264–216 B.C

The Roman occupation of Messana stung the Carthaginian government to action. War had not yet been formally declared, but the time was ripe Further, Hiero of Syracuse was willing to forget the age-long hostility of Carthage to the Sicilian Greeks and to co-operate with the erstwhile enemy. This unnatural alliance was brought about mainly because both parties saw their common interests threatened by the 'barbarians' of Italy Punic troops were sent to Sicily under Hanno, son of Hannibal, who garrisoned Agrigentum and encamped at Messana. Hiero also arrived there and camped further south of the town, while the Punic fleet anchored to the north. Seeing Messana thus blockaded, Appius Claudius succeeded in transporting his troops across the straits by night. Then, or possibly before crossing to Sicily, he sent an embassy to the Carthaginians and Hiero, ordering them to raise the siege of a town which was allied to Rome. On their refusal he formally declared war and the First Punic War had officially started.[1]

Claudius acted quickly. Taking advantage of the distance between the two enemy camps, he assailed first Hiero's and then Hanno's. The result of these engagements is not certain; both sides according to their own historians claimed them as victories. But Hiero, who was displeased with his allies for allowing the Romans to cross to Sicily so easily, fell back on Syracuse soon afterwards (or perhaps not until the following year). Hanno also withdrew to garrison and protect the Carthaginian cities in Sicily.[2]

[1] Polybius I, 11, 11, places the embassy after Claudius' arrival, but see Diod, XXIII, 1, 3 (cf Livy, XXXI, 1, 4). Ennius refers bluntly to the fact 'Appius indixit Karthaginiensibus bellum.' T Frank suggests that Claudius went beyond the Senate's wishes and was for this reason denied a triumph, but the Senate showed no sloth in prosecuting the war, and it is not certain that the tradition of Claudius' success is correct—see the following footnote.

[2] Polybius records that Claudius' two engagements were successful and that he afterwards marched against Syracuse, this march is probably a doublet of that of Valerius in 263 (Beloch, *Griech Gesch* IV, ii, p 533 ff.) Polybius rejects the account of Philinus, according to whom the two Roman engagements were unsuccessful, because he cannot explain the retreat of the Syracusans on this evidence Polybius' authority is not unimpeachable, he admittedly only gives a sketch of the First Punic War. Probably both sides claimed the victory and the issue was uncertain The suggestion of De Sanctis (III, 1, p 109 ff) that Hiero did not retreat till 263 when faced by the increased forces of Rome is attractive, the failure of Claudius would explain much the Senate's displeasure with him, the discontent of the People at the conduct of the war, and the reason why it was his successor Valerius that won the title 'Messalla '

The next year both consuls, M.' Valerius and M.' Otacilius, were sent to Sicily with about 40,000 men. Though the retreat of Hiero and Hanno freed Messana, Rome must advance further in Sicily, not to conquer the island, but to force her enemies to recognize her Messanian alliance. When Valerius marched southwards many towns around Aetna submitted to him, yet he could have had little hope of taking Syracuse itself without control of the sea. Hiero, however, who could look for little support from his allies after abandoning them at Messana, began to make friendly overtures, to which the Romans readily responded. He was granted an alliance (renewed in 248) and the control of some thirty miles of territory around Syracuse in return for an indemnity of 100 talents (and possibly an annual tribute of 25 talents), he remained Rome's loyal ally till his death in 215.[1] His most immediate service was to help the Romans with supplies.

In March, 262, Valerius celebrated a triumph over the Carthaginians and Hiero and decorated a wall of the Curia Hostilia with a painting of his success. The Senate proposed to send out only two legions this year, but learning that the Carthaginians were recruiting in Spain, Liguria and Gaul, they despatched instead both consuls. These won the support of Segesta in the Punic province in Sicily, and advanced against the Carthaginian headquarters at the Greek city of Agrigentum which lay on a hill, whose steep sides made attack possible only from the south. Here they pitched two camps, joined by a double line of trenches, and besieged the city for five months. Before starvation forced the Punic commander, Hannibal, to capitulate, strong reinforcements arrived under Hanno who, ensconced on a neighbouring hill, cut off the Roman supplies, which the loyal Hiero supplemented with great difficulty. After two months Hanno gave battle in a desperate attempt to relieve the city. Though he was defeated, the Roman losses were so heavy that Hannibal and his garrison were enabled to escape from the doomed city. The next day Agrigentum was sacked and its inhabitants were sold into slavery; an act of clemency, which might have won over the Sicilians, would have proved a better investment for the future than this barbarity. As the fall of Agrigentum did not bring Carthage to her knees and the consuls of 261 achieved little in Sicily, the Senate realized that peace could only be attained by conquering the whole island and driving out the Carthaginians. This could never be done while the Punic fleet threatened the seaboard

[1] The 25 talents may rather represent a first instalment of the indemnity.

towns of Sicily and even ravaged the coast of Italy. So Rome must face the task of challenging the naval supremacy of her enemy.

The success with which the land-lubbers of Rome created a navy and defeated the Queen of the western Mediterranean naturally led later ages to embellish with legendary adornments what was undeniably a magnificent achievement. It was said that having no fleet of their own the Romans took a wrecked Punic vessel as a model and built 120 ships within sixty days from the hewing of the timber, meanwhile crews were taught to row on great wooden stages erected on land. In fact, however, since 311 B.C *duoviri navales* had commanded a squadron of 20 ships (e.g in 282, a *duovir* with 10 ships had been attacked by the Tarentines) But such squadrons were probably only fitted out when required and were then laid up; thus Appius Claudius had to cross to Sicily in ships from allied Italian towns, because there was no Roman squadron ready equipped. Further, after the Pyrrhic War various South Italian towns were perhaps liable by treaty to furnish ships, but these would not number more than 25 vessels all told. When Rome determined to challenge Carthage at sea, she built 20 triremes and 100 quinqueremes. The former represented the old type of duumviral squadron, the latter were built on a new model like the Punic vessels.[1] More difficult than the construction was the manning of the new fleet Many men could be drawn from the *socii navales* of the seafaring towns of South Italy; but others would have to be trained to handle an oar instead of a plough, men who had no experience of the sea To counteract their lack of skill the Romans determined to turn sea battles into land battles by avoiding the manoeuvring and ramming tactics of the enemy, and by adopting boarding tactics. This was achieved by the use of some kind of device, which Polybius describes as a complicated boarding-bridge, known to the soldiers colloquially as a 'crow' (*corvus*) because its 'beak' was an iron spike which grappled the enemy's deck[2] Thus the Romans in-

[1] W W Tarn (*Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, p 124 ff.) believes that the trireme did not have three banks of oars, but oars in groups of three, with one man to each oar, the quinquereme had five men to each out-rigged oar, but like the trireme only one bank of oars. Against this view of the 'one-decker' trireme, the 'three-decker' theory is defended by J S. Morrison (*The Mariner's Mirror*, 1941, p 14 ff , *Cl. Qu* , 1947, 122)

[2] W W Tarn (*op cit* , p 149) believes that the *corvus* as described by Polybius would have caused a quinquereme to turn turtle it was rather an improved grapnel *Per contra* J H Thiel (*Studies on the Hist. of Roman Sea-power*, p 432 ff) argues that the 'crow' *was* a boarding-bridge, that

tended to thwart their enemy's superior naval skill, while they made doubly sure by outbuilding the Carthaginians In all they probably raised 160 vessels, while the enemy had only 130 at sea.[1] Rome was then ready to contest the sea, and when every allowance has been made for patriotic exaggeration in the traditional account, the plain fact is a magnificent tribute to her adaptability and resolve.

While the new fleet was mustering at Messana the commander Cn Cornelius Scipio sailed off with seventeen vessels to negotiate for the surrender of Lipara, but he was surprised and captured by a Punic squadron, this exploit gained for him the suitable cognomen, Asina Thereupon the other consul of 260, C Duilius, took over the command and relieved Segesta which was besieged by Hamilcar, Hanno's successor. But Duilius had greater claim to fame. Encountering the Punic fleet off Mylae near the north-east corner of Sicily he overcame the enemy's tactical skill by grappling their vessels with his 'crows,' so that his men soon swept the decks clear With their superior numbers (perhaps 140 against 130) the Romans accounted for some 50 vessels, including the admiral's flagship. Thus Rome in her first venture on the sea defeated a nation whose seafaring traditions were centuries old. Well might Duilius celebrate the first naval triumph in Rome and be honoured by the erection in the Forum of a column ornamented with the bronze rams of the vessels he had captured.[2]

The Punic fleet had been defeated, but not destroyed, and Rome did not attempt to blockade by sea the Carthaginian strongholds of Panormus or Lilybaeum, still less to attack her enemy in Africa. Instead one consul of 259, L. Cornelius Scipio, led an expedition against Sardinia and Corsica. This could have

its use was abandoned between 255 and 249 because of the resultant naval losses suffered through storms, and that its revival was impossible when a lighter type of quinquereme was built from 242 onwards See H T Wallinga, *The Boarding-bridge of the Romans* (1956)

[1] There was a tradition that by a supreme effort Carthage could raise two hundred vessels, this is probably correct The limitation would be imposed by the difficulty of raising crews, not of building ships On the size of the fleets see Tarn, *Journ Hell Stud*, 1907, p 48 ff., and J H Thiel, *History of Roman Sea Power before Second Punic War* (1954)

[2] An Imperial copy of the laudatory inscription on the column still exists. Both it and the Fasti Triumphales imply that the liberation of Segesta preceded the battle of Mylae, Polybius and Zonaras invert the order The Carthaginian naval defeat recorded by Polybius, I, 21, 11 might be a doublet of the battle of Mylae (from Philinus' account)

little effect on the main issues of the war, but it trained the Romans in the idea of sending expeditionary forces abroad and reduced the possibility of Punic or piratical raids on the Italian coast. Scipio captured Aleria in Corsica and reduced the island, but he failed to take the Punic fortress of Olbia in northern Sardinia. The appearance of Hannibal with reinforcements terminated his activity, but the next year his successor, C. Sulpicius, defeated the enemy's fleet off Sulci (Rome's second naval victory).

Meanwhile Hamilcar had made good progress against the one consular army operating in Sicily. After a successful engagement near Thermae he advanced as far as Enna and Camarina and fortified Drepana. To make good these losses the Romans prolonged Aquillius' command as proconsul through the winter and sent out another consular army to join him in 258 Together the Roman generals advanced towards Panormus, where Hamilcar declined battle, and then by capturing Camarina and Enna they confined the enemy once more to the western end of the island. In 257 all effort in Sardinia was abandoned and little was achieved in Sicily, except that the consul, C. Atilius Regulus, after raiding Melita (Malta) fell in with the Punic fleet off Tyndaris and sank 18 vessels (Rome's third naval victory).

§ 5. ROME'S OFFENSIVE IN AFRICA

Two ways alone seemed open to Rome to terminate the struggle· to take the offensive more actively against the Punic province in Sicily, or to strike at Africa As the former plan offered no prospect of a speedy conclusion, the latter was adopted Rome braced herself for the effort. The fleet was raised to 250 battleships and 80 transports, while perhaps 100,000 men were required for the crews. The Carthaginian navy was also increased, to a figure perhaps a little less than the Roman. In the summer of 256 the Roman fleet, under the command of L. Manlius Vulso and M. Atilius Regulus, sailed round the eastern coast of Sicily and encountered the enemy off Cape Ecnomus. The Romans advanced in four squadrons on a narrow front, the Carthaginians sailed in order of battle in one long line abreast with the intention of outflanking their enemy. But the Roman first line, led by the two flagships, broke through the Punic centre and thanks to the *corvus* was soon victorious. Meanwhile the Roman second line on attempting to deploy had been forced inshore by the Carthaginian left wing, while the third Roman line was faring badly at the

hands of the Carthaginian right. But the victorious Roman squadron returned in time to save their third line by driving off the Carthaginian right wing, and then the combined squadrons converged against the enemy's left wing near the shore; here they captured 50 vessels, having sunk 30 others. The Roman losses were only 24. It was a great victory, the fourth that Rome had won at sea; the passage to Africa was now secure.[1]

After refitting their ships the Romans sailed to Africa and disembarked at Clupea (Aspis) on Cape Bon, the promontory to the east of Carthage, as Agathocles had done before Here they were in good communication with Sicily, and could threaten Carthage from the rear, while cutting her off from many of her rich subject cities. After capturing Clupea and ravaging the district, unopposed by Carthage, the Roman generals reported their success to the Senate, who recalled one consul with the fleet and left Regulus with a small squadron and two legions This force, which was inadequate to attack Carthage, could have maintained the Roman position and have seriously embarrassed Carthage if Regulus had supplemented it by winning the support of the Numidian princes who were ready to revolt; Agathocles had already shown what a small army could achieve. But Regulus was no Agathocles, brave and confident, he lacked the Greek's ability

When the Carthaginians realized that the Romans intended to continue the campaign, they raised forces and recalled others from Sicily Then advancing against Regulus who was besieging Adys (Uthina) they suffered defeat on hilly ground which crippled their cavalry and elephants. Regulus could now advance to Tunis where he confidently encamped for the winter Thinking that the Carthaginians were hard pressed, especially as the Numidians were restive, he offered terms of peace, but these were far too

[1] The formation of the Roman fleet is doubtful Polybius says it advanced in wedge shape, the first two lines forming the spear-head, the second two forming a double base to the triangle This formation is accepted by Kromayer (*Atlas*, col 5), but is rejected by De Sanctis (III, 1, p 140 f) and Tarn (*Hellenistic Military Developments*, p 151) who says it is 'quite impossible, no captains, let alone Roman captains, could have kept station What did happen was that the Roman centre pressed forward ' If the first two squadrons sailed in line ahead and then deployed into line abreast, or if they sailed in line abreast and then advanced with all speed, so that the swifter ships of the centre got ahead of the wings—then, in either case, from the enemy's point of view they would appear in wedge shape formation (especially when the rear lines tried to deploy into line abreast on the flanks of the first line)

severe to be accepted.[1] But apart from his folly in trying to negotiate on unreasonable terms, it is unlikely that a peace could have been arranged, for Rome would probably have insisted on the complete evacuation of Sicily, while Carthage though ready to make concessions in order to rid herself of the African war could hardly have sacrificed the western end of the island

In the spring of 255 the Carthaginians were again ready to try conclusions, for during the winter their army had been drilled and trained on Greek lines by a Spartan mercenary officer named Xanthippus. Before Regulus had bestirred himself Xanthippus led out the Punic army, instead of waiting for reinforcements from Italy Regulus advanced and gave battle in a plain on ground chosen by the enemy. Xanthippus formed his main troops into a phalanx with a hundred elephants in front and the cavalry on the wings In vain the Romans strengthened their centre, they were only trampled to death the more easily. The battle was decided by the Punic cavalry who outflanked and surrounded the Romans, a small division on the Roman left routed the Punic mercenaries, but retreated with heavy losses after the general defeat. Regulus and 500 others were captured, only 2,000 Romans escaped to Clupea.[2] The African expedition had failed.

Meanwhile the Romans had prepared a fleet to blockade Carthage by sea, what time Regulus attacked by land This scheme was now wrecked, but nevertheless the fleet of about 250 vessels, commanded by the two consuls, sailed to Africa to face the Punic navy and to rescue the survivors at Clupea Off the Hermaean Promontory they met and defeated the fleet of perhaps 200 ships with which the Carthaginians, encouraged by their success over Regulus, were contesting the right of way After capturing many vessels by jamming them against the shore and having won the fifth naval victory of the war, the consuls rescued the survivors at Clupea and sailed for home.[3] But fresh

[1] Dio Cassius, XI, 22–23 Or the initiative may have come from Carthage.

[2] The story that Regulus was later sent on parole to Rome to negotiate, that he refused to advise the Senate to accept conditions and returned voluntarily to Carthage to suffer torture and death, became a national epic, but its historicity is doubtful The peace-mission, however, is defended by T Frank, *Class Phil*, 1926, p 311 ff Regulus died in captivity and his widow tortured some Punic prisoners in Rome, the barbarity of the Carthaginians was invented to exculpate the barbarity of this Roman matron Legend was also busy about the fate of Xanthippus Polybius almost certainly did not know the Regulus legend

[3] For the numbers, see Tarn, *Journ Hell Stud*, 1907 Polybius gives Roman fleet 350, Romans capture 114, this does not square with his

tragedy awaited them. In taking to the sea the Romans had minimized their inexperience by adopting grappling tactics, but they could not compensate for their admirals' lack of skill and experience in navigation. It was Nature rather than the Punic fleet which threatened them. On returning from Africa they encountered a terrific storm between Camarina and Cape Pachynus, and only 80 vessels survived.[1] However the two consuls were voted triumphs for their previous victory and a *columna rostrata* was erected to commemorate it.

§ 6. STALEMATE AND CHECKMATE

Rome did not despair or slacken her efforts In the winter of 255–254 taxes were raised to build a new fleet. By the spring she had at least 220 ships and could be confident that Carthage was not in a position to challenge her at sea. As further activity in Africa was impracticable, four legions were sent to storm western Sicily. Cn. Cornelius Scipio, who had regained his freedom and reputation, led an attack by land and sea on the Punic base at Panormus (Palermo), which was divided into two settlements The Old City lay between two streams which ran into the harbour (the modern Cala) and was thus strongly protected. The Romans first stormed and captured the New City with the help of Greek engineers and then turned to the Old City which capitulated. Thirteen thousand citizens who could not raise the requisite ransom were sold into slavery. Other towns, as Tyndaris and Solus, were soon captured. Little resistance had been offered by the Carthaginians because they were busy suppressing a rising of Numidians in Africa, and because since the recall of Hamilcar they had not enough forces in Sicily to offer battle. Their general, Carthalo, made one counter-attack by storming Agrigentum, but fearing that he was not strong enough to hold it, he burnt the city to the ground. The Carthaginians now only held a few towns in Sicily· Drepana, Lilybaeum, Selinus, Heraclea Minoa, and the isolated Thermae, together with the Lipari and Aegates Islands

account of the losses off Camarina Diodorus says the Romans captured 24, this, however, would involve accepting Polybius' figures of 350 for the Roman fleet, which is on other grounds thought to be too high.

[1] T. Frank, *Cambr Anc Hist*, VII, p 685, suggests that 15 per cent of Italy's able-bodied men went down This stupendous figure, however, presupposes that all the rowers were free men

After a vain attempt upon Lilybaeum, the consuls of 253 raided Tripolis, an unwise dispersal of effort, they got into difficulties on the shallows of the Syrtes. In returning to Italy the fleet encountered a storm off Cape Palinurus and suffered considerable damage [1] This fresh disaster caused some discouragement at Rome. clearly the fleet, which had achieved such unexpected success in war, could not face the elements. The Carthaginians too were tired; they had to deal with the Numidians and though their communications with Sicily were now safer and they sent thither an army and many elephants under Hasdrubal,[2] they made no attempt to regain their lost ground. The next two years passed uneventfully, except that in 252 the Romans captured Thermae and the Lipari Islands

This lull in hostilities was followed by a period of renewed effort lasting for two years (250–249). The Romans built 50 new ships which they intended to send under the two consuls of 250 against Lilybaeum, while Caecilius Metellus advanced against the town by land from Panormus But before they moved Hasdrubal took the offensive by marching against Panormus and ravaging the surrounding plain, the Conca d'Oro. Metellus lay low and thus enticed the enemy over the Oreto up to the trenches which he had dug near the city wall. Here the Punic elephants were met with a shower of weapons and stampeded back on their own lines A sally on Hasdrubal's flank completed the confusion, and his army was nearly destroyed His dreaded elephants were all captured, while he himself fled to Lilybaeum, whence he was recalled to face death at Carthage.[3]

After this victory the Romans could blockade Lilybaeum by land and sea. The city, which was strongly fortified, lay on a promontory; its harbour, facing northwards, was small but difficult of access. Within the city were the expatriated inhabitants of Selinus, and a garrison of 10,000 mercenaries. The consuls of 250 B C advanced with (probably) 120 ships and four legions and began to besiege the town, cutting it off from the mainland by a wall and trench which connected their two camps. By sea Hannibal ran the blockade and landed reinforcements, he then sailed out again in safety to join the main Punic fleet under Adherbal at Drepana. Thanks to the occasional success of another blockade-runner, Hannibal the Rhodian, to the loyalty of

[1] Polybius says 150 ships, Tarn, perhaps wrongly, reckons only 27.

[2] Polybius places this in 255 or 254, but see De Sanctis, III, 1, p 164.

[3] The elephant often figured on later coins issued by the Metelli.

the garrison, and to a successful attempt to burn the Roman siege-works, Lilybaeum withstood the blockade; the Roman supplies were threatened by Punic cavalry from Drepana and only Rome's determination and the loyal help of Hiero secured the continuance of the siege. Lilybaeum did not fall till eight years later.

P. Claudius Pulcher, consul of 249, realizing the inefficiency of the naval blockade at Lilybaeum, resolved to attack the Punic fleet which was stationed at Drepana, some sixteen miles to the north. Trusting in his superior numbers and in the fact that Adherbal was as yet unaware that the Roman losses of the previous year had been made up by the arrival of 10,000 *socii navales*, Claudius might hope to surprise the enemy with success. But his tactical skill did not support his strategic plan Drepana was situated on a sharp spit of land, with the harbour on the south side protected by the islet of Colombaia. Hither Claudius sailed with 123 vessels. But while his leading ships were entering the harbour, Adherbal succeeded in manning his fleet (about 100 vessels) and by sailing round the island he fell on the flank of the Roman line. Claudius quickly ordered a retreat, which led to much confusion, and when the enemy attacked he was driven inshore with the loss of 93 vessels, though a large part of the crews swam to land and ultimately reached Lilybaeum. This was the first and only defeat which Rome suffered at sea during the war. Claudius was duly punished by being recalled and condemned to pay a heavy fine. The pious might attribute his defeat to his insistence on fighting when the omens were unfavourable: learning that the sacred chickens would not eat, it is said, he contemptuously dropped them overboard, remarking 'Well, let them drink.' But his plan was not ill-conceived, had his naval skill been greater; while the fact that he probably knew that Adherbal was about to receive a reinforcement of 70 ships explains his haste and his impatience with the chickens

The other consul, L Junius Pullus, meanwhile was preparing to bring supplies to the troops at Lilybaeum. He sailed from Syracuse with 800 transports escorted by 120 warships in two divisions, but fell in with a Punic fleet of 100 vessels commanded by Carthalo, who after attacking the 30 surviving Roman ships at Lilybaeum now came to intercept the reinforcements. Without fighting, Carthalo skilfully forced ashore each of the Roman detachments in turn, one near Phintias (Licata), the other near Camarina; then anticipating a storm he doubled Cape Pachynus

and left the Roman ships exposed to the fury of the tempest on a lee shore. The entire fleet was wrecked and Rome was left without a navy, some 20 ships alone survived of the 240 with which she had started the year. It was now impossible to continue the blockade of Lilybaeum by sea, but, nothing daunted, Junius, who had escaped with two ships, landed there and marched to Drepana, behind which rises Mount Eryx. Here he surprised the guard and seized both the Temple of Aphrodite, the most splendid of all temples in Sicily (where lies the modern village of Mte. San Giuliano), and the old city of Eryx, he thus commanded all the roads to Drepana. It was a shrewd counter-blow. Though Rome had lost control at sea, the only two towns still held by Carthage in Sicily were now cut off from the rest of the island.

Once again the position was one of stalemate. Each side required or took a breathing space. Rome faced her recent disasters by appointing a dictator, but she lacked generals of real distinction and the annual change of magistrates continued to hamper efficiency in the field. The consuls elected for 248 were the cautious consuls of 252, and though no thoughts of peace were entertained, Rome was too exhausted to raise another navy, especially when the dangers of her Junior Service were becoming so obvious; she merely held on for the next six years. Carthage also let sleeping dogs lie Instead of taking the offensive by sea and attacking Panormus or Syracuse, she concentrated on some expeditions in the interior of Africa as far as Theveste. This policy arose partly from the prominence of Hanno the Great, the opponent of the Barcids and representative of the landed interests, partly from the desire to secure internal peace and prosperity before venturing further abroad Carthage thus let slip a good opportunity of pressing home her success. In fact the only incident of note during 248 was that Rome renewed her treaty with the loyal king of Syracuse on easier terms; any tribute was remitted, his kingdom extended, and the treaty was made for all time.

Fresh life was again infused into the dreary struggle by the emergence of the energetic Hamilcar Barca, who raided the coast of southern Italy in 247. Rome replied by founding protective coastal colonies at Alsium, Fregenae and Brundisium; she abandoned the sea to the enemy, apart from the raids of some privateers on the African coast. In 246 Hamilcar struck at the rear of the Roman armies besieging Drepana and Lilybaeum by

effecting a landing west of Panormus He fortified a position on the mountain behind the city, named Heirkte,[1] and anchored his fleet at its foot, so that he was in good communication with the two besieged ports From this mountain eyrie like an eagle he held the Romans at bay for three years and harassed their forces by frequent skirmishes, again raiding the Italian coast as far as Cumae. Still maintaining this guerilla warfare he advanced in 244 to Mount Eryx in order to relieve pressure from the siege of Drepana. He captured the old town of Eryx on the northern slopes of the mountain, but the Romans retained the Temple of Aphrodite at the top of the mountain together with a lower point between the Temple and the town of Drepana and so cut him off from interfering with the siege Details of the two-year-long tussle are not known, but it was only terminated by the conclusion of the war

The long years of Hamilcar's campaigns convinced Rome that the war could only be won at sea As the treasury was exhausted, a loan was raised repayable only in event of victory. By this patriotic effort a fleet of 200 warships and many transports were constructed, the quinqueremes being of light build (without *corvi*). In the summer of 242 the new fleet sailed under C Lutatius Catulus to Drepana, where he found no Punic navy to face him, partly perhaps because the home government was leaving the burden of war to Hasdrubal, partly because they needed the crews for wars in Africa. An attack on Drepana failed, but provisions were running low in the besieged town. By March 241 the Carthaginians with difficulty had manned 170 to 200 vessels, they intended to land stores in Sicily and then, having embarked Hamilcar and his men in order to compensate for their lack of marines, to face the foe. But off the Aegates Islands they met the Roman fleet. Hampered by their inadequate equipment and heavy freights they were quickly defeated. The Romans sank 50 ships and captured 70 more Further resistance was out of the question. Carthage had shot her bolt, the war was at an end

The Carthaginian government gave Hamilcar full powers to negotiate for peace The following terms were agreed upon by Lutatius, subject to ratification at Rome. Carthage was to evacuate Sicily, return all prisoners, and pay 2,200 talents in twenty annual instalments, neither side was to attack the allies of the

[1] Whether Mte Pellegrino or Mte Castellaccio is uncertain Kromayer (*Schlachtfelder*, III, 1, p 4 f) argues for the latter

other. These terms were lenient. The indemnity was trifling in proportion to the wealth of Carthage and the war expenditure of Rome, but then Rome had won control of Sicily. They were flatly rejected by the Roman People. Ten commissioners were sent to consider the question on the spot and they succeeded in tightening up the terms by adding 1,000 talents to the indemnity and decreasing the time of payment to ten years; further, it was decided that the islands between Sicily and Italy should belong to Rome, Punic ships should not sail in Italian waters, no mercenaries should be recruited in Italy. Apart from the 1,000 talents the other clauses might seem advantageous to the ignorant populace at Rome, but they were in fact a negligible addition. However, the alternative was to continue the war and so the Roman People, doubtless harkening to the authority of the Senate, accepted the terms, and peace reigned after twenty-four years.

So ended a struggle which was, wrote Polybius, 'the longest, most continuous and most severely contested war known to us in history.' Like the coming struggle with Hannibal, it was won by the moral qualities of the Roman people, by the patriotism of a citizen army, by the loyalty of the allies in Italy and of Hiero in Sicily, and by the steadiness of the Senatorial government. The men of Rome vanquished the Mammon of Carthage. Only in the crisis of the invasion of Africa had the citizens of Carthage drawn a sword in her defence. Her officers might be efficient, her gold might procure reliable mercenaries, but in the last resort she failed Neither side produced a general of genius except perhaps Hamilcar, but the long years of disciplined warfare in Italy had given Rome an excellent fighting machine. True, she did not adapt it to meet the cavalry and elephants of the enemy and thus suffered defeat near the walls of Carthage, that reform was only achieved during the next struggle. But she did show great adaptability in taking to the sea; it was the old story of the struggle of the elephant and the whale, and she succeeded by determination rather than by technical skill. But the courage of the legions would have proved fruitless had the Italian troops failed them. The war showed clearly what the struggle with Hannibal proved beyond all doubt, that Rome's allies were bound to her by other ties than those of slave to mistress.[1]

[1] In 242 despite wartime difficulties Rome allowed two of her *foederati* in Italy (Naples and Elea) and two Sicilian cities to receive invitations to a festival of Asclepius in Cos see H Bengtson, *Historia*, III, 456 ff

CHAPTER VIII

THE ENTR'ACTE

§ 1. THE PROVINCE OF SICILY

THE most obvious result of the First Punic War was that Rome had gained control of territory lying outside Italy By driving the Carthaginians from Sicily she had become arbiter of the island's fate, and her decision opened a new chapter in her history Two courses were open either to apply in Sicily the methods that she had used in Italy or else to maintain the forms of administration with which the Sicilians were already conversant from the rule of Carthage and Syracuse.

In Italy the Romans had applied no theory of state-ownership to conquered land; apart from the *ager publicus*, they exacted no tribute in the form either of the products of the earth or their equivalent in cash. Instead, they had demanded military service from the conquered whom they called allies and whom they allowed to share their victories and spoils In Sicily they had at first adopted a similar policy, entering into alliances with Messana and Syracuse Were they then to extend this system to the whole island, many of whose inhabitants differed from themselves in race, language and tradition? There were serious objections. The experience of many of the natives in political life was small, while their military qualifications were doubtful Further, the Sicilians themselves would have considered it an intolerable burden to be dragged from their villages and farms to fight in wars about which they had no interest or knowledge. How much easier for them to pay tribute as they had long been accustomed. And the existence of the practice was a strong factor in determining the policy of the Romans who preferred to assimilate rather than to destroy; within limits, they were ready to adapt their machinery of government to current needs. To impose tribute was the line of least resistance, it was chosen perhaps without much thought of its implications or possible consequences, but in time it revolutionized the whole conception of government and changed the leader of an Italian federation into an imperial power which ultimately dominated the civilized world

By establishing a new tribute-paying area Rome sowed the seeds from which her whole provincial system was to develop.

But some parts of Sicily fell outside this district. The kingdom of Hiero, which comprised about a quarter of the island, was immune from taxation. By the alliance which he had concluded with Rome 'for ever' in 248, he was not even obliged to supply troops, though he voluntarily gave loyal support; but after his death in 215, and the revolt of Syracuse from Rome, Syracuse together with several of her subject cities was made tributory. Another ally of Rome was Messana, which, like many of the Greek cities of South Italy, had to supply one warship; after the fall of Syracuse (212) Tauromenium and Netum were added to this class of *civitates foederatae*. To certain other cities Rome had promised autonomy and freedom from obligations in return for their help during the war; and she kept her promise Halaesa, Centuripa, Segesta and Halicyae from the beginning of the war, and Panormus twelve years later, were all free from taxation though not allied to Rome (*civitates immunes*), this privilege, not confirmed by treaty, was dependent on their good behaviour and did not free them from Roman jurisdiction At the other extreme from these free cities and allied cities was any land which the sovereign people of Rome might declare public property, *ager publicus*, the Roman censors then rented it on leasehold to its former holders. Probably, however, no territory, apart from certain official Punic residences, was disposed of in this way before the fall of Syracuse.

All these districts comprised about one half of the island. On the other half Rome imposed a regular annual tax, such as some cities had paid to Carthage, others to Syracuse. The dominant powers in Sicily had long collected tithes; Syracuse had done so from the days of Gelon. More recently Hiero had reorganized the assessment and administration of the taxes of his kingdom on very capable lines. He drew up a revenue code which in many respects resembled those of the great Hellenistic monarchies, especially Ptolemaic Egypt; yet it was probably his own work rather then a mere copy or adaptation of existing codes So efficient was this *lex Hieronica* that the Roman magistrates who first went out to govern Sicily decreed that the tithe should be collected on the lines laid down by this code, and the succeeding praetors maintained this practice, which was not embodied in law till the *lex Rupilia* was passed in 131. But though Rome followed it in practice, she did not accept, nor perhaps realize, the theory on which it and the Oriental codes rested· that conquest involved full ownership of the conquered soil (*dominium*

in solo provinciali). Instead, she regarded the revenue derived from Sicily as a tax paid by the governed to the state, not as rent paid by tenant to owner [1]

The main form of taxation was a tithe on harvested crops (*decumana*). This system was very fair for an agricultural country, especially one that was subject to drought, for the amount of tithe would fluctuate with seasonal variations. Pasture land, which could not be taxed in this way, was liable to an annual monetary tax levied on every head of grazing stock (*scriptura*) Harbour-dues (*portoria*) were imposed on all imports and exports at the rate of five per cent The Romans also reserved for themselves prior rights to buy additional wheat for the plebs at Rome (*frumentum emptum*), or for the Roman governor's household (*frumentum in cellam*). Such requisitions were later regulated by legislation (73 B.C).

The collection of the tithe, which followed the methods of Hiero, was equitably managed and prevented Sicily from becoming the prey of Roman tax collectors, who later exploited other provinces. It was not farmed out by contracts let at Rome to individuals or companies, as were the harbour-dues; nor was it administered by state officials which would have involved the creation of a civil service. Instead it was farmed out to the highest bidder in the province, whether native or Roman, agents of Roman companies were not allowed to bid Local city magistrates were responsible for listing the farmers, their land and produce. On the basis of such schedules the contractor—often the town itself—could bid in the presence of the Roman magistrate with the prospect of $\frac{2}{5}$ per cent profit. He then fixed the exact amount of the tithe with the various farmers, who were protected against injustice, and deposited with the city magistrate copies of all agreements made The local authorities thus became responsible for the correct delivery of the produce due, which was then paid to a Roman official So efficient was the system that Cicero could write:[2] 'The law of Hiero is so carefully framed that neither in the cornfields, nor on the threshing floors, nor in the barns can the cultivator defraud the collector of one single grain without the severest punishment, nor is it possible for more

[1] See T Frank (*Journ Rom. Stud* , 1927, p 141 ff.), who believes that no theory of state ownership of provincial land was recognized till after the reign of Claudius On the *lex Hieronica*, and the taxation of Sicily, see especially J Carcopino, *La Loi de Hiéron et les Romains*

[2] *In Verr* , II, iii, 8, 20.

than the tenth to be extorted from the cultivator against his will.'

The necessity of upholding law and order in the island led to the gradual creation of an administrative system. After her conquest of Italy Rome had administered the annexed districts through the central government at Rome, not by installing permanent officials with *imperium* in the various localities. But it had been found necessary in the fourth century for judicial reasons to send to various districts legates of the urban praetor (*praefecti iure dicundo*); and in 267 four quaestors (*quaestores classici*) had been appointed to given districts to protect the financial interests of the state and to guard the coast. After the First Punic War one of these Italic quaestors was apparently sent to Lilybaeum, whence he could direct the administration of the island. But soon it became clear that the duties of such a governor required the possession of full *imperium*, which was not inherent in the quaestorship. A magistrate, such as the consul or praetor, was needed. And so about 227, after Rome had gained control of Sardinia as well as Sicily, the annual number of praetors was raised from two to four, two of them continued to serve in Rome, while two went to the islands. From this time the word *provincia*, which meant the sphere within which a magistrate exercised his *imperium*, began to be applied more particularly to these foreign spheres outside Rome. her oversea provinces.

The provincial praetor exercised wide powers. He controlled the general administration of the province, the local authorities and all public works; he commanded all the land and sea forces within his province, and he was the supreme judge in civil and criminal cases. He was supported by a large staff, consisting of one subordinate magistrate, the quaestor (there were two in Sicily after 210), one or more senatorial *legati*, to whom he might delegate any business, and a number of 'comrades' (*comites*), young men whom he initiated in the routine of official life. Theoretically he remained the colleague of the other praetors and exercised less authority than the consuls. In practice, however, being far from the control of these magistrates, unchecked by the principle of collegiality, unhampered by the tribunician veto, with his judgments not subjected to the right of appeal (except in the case of Roman citizens), he wielded almost kingly power. And Verres proved to the unfortunate Sicilians towards the end of the Republic that a provincial praetor could become a local tyrant. But on the other hand his tenure of office was short, so

that he could soon be called to task at Rome; he was checked by the local liberties granted to privileged cities under the official charter of the province (the *lex provinciae*), while the peaceful condition of a quiet province like Sicily precluded the use or abuse of much military power.

Under the strong hand of Rome, which had crushed the age-long struggle of Greek and Carthaginian in Sicily, the natives prospered. Their cities remained autonomous in local administration and they continued in increasing number to issue their own coinage. Within each city the Popular Assembly and the Council still transacted business Little attempt was made to adapt the municipal authorities to the Roman form, although the smaller membership of the Councils made them easier bodies to deal with than the Assemblies, thus giving a slightly anti-democratic bias. It is uncertain how far members of one community were forbidden the right to deal or hold property (*commercium*) or to marry (*conubium*) in another, Segesta was not allowed *commercium*, probably to safeguard her, while Centuripa was granted the somewhat doubtful privilege The judicial machinery which was gradually created illustrates the fairness of the Roman rule. Cicero[1] records that in a suit between citizens of the same state the trial should be held in that state and in accordance with the native code, this would not preclude an appeal to the governor. When a Sicilian sued a member of another state, the praetor chose the judge by lot (perhaps a Roman citizen). In suits between an individual and a state not his own, the Senate of a third state became judge In litigation between natives and Roman citizens, the judge was to be of the nationality of the defendant

Such in brief was the scheme of taxation and administration which the Romans adopted in their first province, though many of the details were naturally only elaborated in the course of time and the quarter of the island which Hiero ruled was not added to the tithe-paying portion till after his death. With their interests protected, the Sicilians prospered and many must have realized that they were receiving considerable compensation for the tithe they now paid to Rome. They were freed from the heavy hand of Carthage who had sought to monopolize their trade, they were immune from exploitation by tax-gatherers; they were ruled efficiently by governors who for many a year were just and honourable men, and when Rome again took the ring

[1] *In Verr.*, II, ii, 13, 32. Cf Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 325

with Carthage, their loyalty to Rome showed which of the two Republics they preferred as mistress.

§ 2. CARTHAGE AND THE SARDINIAN QUESTION

The First Punic War had levied but a light toll in blood on the citizens of Carthage, but the Truceless War which followed endangered the city's very life. Twenty thousand mercenaries, who had returned from Sicily, mustered at Sicca Veneria and clamoured loudly for arrears of pay. This motley crew of Libyans, Iberians, Celts, Ligurians, Balearic Islanders and half-breed Greeks, who had found a common bond in their claims on Carthage, marched on Tunis under the joint leadership of a Libyan, named Matho, and Spendius who was said to be a runaway Roman slave. The standard of revolt was raised throughout the country. The subject Libyans rushed to arms against their oppressors. The Numidians swept over the western frontier Utica and Hippo Diarrhytus, which alone remained loyal, were besieged; the mercenaries were masters of the open country and cut the communications of Carthage with the rest of Libya.

In desperate plight the Carthaginians raised an army under Hanno who failed to relieve Utica (spring, 240) Carthage was further isolated when Spendius camped at the only bridge over the river Bagradas, which ran between Utica and Carthage. Hanno's ill-success led to the appointment of his rival Hamilcar Barca, who had been eclipsed after the war with Rome, partly from dissatisfaction with the peace terms he had arranged and with his promises to the mercenaries, partly by the prominence of Hanno, who represented a party which saw the future of Carthage in expansion in Africa rather than in foreign exploitation which clashed with the interests of Rome.

By a decisive victory near the Bagradas Hamilcar opened up communications beyond the river Then instead of joining his rival Hanno who was operating against Matho at Hippo he again tricked Spendius who was hanging on his heels. By showing great leniency after the victory Hamilcar tried to check the revolt, but Spendius destroyed all hope of compromise by torturing seven hundred prisoners. So the war was renewed with the utmost barbarity and cruelty on both sides.

When Utica and Hippo capitulated, the mercenaries moved against Carthage itself from their base at Tunis, but without the command of the sea they had little prospect of success. Carthage

was further embarrassed by a revolt in Sardinia, but Hamilcar, who had been given the sole command after an ineffective attempt to co-operate with Hanno, soon rounded up and annihilated Spendius' force at Prione.[1] Moving to Tunis he camped at the south end of the isthmus on which the town lay, Hannibal, whom he had left to cover Carthage, was at the north end But Matho, goaded into action by the gruesome sight of the crucifixion of his fellow-mutineer, Spendius, and his companions, skilfully captured Hannibal's camp before Hamilcar could move. Hamilcar, thus forced to raise the siege of Tunis, withdrew to the mouth of the Bagradas to protect the communications of Carthage (239).

During the winter Carthage made her final effort. New troops were raised, Hamilcar and Hanno were reconciled. An energetic strategy gradually drew Matho to the neighbourhood of Leptis Minor, both sides wearied of guerilla warfare and met on the field of battle, where the mercenaries were destroyed.[2] The rebellious subject towns were reduced, Utica and Hippo surrendered after a short siege. Peace was restored after three years' fighting which far surpassed in cruelty and inhumanity any other struggle known to Polybius. The Carthaginians themselves had for once to fight for their city's preservation. The tenacious fury of the Semite had been roused to good effect, disciplined and scientific warfare had worn down the resistance of mercenaries whom common interests alone held together. But Carthage had paid a heavy price for victory, especially in her weakness after the war with Rome.[3]

During this life and death struggle Carthage had maintained friendly relations with Rome. True, some slight trouble had arisen when Italian merchants supplied arms and food to the rebels The Carthaginians had captured 500 of them, but on receiving representations from Rome had released them. In return Rome sent back the Punic prisoners that were still in Italy, forbade further contraband-running and allowed Carthage to trade with Italy and possibly to hire troops there. Possible friction was avoided for the moment in Sardinia, where the Punic

[1] Located by Veith (*Schlachtfelder*, III, 2, p 550 f) near Sidi Jedidi in the neighbourhood of Hammanet, this identification is doubtful

[2] The site is unknown. Polybius, whose account is pro-Barcid, deals summarily with the campaign in which Hanno took a prominent part

[3] On the Truceless War see Flaubert's vivid historical novel *Salammbô* its attention to detail suggests a film scenario

mercenaries had revolted from Carthage and reduced most of the island (240) They appealed to Rome for help, probably in 239, when Hamilcar's victory over Spendius suggested that Carthage was finishing her war in Africa But Rome rejected their appeal and that of Utica which also proffered submission. She probably regarded the mercenaries as an international danger and preferred to respect the treaty of 241.

When Carthage had crushed the African rising, the mercenaries in Sardinia, being hard-pressed by the natives, again appealed to Rome (238) It was known that the Carthaginians would attack them soon, so that if Rome wished to prevent the reoccupation of the island by Punic forces, this was the time to act. For Carthage was worn out by her recent struggles; her fleet had been lost in the war with Rome and her revenues were reduced by the Truceless War. There was little likelihood that she would face another war if Rome insisted. The Romans, therefore, bluntly declared war on her, when she objected to their claim to intervene in Sardinia.[1] In vain the Carthaginians protested that they had prior claims, in vain they offered to submit to arbitration. Finally they were granted peace only at the price of 1,200 talents and the surrender of Sardinia, an additional clause was added, as it were, to the Peace of Lutatius. This act was strongly denounced by Polybius as 'contrary to all justice' It would be idle to suggest that by abandoning Sardinia for a year or more, Carthage had forfeited her rights to it, the successful mercenaries could hardly claim to dictate the future of the island. Nor could it be classed among 'the islands between Sicily and Italy' which had been ceded to Rome by the treaty of 241, though Roman annalists patriotically may have tried to stretch the point. It may be true that the severe treatment by Carthage of Italian merchants, who continued to run contraband, gave Rome a pretext.[2] but it was no more than a pretext. Sardinia was so closely connected geographically with Italy that the Romans could not allow Carthage complete control of the island; the First Punic War had shown the danger which might arise from an enemy fleet based there. When the moment was ripe Rome acted with decision and without scruple and thus per-

[1] On the adaptation of the fetial procedure for the declaration of war against overseas enemies see F. W Walbank, *Class Phil.*, 1949, p 15 ff.

[2] Cf Appian, *Lib* 5, *Iber* 4, and Pol III, 28, 3; this tradition may derive from Fabius, while the censure of Rome which Polybius repeats may come from the writer who continued Philinus' work.

manently embittered relations with her old rival just when they were becoming more friendly.

The Romans' troubles started when they set out to conquer Sardinia and with it Corsica whose capital they had reduced in 258. The courage of the natives and the mountainous country rendered conquest a slow task. Ti Sempronius Gracchus occupied the coastal cities once held by Carthage (probably in 237), but the conquest of the interior progressed slowly Not till 231 was a semblance of peace imposed, when the consul gained a doubtful reputation by employing manhunting dogs against the natives. In the same year Corsica was pacified. About 227 the two islands were constituted a Roman province like Sicily and a praetor was appointed annually to supervise them. This caused another revolt in Sardinia, which was, however, pacified by 225, by the Second Punic War the island was officially conquered, except for a few highland clans. The province was administered like Sicily, except that no towns had obtained freedom or immunity. Apart from territory confiscated by Rome, a tithe on the products of the soil was levied on the rest, and Sardinia became, with Sicily, and later Africa, one of the three granaries of the Republic. This tax was not severe for a people which had been subjected to exploitation by Carthage, but the economic life of the island declined when its produce could no longer be shipped to the Punic markets of the west

§ 3. ROME AND THE GAULS

During Rome's struggle with Carthage the Italian federation had remained loyal; one exception merely emphasized the solidarity of the whole. Falerii waited till the end of the war and then revolted in 241, perhaps the occasion was the recent expiration of its fifty-years' alliance with Rome. But it did not have to wait long for its punishment. The consuls who had returned from Sicily stormed it in six days and forced the inhabitants to abandon their strong hill-site (modern Civita Castellana) and to rebuild in the plain where the solitary church of Santa Maria di Falleri within the circuit of the Roman walls to-day preserves the name Half the territory of Falerii was annexed as *ager publicus*, and a Latin colony was planted at Spoletium on the road to Ariminum and the north

In contrast with the fate of Falerii, the loyalty of the Picentes and Sabines (p. 128) was rewarded by the grant of two wards in

the Comitia Centuriata: two new tribes named Velina and Quirina were established in 241, bringing the total up to thirty-five, a number that was never increased. The fixing of the total had an important result, because the citizens of districts enfranchised thereafter had to be assigned to one of the existing tribes, this involved the gradual disappearance of the local significance of the tribes which became merely administrative divisions It is probable that the Comitia Centuriata was reformed at the time when these last two tribes were established,[1] and that the reform was the work of the censors. Its main object was to correlate the centuries and tribes, possibly to make the Comitia Centuriata somewhat more democratic. The five 'Servian' classes were retained, but the centuries were rearranged. The first class was reduced from 80 to 70 centuries, two to a tribe, one of seniors and one of juniors (35 × 2). Possibly the other four classes were treated similarly; if so, there would be 350 groups, and with the eighteen centuries of knights and five of proletarians, etc., a grand total of 373 [2] The century which voted first (*praerogativa*) and generally had considerable influence on those that followed, was chosen by lot from the first class; then the knights and the five classes voted in order until a majority of the centuries' votes was obtained. But this would not be reached until at least part of the third class had voted, and if the voting was not solid for or against the motion, even lower classes might get a chance to vote, whereas hitherto the knights and the first class had had a clear majority. Thus if the centuries numbered 350, the middle classes who predominated in the hitherto more democratic Comitia Tributa could now exercise a vote in the Centuriata. Probably the property ratings were adjusted at the same time. Wealth still remained predominant, though its influence was limited, while age received undue recognition since the number of *seniores* would be less than the *iuniores*. The will of the people still could not find such complete expression in the Comitia Centuriata as in the Tributa, but the working of the two Assemblies was brought more into line.

[1] The reform fell between the years 241 and 218; it is sometimes attributed to the censorship of Flaminius in 220, but see Appendix 4

[2] See De Sanctis, III, i, pp. 353–81 Others, rightly perhaps, hold that the numbers of the centuries remained fixed at 193, while ten centuries of the first class were assigned to the lower classes. According to Mommsen there were 373 centuries, which were grouped into 193 *ad hoc* voting units. See Appendix 4.

The peasant middle classes and the rural democracy were championed in 232 by a tribune named C. Flaminius who attacked the Patricio-plebeian nobility. He proposed that the *ager Gallicus* (*et Picenus*?), the district south of Ariminum which had been confiscated from the Senones, should be divided into small allotments and distributed to poor citizens, and he forced this measure through the plebeian assembly in the teeth of bitter Senatorial opposition. This was aroused partly perhaps by the consideration that it would be fairer to found a Latin colony on this territory, but more because individual Senators were unwilling to lose their valuable leaseholds there, and above all because of Flaminius' disregard of the Senate and of the Comitia Centuriata Tradition relates that this measure caused the beginning of 'the demoralization of the people' and hastened the Gallic invasion of 225 because it annoyed the Gauls Of these statements, which derive from an aristocratic tradition hostile to Flaminius, the first is at least doubtful, for, although in his disregard of the Senate Flaminius was the forerunner of the Gracchi, yet his measure was far from revolutionary The second is demonstrably false the Gallic invasion had threatened four years before and did not mature till seven years after the enactment, and the Gauls can have cared little whether territory so far south was occupied by individual Roman farmers or was controlled by wealthy Roman nobles. Flaminius' proposal was a timely measure of self-defence against the Gauls rather than a provocation

Flaminius crossed swords with the Senate on another question. A tribune, Q. Claudius, carried a measure which prevented Senators engaging in overseas trade to any extent Senators and their sons were forbidden to own ships other than small ones to transport the produce of their estates Flaminius alone supported this measure in the Senate. It was designed to prevent private financial interests distracting or perverting the interests of the governing classes, it had the effect of forcing them to concentrate more on their lands. At the same time—the date is uncertain—senators were prohibited from taking state contracts.[1]

Flaminius' agrarian law focussed attention on the north, where the tribes were restless. The Senones and Boii had taken to heart the bitter lesson taught by the campaigns which had ended in

[1] De Sanctis (III, i, p 334) believes that Flaminius was responsible for a law limiting the amount of public land to be held by an individual and that the agrarian *lex Licinia* of 367 was merely an anticipation of this But see p 92

282, and providentially for Rome they remained quiet during her struggles with Pyrrhus and Carthage. But a new generation of Celts had now grown up and Rome was free to consider the safety of her northern frontier During the century the Ligurians, who had inhabited the sweep of hills from the French Alps along the Italian Riviera, had thrust the Etruscans back from Pisa and the river Arno, and had had dealings with their kinsmen in Corsica, which Rome had determined to master. Further, Rome's friend Massilia would be grateful to have the Tyrrhenian sea cleared of the pirates who frequented its shores Thus many considerations led the Romans to make some demonstration against the Ligurians and we hear of engagements in 238, 236, 234, 233 and 230, which led to the freeing of Pisa, now probably a member of Rome's confederacy, the partial submission of the Apuani; and the occupation of Luna But the Ligurians were not really reduced until after the Hannibalic War. More serious were the movements of the Boii, who, reinforced by Transalpine tribes, ventured to move against Ariminum in 236 But dissension among the tribesmen led to the withdrawal of the army, so that the threat of a Gallic peril was removed for the moment. Instead of taking the opportunity of marching against the Boii and of advancing their frontier to the Po, the Romans preferred peace. Skirmishes might continue against the Sardinians and Ligurians, but real warfare was at an end. In 235–234 with due solemnity the gates of the Temple of Janus were closed for the first time since the reign of Numa Pompilius.

During the next few years Rome's attention was directed towards the Adriatic (§ 4), but it was sharply drawn back to the North where the storm clouds lowered so ominously in 226 that Rome hastily reached an agreement with Hasdrubal whose empire building in Spain was raising visions of renewed trouble with Carthage (cf. § 5). The Gallic clans were gathering The Boii and the neighbouring Lingones had summoned to their aid the warlike Insubres from beyond the Po, from further west came the Taurini and the Gaesati from beyond the Alps Memories of Allia and the sack of Rome caused panic throughout Italy. At Rome two Gauls and a Greek were buried alive in the Forum Boarium in an attempt to anticipate literally a statement from the Sibylline books that Rome 'must twice be held by a foreign enemy.' A more sensible measure was the taking of a census of all the available forces throughout Italy; the citizens amounted to 250,000 infantry and 23,000 cavalry, the allies to 350,000 men excluding

reserves, the Bruttians and Greek allies Further, the Cenomani who dwelt north of the Boii did not join their kinsmen, but with the non-Celtic Veneti of the north-east remained at peace with Rome.

Rome hastened to defend Italy. One consul was absent in Sardinia, but the other, L. Aemilius Papus, was stationed at Ariminum, Etruscan and Sabine forces, commanded by a praetor, protected the passes of the western Apennines, four legions covered Rome, two others guarded South Italy and Sicily against the possibility of Carthaginian intervention. Instead of attacking Ariminum as they had done eleven years before, the Celts advanced over the Apennines into Etruria, their forces numbering 50,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry. Devastating the country on their march they took the road to Rome and slipped past the two Roman armies These hastened in pursuit, intending to converge at Clusium, where however the Gauls turned and tricked the praetor into battle near Montepulciano before the consul's arrival. Then resolving not to face the consular army in battle they retired with their booty to the Etruscan coast, south of the massif of Mte Amiata, it would have been too dangerous to retreat by the way they had come, while the coast route offered further booty and forage for their horses. From Orbetello they proceeded northwards, closely followed by Aemilius, when they were surprised to find another consular army facing them at Telamon It was the legions of Atilius Regulus, who had been recalled from Sardinia and was marching south from Pisa. A great battle was fought. The Gauls formed two lines back to back to meet the double attack The naked bodies of the Celts, their fine physique, their flashing gold necklaces and bracelets, the blare of their trumpets, all impressed the Romans. But discipline and superior equipment at length overcame their desperate valour. Though Atilius was killed, 40,000 Gauls were left on the field and 10,000 were captured, only part of their cavalry broke away. Never again did a Gallic army cross the Apennines

This unrest among the Gauls emphasized the fact that the Alps were the natural frontier of Italy and that the victory of Telamon must be followed up by the reduction of Cisalpine Gaul in order to ensure peace and a quiet frontier After the battle Aemilius raided the Boii, who were completely subdued by the consuls of the following year (224). It fell to the lot of the democratic leader C Flaminius to lead the first Roman army across the Po against the Insubres. This daring and able politician,

who had crossed swords with the Senate on the score of his land bill, reached the consulship in 223 and proceeded to display his not inconsiderable gifts as a soldier With his colleague he crossed the Po near the Adda and then, instead of marching directly against the Insubres, he turned through the country of the friendly Cenomani and fell on the enemy from their exposed eastern flank. Hostile Senators might point out the dangers of Flaminius' strategy, but it succeeded. In the country south of Bergamo and Brescia he encountered and defeated the enemy; the tradition, which assigns the victory to the efficiency of the Roman legions and tribunes in spite of their general's rashness, is not above suspicion. Flaminius is said to have left unread despatches which he received from the Senate before the battle, guessing that they contained an order to return without fighting. In any case he was recalled after the battle and his colleague's refusal to disobey this summons prevented him from following up his victory. On his return he was voted a triumph by the people despite the Senate After this honour he retired from office and thus allowed the consuls of 222 to enter on their duties on the 15th March, a month earlier than usual, not till 153 did the consular year start on 1st January Flaminius deserved a better tribute from his country than he received.

The Insubres sought peace on conditions which the new consuls, Cn. Cornelius Scipio and M. Claudius Marcellus, were unwilling to accept; they then prepared to renew the struggle with the help of 30,000 Gaesati. When the consuls attacked Acerrae, which commanded the passage of the river Adda, the Gauls made a counter-attack on Clastidium which had recently been occupied by Flaminius The consuls separated. Marcellus marched to the relief of Clastidium, where he won a victory, charging on horseback the Gaulish chieftain Viridomarus whom he slew in single combat; he thus won the *spolia opima* for the last time in Roman history Meantime Scipio captured Acerrae and advanced into the heart of Insubrian territory. At Mediolanum (Milan) he got into slight difficulties, until Marcellus arrived, together they routed the enemy and took the city.[1] The Insubres surrendered unconditionally and gave up some territory on which the colony of Cremona was soon founded. Finally, the

[1] Polybius' account (II, 34) is pro-Scipionic and the danger which Scipio incurred is minimized, for the part played by Marcellus, see Plutarch, *Marcell* 7 Was Scipio's advance any less dangerous than that of Flaminius which the aristocratic tradition so heartily condemns?

consuls of 221 and 220 carried through the reduction of the native tribes of Istria and thus secured the north-eastern frontier up to the Julian Alps. Cisalpine Gaul was conquered and the way lay open for the infiltration of Roman culture. This was hastened by the extension of the road from Spoletium to Ariminum by Flaminius, who reached the censorship in 220, the whole route from Rome was reconditioned and the new Great North Road was called the Via Flaminia

Two years later Latin colonies of six thousand settlers each were planted at Placentia and Cremona to guard the passage over the Po against the Insubres, and a fortified outpost was placed at Mutina (Modena) among the Boii [1] But hardly had peace been established when Hannibal appeared from over the Alps, and Cisalpine Gaul rallied to his banner

§ 4 THE ILLYRIAN PIRATES

Before and after, but luckily not during, Rome's struggle with the Gauls, her attention was diverted to Greece and a new world swam into her ken. Although in the course of the third century she had become arbiter of the destinies of a multitude of Greek towns in Magna Graecia and Sicily; although many of her nobles and many even of the general rank and file that had served abroad had become interested in Greek culture, nevertheless she had no direct dealings with Greece proper and no Roman embassy set foot in Greece before 228 B C [2] But events occurred which forced Rome out of her indifference to the Hellenistic world. During the First Punic War an Illyrian chieftain named Agron had built up a very considerable kingdom, centred at Scodra (the modern Scutari), and stretching from Dalmatia in the north down to the coast opposite the heel of Italy In 231 by co-operating with Demetrius II of Macedonia he was enabled to interfere much further south, though the unwise celebration of a victory brought about his death His widow, the queen-regent Teuta, aided by an unscrupulous chieftain, Scerdilaidas, carried on his imperialistic policy in 230 they reduced Epirus and

[1] Polybius (III, 40, 8) calls it an ἀποικία, but probably a citizen colony was not founded till 183

[2] Polybius, II, 12, 8 The alleged Roman treaty with Rhodes in 306, her alliance with Apollonia in 266, and her intervention on behalf of Acarnania in 289 may all be dismissed as fictitious See Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellén*, p 29 ff, and in *Cambr Anc Hist*, VII, p 822 ff

Acarnania and thus extended Illyria's sphere of control to the Corinthian Gulf.

It was not, however, the territorial expansion of Illyria that drew Rome's first glance across the Adriatic. The immemorial pursuit and chief industry of the Illyrians was piracy. Their rugged broken coast with its screen of islands formed a perfect base from which their light and speedy little galleys (*lembi*) could prey on passing merchantmen. Checked in earlier days by the fleets of various Greek cities, they now roved the seas unhindered until Rome at length assumed the rôle of policeman As long as they victimized merely Greek shipping in the Adriatic, Rome was unmoved. But when they ravaged the coast of South Italy and ventured into the Ionian Sea to rob, capture and even kill Italian traders, popular indignation at last forced Rome's hand. But the Senate preferred diplomacy to force. Two envoys were sent to Teuta, who was busy besieging Issa in an attempt to annex all the neighbouring Greek cities not yet under her control (*aut* 230) The queen repudiated responsibility for any outrages committed by her subjects and refused to guarantee the future safety of Italian commerce, angered by a threat from the ambassadors she broke off negotiations On their return home the envoys were attacked by pirates and one of them was killed Whether or not Teuta was directly responsible for this outrage, she sealed her doom by refusing to offer any explanation. But Rome was still slow to act It was not until the queen had besieged and captured Corcyra and had defeated a relieving Greek fleet that a Roman navy sailed into Illyrian waters.

In the summer of 229 Cn. Fulvius Centumalus sailed to Corcyra with 200 vessels Resistance in face of this fleet was useless and even Teuta was not rash enough to attempt it. A Greek of Pharos named Demetrius, whom the queen had left in command at Corcyra, promptly betrayed the town to the Romans who received the willing surrender of the townsfolk. Fulvius then sailed to Apollonia where the other consul, L Postumius Albinus, landed from Brundisium with 22,000 troops Apollonia like Corcyra at once surrendered, and Epidamnus (Dyrrhachium) followed suit. The army advanced northwards perhaps to the Drilo (Drin) without meeting any serious opposition; the fleet received the surrender of Issa, Pharos and Corcyra Nigra. Teuta fled to her fortress at Rhizon where she held out till the spring of 228, her capitulation was inevitable, so that only one consul and 40 ships remained in Illyria during the winter. The terms

granted her were that she retained her crown, but paid tribute to Rome and renounced all claim to districts taken by the Romans; further, only two Illyrian vessels might sail beyond Lissus (Alessio), perhaps fixed as the southern limit of her kingdom.

Rome had thus freed the passage between Italy and Greece from the danger of Illyrian pirates. Future protection was secured by guarding the two flanks of the Illyrian kingdom. In the north the traitor Demetrius was given his native island, Pharos, together with other islands and mainland towns, here he reigned by permission of Rome. In the south the Romans themselves established a protectorate: a coastal strip from Lissus to the frontier of Epirus, together with the islands they had taken. The inhabitants of this district were not made either allies or subjects, they were free from tribute and retained their autonomy, but had to supply troops on demand.[1] Thus almost without striking a blow Rome had confined Illyrian shipping to the Adriatic without destroying the kingdom, and had established a base on the Albanian coast from which she could keep an eye on her neighbour. The slowness with which she entered upon the war and the conditions she imposed after it, are sufficient to disprove the theory that she deliberately cultivated an aggressive eastern policy. The Senate, although perhaps conscious that if the need arose the new protectorate would block Macedon, had only intervened when and in so far as it was necessary to maintain order.

After the war the Romans sent ambassadors to the Achaeans, Aetolians, Corinthians and Athenians to announce their victory and to explain their conduct; for the Greeks, no less than the Italians, had benefited by the suppression of piracy. Thus for the first time Rome came officially into contact with the leading powers of Greece by an exchange of diplomatic courtesies. The envoys were well received and Corinth admitted the Romans to the Isthmian Games, thus recognizing them as members of the Hellenic world. But no formal engagements were concluded, nor was any approach made to Macedon, which was now governed

[1] The legal position of the Greek towns is doubtful. They were not *dediticii*, enjoying *libertas precaria*, as Holleaux (*Cambr. Anc. Hist.*, VII, p. 836). De Sanctis (III, i, p. 301) believed that Issa, Dyrrhachium and Apollonia were recognized as allies, Issa having a *foedus aequum*, and Corcyra being *immunis et libera*. But see E. Badian, 'Roman Policy in Illyria' (*Pap. Br. Sch. Rome*, 1952, p. 72 ff.): all were free *amici*, with no treaties, an extra-legal *clientela* of Rome.

by Antigonus Doson, regent for the young Philip. Rome perhaps realized that the formation of her new protectorate had in fact annoyed the Macedonians who in earlier days had controlled some of the Adriatic ports from which they were now excluded. Be that as it may, the Romans made no attempt to entangle themselves in Greek politics [1]

During the next ten years Rome was too busy with the Gallic invasion and, as will be seen, with trying to check the growing power of Carthage in Spain, to think much of Greece where momentous events were taking place. Antigonus Doson had revived the power of Macedon and had asserted his hegemony in Greece, further, he had won the support of Demetrius of Pharos, who was quietly extending his power beyond the limits imposed by Rome. This adventurer, after the death or abdication of Teuta, had become regent for Agron's son and with Prince Scerdilaidas controlled the Illyrian kingdom. With a rash disregard for his safety Demetrius continued on his reckless course of aggression even when the young Philip, who had succeeded Antigonus on the throne of Macedon, was distracted with internal difficulties and could give little help to his Illyrian ally. Nothing daunted, Demetrius in 220 proceeded with Scerdilaidas to attack Pylos with a fleet of 90 vessels, thus violating the treaty of 228, and then sailed into the Aegean, where his pirate squadrons ranged far and wide. Further, he invaded some territory under the Roman protectorate. This could not be overlooked and the situation was aggravated in Roman eyes by a visit which King Philip paid to Scerdilaidas in Illyria in the winter of 220–219. Relations with Carthage were becoming strained and it would never do to allow eastern affairs to become threatening. What if Carthage should make overtures to Demetrius or Philip? So once again Rome sent a force to check Demetrius and his Illyrian pirates

A whirlwind campaign laid Demetrius low. The consuls of 219, L Aemilius Paullus and M. Livius Salinator, sailed to Greece Demetrius intended to resist in the south at Dimale and in the north at Pharos, where he himself remained. But Aemilius stormed Dimale in seven days, with the result that the surrounding district hastened to surrender. The consuls then sailed to Pharos which they captured by strategy, a 'fixing' frontal attack

[1] Holleaux (*Cambr. Anc. Hist*, VII, p 837 ff) has disposed of the view that the Romans formed an imperialistic policy against Macedon or even that they negotiated in Greece as a precaution against Macedon.

covered the approach of a body of men who had disembarked at the rear Demetrius fled to Philip The consuls, anxious at the news which came from Spain, where Hannibal was besieging Saguntum, hastily made a settlement. Pharos and other districts were put on the same basis as the towns which had been placed under Roman protection ten years before. Scerdilaidas and the young king Pinnes were left undisturbed in Illyria

Philip, deeply occupied in a struggle with the Aetolians and Sparta, had not raised a hand to help Demetrius, but welcomed him after his flight and later lent a ready ear to that adventurer's schemes for revenge on Rome He also received help from Scerdilaidas who, disregarding his obligations to Rome, sailed south of Lissus to join him Such happenings might have claimed Roman attention, had it not been for Hannibal's distracting activity; as it was, the Romans did nothing Scerdilaidas, however, decided with cheerful inconsequence to attack Philip, his erstwhile ally (217). But he soon came to grief and thus gave Philip control of more territory bordering on the Roman protectorate, so that when the moment was ripe the Macedonian king was more ready to make common cause with Hannibal. Thus Rome's two expeditions in eastern waters resulted in the suppression of piracy, the establishment of a protectorate in Lower Illyria and the stirring up of the enmity of Philip of Macedon.

§ 5. THE PUNIC EMPIRE IN SPAIN

While Rome was engaged in Cisalpine Gaul and across the Adriatic, Carthage was fully occupied in the western Mediterranean The friendly relations of Rome and Carthage during the war with the mercenaries were rudely shattered by Rome's seizure of Sardinia, and at Carthage the party which stood for hostility towards Rome again climbed into the saddle.[1] If Carthage ever again intended to cross swords with Rome, clearly she must train and keep a standing army like other nations. Now Hanno's policy was to encourage expansion in Africa, and Numidia and Mauretania would have afforded good material But there was better elsewhere. By re-conquest and extended conquest Hamilcar proposed to make good the decline of

[1] Ed Meyer's view (*Kleine Schriften*, II, p 386 ff) that the annexation of Sardinia followed Hamilcar's arrival in Spain, is improbable, cf Groag, *Hannibal als Politiker*, p. 25

Carthaginian influence in Spain, and thus to offset the loss of Sicily and Sardinia. In Spain Carthage could train and support an army with less fear of Roman intervention. It is unlikely that Hamilcar and the advocates of this policy of re-establishing Punic domination in the western Mediterranean aimed directly and deliberately at revenge. But certain it is that after Rome's handling of the Sardinian question those who saw the future of Carthage in Africa had to give place to an expansionist group. The tradition that Hamilcar conquered Spain against the wishes of his government is absurd. He was in alliance with Hasdrubal, the leader of the democratic party, and when money and booty began to pour in from the Peninsula Hanno's faction would become less vocal. The main part of the Punic government was behind the Barcids

The cause, date and degree of the diminution of Punic influence in Spain is uncertain, but the application of the question *cui bono* would point to the implication of the Greek cities—especially Massilia But Gades, at any rate, remained in Punic hands and thither Hamilcar Barca sailed in 237 with his nine-year-old son Hannibal whom he had just forced to swear eternal hatred towards Rome, this anecdote, which seems authentic, shows something of the mind of the father Based at Gades, he proceeded to re-conquer southern and eastern Spain. Andalusia soon fell to his sword and he advanced the Punic frontier to Cape Nao, building a dominating fortress at Alicante In 231 an embassy came to him from Rome, whose ally, Massilia, could ill afford to see the Punic frontier creeping so far north. The Romans themselves probably cared little what happened in southern Spain and were contented with Hamilcar's neat reply: that he was fighting the Iberians to get money with which to pay off the Roman war indemnity. But they had shown that they were keeping an eye on Carthaginian expansion and they may even at this point have concluded an alliance with the native city of Saguntum Shortly afterwards Hamilcar, who was withdrawing from the siege of Helice (modern Elche) at the approach of the Orissi, met his death by drowning, but only after he had secured the safety of his son Hannibal and the officers with him (229–228) So fell a gallant soldier, of whom his country might justly be proud

Hamilcar was succeeded by the leader of the democratic party, his son-in-law Hasdrubal, who was chosen by the troops and afterwards received confirmation of his appointment from

the People of Carthage. He avenged his predecessor's death by an expedition against the Orissi, and thus reached the Upper Guadiana. Though his army was reckoned at 50,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry and 200 elephants, he achieved more by diplomacy than force. He married an Iberian princess and changed the Punic headquarters from Alicante to the site of Mastia, where he founded the city of New Carthage (Cartagena) on a peninsula which commanded one of the best harbours in the world; there were rich silver mines in the vicinity and the passage to Africa was easy From this base he advanced up the east coast as far as the Ebro In 226 he was met by ambassadors from the Romans, who feared that he might join hands with the rebellious Ligurians and Gallic tribes. A treaty was arranged by which Hasdrubal agreed not to cross the Ebro with an armed force and perhaps undertook not to help the Gauls; as a *quid pro quo* he doubtless received the assurance that Rome would not interfere with his conquests south of the river. The attitude of Rome's ally Massilia to this arrangement must remain uncertain, though doubtless it was she who had warned Rome of Hasdrubal's encroachments. By the Ebro treaty she definitely lost her three colonies which the Carthaginians had taken: Hemeroscopium, Alonis and Alicante. But her two colonies north of the Ebro, Emporiae and Rhode, were saved from Hasdrubal's grasp [1]

In 221 Hasdrubal was assassinated by a Celt and his place was filled by Hamilcar's twenty-five-year-old son, Hannibal, who was soon to enter the lists against Rome in one of the most epic struggles known to history. The new general reverted to his father's warlike policy, though, like Hasdrubal, he married a Spanish princess from Castulo. He at once attacked the Olcades who dwelt near the Upper Guadiana, and after wintering at New Carthage he stormed the highland tribes of the central plateau. Advancing along the westerly route to Salmantica (Salamanca) he defeated the Vaccaei and on his return the Carpetani, thus advancing the standards of Carthage beyond the Tagus (220) Though many of the more distant tribes south of the Ebro (e g.

[1] T Frank (*Cambr Anc. Hist.*, VII, p 810) assumes that a trilateral treaty was signed by the two parties and a willing Massilia But Schulten (*op cit.*, p. 788) believes that Massilia would not welcome Rome's concessions Yet had it not been for her alliance with Massilia Rome might have been content to fix the limit of Hasdrubal's aggression at the Pyrenees. The further implications of this treaty are discussed in the next section On Massilian diplomacy see F R. Kramer, *Amer J. Phil.*, 1948

the Celtiberians of the Upper Tagus and Douro, and the Lusitanians) were still unconquered, and though some of the nearer tribes (e.g Vaccaei and Carpetani) were only prevented from revolting through the hostages they had surrendered, nevertheless the Barcid generals had won a great Empire from which Carthage could draw immense supplies of man-power and mineral wealth. 'an inexhaustible treasure-store for empire.'

But one city south of the Ebro still withstood Hannibal. the ally of Rome, Iberian Saguntum perched on its rocky plateau. When it became known that Hannibal intended to demand its surrender in the spring, Roman ambassadors ordered him to respect their ally. Receiving no satisfaction from the general, they proceeded to Carthage where they fared no better The juridical aspect of their demand will be discussed later, when it will be seen that technically Rome was at fault and that Hannibal was under no obligation to respect their request. Further, he had been provoked by Rome. A quarrel of the Saguntines with the Torboletae, a neighbouring tribe, subject to Carthage, led to political disturbances in Saguntum, and one party appealed to Rome to arbitrate (*c.* 221) The Romans, not unnaturally, decided in favour of the appellant party which was put into power with some loss of life among the Punic faction Disregarding Rome's representations, Hannibal advanced against Saguntum and championed the cause of his subjects, the Torboletae (spring 219). Relying on help from Rome the Saguntines refused to surrender; but Rome was busy in Illyria, and Saguntum was left to face Hannibal's assault unaided. For eight months the blockade continued without thought of surrender, though Hannibal was ready to offer comparatively lenient terms Finally, after a desperate and heroic resistance, the town fell by assault from the least inaccessible side, the west, the city however was not destroyed, nor did all the inhabitants perish.[1]

Hannibal had thrown down the gauntlet. The fall of Saguntum had fanned the sparks of rivalry into a blaze and made war inevitable. During the siege the Senate was probably unable to decide what ought to be done, especially as both consuls were

[1] Polybius, III, 17 Livy's account is highly coloured and cannot be trusted in detail. His statements regarding the embassies to Hannibal are confused, because his source (Coelius?) has tried to justify Rome's lack of support to Saguntum The assault on Sagunto (Murviedro) by Marshal Suchet in 1811 confirms the probability that resistance weakened in the west

absent on the Illyrian campaign—a preoccupation which the wily Hannibal did not overlook. It was only the fall of Saguntum that made action imperative. Had it held out till the winter, as the Romans hoped, the Hannibalic War might have been fought out in Spain (Pol, III 15). As it was, they temporized till late in March 218 or even longer, when an ultimatum was sent to Carthage, demanding the surrender of Hannibal and his staff, which was virtually a declaration of war.[1] After some discussion, the leading Roman envoy, the old *princeps senatus*, M. Fabius Buteo, held up two folds of his toga and cried: 'Here I bring peace and war; choose you which you will' The Carthaginians bade him give them which he pleased, and Fabius dropping the fold of his toga replied: 'Then I give you war' And the deadly gift was accepted

§ 6. THE CAUSES OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

The proximate cause of the Second Punic War was the Saguntine affair, which Polybius prefers to regard as the first incident in, rather than a cause of, the war. The question at issue was whether by attacking Saguntum Hannibal violated any treaty with Rome.[2] Patriotic Roman annalists hastened to invent fictions to show that he had for instance, they said that he broke the Ebro treaty by crossing the river to attack Saguntum, whereas

[1] Dio (Zon, VIII, 22) says that on the fall of Saguntum there was a Senatorial debate in which L Cornelius Lentulus proposed an immediate declaration of war, Fabius the sending of an embassy. Polybius (III, 20) ridicules this tradition which derives from Chaereas and Sosylus 'whose compositions are more like the gossip of the barber's shop than history . . There was no debate on the question of war.' De Sanctis, however, has shown (III, ii p. 197) the probability that this tradition may be reliable. Prompt action might have been wiser, for the embassy merely succeeded in showing up the weakness of Rome's juridical position (unless the embassy did not reach Carthage until after Hannibal had actually crossed the Ebro, as W. Hoffmann, *Rhein Mus.*, 1951, p 77 ff, cf H H. Scullard, *ibid*, 1952, p 212 ff) The leader of the embassy was more probably M. Fabius than Q. Fabius Maximus

[2] For the literature prior to 1930 on the problem of war guilt see *Cambr Anc. Hist.*, VIII, p. 724 Add W. Otto, *Hist. Zeitsch.* 1932, p 489 ff, A Momigliano, *La Cultura*, 1932, p. 61 ff, De Sanctis, *Problemi di storia antica*, p 161 ff, F. Oertel, *Rhein Mus.*, 1932, p. 221 ff.; P Treves, L Pareti and V Caioli, *Atene e Roma*, 1932,; W Kolbe, *Sitzungsber. Heidel Akad*, 1934,, S. Mazzarino, *Introd. alle guerre puniche* (1947), F M Heichelheim, *Historia*, 1954, p 211 ff, F W Walbank, *Polybius* (1957), esp. p 168 ff, 310 ff., 327 ff.

the town lies a hundred miles south of the Ebro; or they suggest that a special clause was inserted in the Ebro treaty to the effect that Rome and Carthage should respect the neutrality of Saguntum.[1] But it is not by such means that the blame can be assigned to Carthage.

There were two treaties which Hannibal's action might have infringed. that of Lutatius in 241 and the Ebro convention of 226. Rome's alliance with Saguntum was later than the treaty of Lutatius, so that the town was not included in the list of Rome's allies whom the Carthaginians had promised to respect. The latter therefore were quite correct in insisting that Hannibal had not violated this treaty.[2] But what of the Ebro agreement? Unfortunately, it cannot be related chronologically to Rome's alliance with Saguntum with any degree of certainty; nor are its terms altogether clear. Even its validity has been questioned; but unnecessarily. Rome regarded it as legally binding on both parties, for the Carthaginians did not disavow their general who made it or his successor who, according to the Roman claim, transgressed it.[3] By its terms Hasdrubal renounced all hostile action north of the Ebro; his *quid pro quo* is not stated. Some suggest that he received little, others much. For instance, it is alleged the treaty was unilateral and that as a member of a conquered nation Hasdrubal had to acquiesce in Rome's wish, or on the other hand, it is believed that the Ebro treaty defined the spheres of influence of the two nations and that it imposed on the Romans, either explicitly or implicitly, the obligation not to interfere south of the river. Probably, however, the concession made by Rome in face of the Gallic peril was to leave Hasdrubal free to extend his Spanish Empire up to the river. How this affected Rome's Saguntine alliance depends on the date assigned to the latter, which Polybius places 'several years before the time of Hannibal.' If, as seems more probable, the alliance was prior to the treaty, it was then virtually annulled by the spirit or perhaps the letter of the new covenant; or at any rate, it could not in equity be used by the Romans as a handle to check Punic expansion in the south. If Rome accepted the alliance after 226, she automatically infringed the Ebro treaty Whichever date then is correct, Rome had no legal ground to restrain Hannibal from attacking Saguntum, indeed she made no military attempt to do this However

[1] See Livy, XXI, 2, 7, Appian, *Iber* , 7

[2] Cf. De Sanctis, *op cit* , pp 163, 4

[3] Yet the Carthaginians denied that it had been ratified by their government.

unwise the Carthaginian general may have been, he was within his legal rights and was no treaty-breaker.[1]

But if Hannibal's conscience was clear on the legal score, if he was merely returning the compliment for Rome's interference with the Torboletae, he could not turn a blind eye to the political aspect He was attacking a town which was under the declared protection of Rome, and he had been warned that its capture would be regarded as a *casus belli*. Yet he persisted—and from no military necessity. The frontier quarrel between the Saguntines and Torboletae need not involve hostilities, unless Hannibal wished True, the acquisition of Saguntum would remove an awkward thorn from his side, in the event of war with Rome; but its military value was not sufficient to warrant the risk of war. Nor had the Romans thrown a protective garrison into the town, as they had into Messana in 264; such an act would have violated treaty rights, which they were unwilling to disregard till the fall of the town made action imperative. Hannibal therefore persisted for other reasons, because he judged war with Rome was inevitable and because by manoeuvring the Romans into a false position he had forced on them the onus of declaring war, so that he could expect the continued support of his home government [2] His capture of Saguntum may not have been the cause of the war, but it undoubtedly caused the outbreak of war at that moment.

The proximate cause of war was thus the action of Hannibal and his government, but what were the underlying causes? Polybius finds three. First, the hatred of Hamilcar towards Rome, after his forced surrender in Sicily he lived for revenge and his spirit survived him. Secondly, the bitterness felt at Carthage when Rome seized Sardinia and renewed the threat of war Thirdly, resulting from this, Hamilcar's activity and the Carthaginian success in Spain Did then the Second Punic War owe

[1] Groag (*Hannibal als Politiker*, p 17 ff) rejects the early date given by Polybius and assigns the alliance to 221–220 the Saguntines appealed to to Rome while Hannibal was campaigning in central Spain. Against a late date for the alliance (which would make it a patent breach of the Ebro treaty) is the fact that the Romans were eager to discuss this treaty, but the Carthaginians refused (Pol , III, 21 and 29) For the view that the relations of Rome and Saguntum were based merely on *fides* and not on a formal *foedus*, see E Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (1958), p 47, cf T A Dorey, *Humanitas*, 1959

[2] The statement, too often repeated, that Hannibal had not the backing of the Carthaginian government either at this time or during the war, is pure legend

its origin to the hatred of the house of Barca; was it a war of revenge? The answer must depend on the interpretation given to the motives of the Barcids in Spain. Were they building up resources and an army with which to hurl themselves against Rome or were they merely trying to compensate their country for its loss of Sicily and Sardinia, was the object of their empire-building offensive or defensive?[1]

Hamilcar had gone to Spain immediately after his country had been humiliated by Rome in 237; he cannot have forgotten his enforced capitulation in Sicily; and he made his son swear eternal hatred to Rome These facts establish beyond doubt his hatred of Rome, but they do not prove that he contemplated revenge or that he went to Spain to plan it Rather, he went with the intention of re-establishing his country's lost empire. He must have foreseen the possibility of renewed rivalry and he wanted to equip Carthage for the future, whatever that might hold. The fact that he did not rebuild a large Punic navy probably means that in the event of war he planned to fight by land as Hannibal did when the day came.[2] He wished to be prepared rather than to reopen the question Hasdrubal pursued still more clearly a defensive policy When Rome was seriously engaged with the Gauls, so far from joining hands with them, he deliberately concluded a treaty with Rome, which confined his activity to Spain. Hannibal, however, had to face somewhat different circumstances, for the Romans began to interfere in Saguntum. It is not likely that they acted with the desire of bringing a hornets' nest about their ears. But when they were freed from the Gallic peril, they began to look askance at the growing Punic power in Spain which they themselves had sanctioned, doubtless Massilia brought the situation to their notice. Their action at Saguntum was little more than a gentle hint to Hannibal to walk warily, but it was enough to fan his smouldering wrath to a blaze. He determined to make it a test case to see whether Rome would abide by her treaty, but he must have foreseen the result. The Barcids had remained true to a defensive policy till they feared, whether with good cause or not, a repetition of the Sardinian question And this time the Carthaginians refused to bow their necks.

[1] Among modern historians Frank would say offensive, Groag, Hallward and Otto, defensive

[2] So De Sanctis, *op cit.*, p. 172, Groag however interprets it as a sign of Hamilcar's pacific intentions A new Carthaginian navy would have been an unnecessary annoyance to Rome

Hannibal had cleverly precipitated a crisis in which the Romans were technically at fault, but from which they could not retreat without loss of prestige. He was thus immediately responsible for a war which neither Rome nor Carthage had deliberately engineered. Yet it was improbable that the two Republics could have lived at peace indefinitely. A balance of powers, such as existed in the Hellenistic East, might have been maintained for a time, yet causes of friction would inevitably occur, now that Rome had been forced to become a world power. But throughout the years between the first two Punic wars, Rome had not followed a deliberately aggressive policy. It has been suggested that there was strong disagreement in the state between an agrarian party under Flaminius, which limited its outlook to Italy, and a capitalistic party which favoured a *Weltpolitik* [1] While admitting a real clash of interests, it is unlikely that the latter party formed any deliberate imperialistic policy The Senate rather met practical difficulties with practical solutions than followed a consistent and carefully conceived scheme. The seizure of Sardinia, which was the aggressive act of a nervous bully, represented a passing mood. The Gallic wars were defensive in spirit, though they caused Rome to safeguard her northern frontier. Her early action in Spain was due more to the apprehension of her ally, Massilia, than to a studied western policy. The intervention in Illyria was a necessary piece of police work True, all these acts involved future responsibility. Once she had set her hand to the plough there could be no turning back But Rome could hardly be expected to anticipate the ultimate result of each action She dealt with each situation as it arose and if Hannibal chose to challenge her interference in Spain, she was willing to face the consequences and to determine the lordship of the western Mediterranean.

[1] So Ed Meyer (*Kl Schr*, II, p 375 ff)

CHAPTER IX

HANNIBAL'S OFFENSIVE AND ROME'S DEFENSIVE

§ 1. HANNIBAL'S INVASION OF NORTH ITALY

WHEN war was declared between Rome and Carthage, Rome's superiority at sea led her to suppose that she could choose the theatre for the new conflict. And she chose Spain and Africa. One consul, P. Cornelius Scipio, with some 24,000 men and 60 ships, was to conduct the war in Spain, while Ti. Sempronius Longus with about 26,000 troops and 160 vessels was sent to Sicily preparatory to crossing to Africa. The size of the African expeditionary force shows that Rome had no intention of striking immediately at Carthage itself. A demonstration could be made, the native tribes won over, the large estates of the nobles ravaged, and reinforcements for Hannibal intercepted, further support could be sent, if events in Europe justified this. Meantime Hannibal must be watched Naval inferiority would force him to seek the enemy by land either on the defensive in Spain or by an offensive in northern Italy. And because of the fiery spirit of the Barcid house and Hannibal's intrigues with the Gauls, the Romans might expect him to take the offensive, cross the Ebro, and advance gradually, consolidating his communications *en route* So they decided to send an army to check him either in North Spain or more probably in South Gaul, since an immediate Roman offensive in Spain with no base and in face of the enemy's superior numbers would be hazardous.[1] Resistance would be easier near the friendly Massilia and in reach of their base at Pisa, while Hannibal's strength would be less when he arrived there, after checking him at the Rhône, the Romans could launch an offensive in North Spain. But whether they hoped to meet him in Spain or Gaul, they underestimated one factor—his genius.

Hannibal was not content to meet the enemy in Spain and Africa. He realized that Carthaginian victories there would not break the power of Rome, which could only be smashed beyond recovery by destroying her Italian confederacy. He determined therefore to cut off her source of strength by fighting in Italy and disintegrating the League. His chances of reaching Italy must

[1] De Sanctis, III, ii, p 4 ff

have seemed meagre, as Rome guarded the seas and the land route was long and difficult, but he trusted in his ability to overcome the obstacles. Where he miscalculated was by assuming that Rome's allies were unwilling slaves of a tyrannical mistress. He hoped they would rise to acclaim him as liberator, while Pyrrhus' career had shown that an army in Italy could seriously embarrass Rome Further, he could count on the Gauls in North Italy rallying to his banner; these traditional enemies of Rome, though recently defeated, were not completely crushed. So he formed the bold scheme of sacrificing his communications with Spain and Carthage and swooping suddenly on to North Italy, which would form a base in place of Spain. He started with a veteran army of perhaps 35,000 or 40,000 men; for the defence of Africa there were some 20,000 men, while he left 15,000 in South Spain and another 11,000 north of the Ebro [1] The total forces which Carthage put into the field were about 80,000 soldiers, 100 ships and 25,000 marines; Rome mustered 70,000 men, 220 ships and 50,000–60,000 sailors. The seriousness of the struggle is shown by the numbers raised by the two Republics, although each of them could have doubled these if necessary. But Rome had two decisive factors in her favour: superiority at sea and the superior quality of the reserve troops which she could produce in her hour of need The best troops of Carthage were already in the field.

At the end of April 218, Hannibal started on his Crusade from New Carthage; he crossed the Ebro in early June when the spring flooding of the river had subsided, but he did not reach the Rhône till mid-August. This delay was hardly caused by a serious attempt to subdue the intervening tribes, because he had determined to sacrifice his communications Possibly he encountered stronger opposition than he had anticipated, or perhaps he marched slowly to deceive the Romans, thinking that if he passed the Pyrenees by the end of July he could then dash forward and get through the Alpine passes before they closed in the autumn. In this way he would lull the enemy's suspicions and avoid the risk that the four consular legions might concentrate in North

[1] Polybius, III, 33, quotes the figures for the Spanish and African armies He himself saw at the Lacinian promontory in Bruttium a bronze tablet on which Hannibal had inscribed these particulars. The same source (III, 56) guarantees the numbers with which Hannibal arrived in Italy, but the numbers assigned to him on his departure from Spain are exaggerated by Polybius or his source. cf. De Sanctis, III, ii, p. 83 ff

Italy[1] At the Rhône he would have found P. Scipio waiting to contest his passage, had not the Roman plans miscarried. The Boii and Insubres around the new Latin colonies of Placentia and Cremona (p. 173) rebelled, doubtless at Hannibal's instigation, and the two legions which Scipio had prepared for Spain had to be directed to suppress the insurrection. However, Scipio raised two new legions and reached the mouth of the Rhône by the middle of August. Little realizing Hannibal's real intentions he sent out a cavalry detachment to reconnoitre. Meantime Hannibal, who had found his passage of the Rhône challenged by hostile tribes on the further bank, sent a force under Hanno across the river higher up, and when they were ready to fall on the rear of the Gauls, he crossed over and won a victory. Scipio's reconnoitring force after severely handling a Numidian scouting squadron returned to headquarters to inform him that Hannibal had crossed the Rhône. Three days later Scipio arrived on the spot and found Hannibal's camp deserted and that he had crossed the river, elephants and all,[2] and was marching to the Alps He then took a momentous decision Instead of attempting a wild-goose chase after Hannibal, he sent his army under his brother Gnaeus to Spain, where the enemy might be held at bay now that Hannibal's best troops had gone. Scipio himself returned by sea to North Italy to assume command of the two legions there, and to await Hannibal's arrival Though he has been criticized for neglecting the Italian front by sending his army to Spain, a truer appreciation shows that his cautious far-seeing conduct and his energetic initiative laid the strategic foundations by which victory was ultimately won.[3]

Hannibal marched up the Rhône to the 'Island,' where it is joined by the Isère (Isara), and then along this valley to Grenoble. Where he actually crossed the Alps always has been and presumably always will be a matter of uncertainty. The problem is literary even more than topographical. Polybius gives a graphic

[1] Cf De Sanctis, III, ii, p. 9 ff

[2] For this picturesque incident see Pol , III, 46, Livy, XXI, 28 Cf. Philipp, *Klio,* XI (1911), p. 343 ff. The crossing cannot be located accurately. Napoleon (*Commentaires*, VI, p. 159) is probably right in setting the limits between the Rhône's tributaries, the Durance and the Ardèche. The various theories are examined by Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, I, p. 464, who favours a crossing further south at Tarascon. Cf. also De Sanctis, III, ii, p 70 On Hannibal's elephants see H. H Scullard, *Numism Chron* , 1948, p 158 ff., and 1950, 271 ff

[3] Cf *Cambr Anc. Hist.*, VIII, p 39

description, based partly on personal discussions with survivors and supported by a journey to the Alps to verify the geography. But even so his narrative does not fix the pass with certainty, while Livy's account, which derives in part from Polybius, introduces further difficulties The majority of scholars look for the pass between the Little St. Bernard and Mt. Genèvre. But whereever the exact pass was, Hannibal's exploit has stirred the imagination of mankind. The actual difficulty of crossing into Italy was not severe, for whole Celtic tribes often moved in this way The real difficulties arose from the extreme hostility of the Alpine tribes and the fact that the descent was steeper than Hannibal had anticipated and was rendered more perilous by the snow and frost of the advancing autumn If he had arrived somewhat earlier, many of the dangers would have been avoided. But in the circumstances it was a magnificent triumph of will and discipline over hardship and loss. And so he reached the plains of North Italy, but with only 26,000 men. The Alps and the tribes that dwelt therein had taken their toll.

When Hannibal had stormed the chief town of the Taurini (Turin) he was astounded to find that the legions in North Italy were commanded by Scipio who had travelled nearly 1,000 miles in a month. Scipio crossed the Po near Placentia (Piacenza) hoping to meet Hannibal before his army had fully recovered from the rigours of its journey. He marched along the north bank of the river and encamped on the west of its tributary, the Ticinus. His cavalry engaged Hannibal's advance guard near Lomello, but was beaten back; he himself was wounded and his life was saved by his son, the future conqueror of Hannibal A somewhat complicated series of manoeuvres followed, leading up to the battle of the Trebia [1] Wishing to evacuate the open country, Scipio withdrew to Placentia, crossed to the south of the Po, advanced again westwards and encamped at Stradella, where he was less exposed to Hannibal's cavalry. Meantime Hannibal had advanced to the Ticinus, but found that Scipio had destroyed its bridge. Accordingly he retired westwards along the Po till he was able to cross above Tortona and then advanced towards Scipio and offered battle. But Scipio was forced by the desertion of his Gallic allies to retire to the Trebia just south of Placentia, where he awaited his colleague. Hannibal obtained by treachery the Roman depôt at Clastidium and then encamped opposite Scipio

When news had reached Rome that Hannibal was marching

[1] See Appendix No 8

against Italy, the African expedition was cancelled and Sempronius, who had captured Malta, was summoned to North Italy. Leaving a squadron to protect Sicily, he hastened with his army to Ariminum and joined Scipio at the Trebia in late November. Contrary to Scipio's advice Sempronius determined to fight, being buoyed up by a successful cavalry skirmish. On a bitter December day the Roman army was led breakfastless through the Trebia against the enemy. Hannibal's plan was for his centre to remain on the defensive and his wings to outflank and defeat the enemy, while his brother Mago, who lay in ambush in a scrub-covered gulley, charged out on their rear. All went according to plan, except that 10,000 Romans broke through Hannibal's centre of Celts and reached Placentia. But two-thirds of the Roman army was destroyed and Hannibal had won the first real battle of the war. Yet the Senate did not despair. The defeat was due to Hannibal's superior cavalry; the Roman legionaries of the centre had proved their mettle and were safe in Placentia. Winter would interrupt further operations, and next year their legionaries might yet assert the superiority in which they trusted.

§ 2. HANNIBAL IN CENTRAL ITALY

'The Roman people,' wrote Polybius, 'are most formidable, collectively and individually, when they have real reason for alarm.' And the years which followed the battle of Trebia confirmed this. They put into the field for 217 eleven legions, some 100,000 men; five served as reserves in Rome, Sicily and Sardinia, two were assigned to Spain and four to North Italy. Scipio, who could not be blamed for Trebia, was continued in his command and sent to Spain; the new consuls, Cn. Servilius Geminus and the popular leader C. Flaminius, served in Italy. The election of Flaminius was a criticism by the People of the Senate's conduct of the war.

The Romans determined to abandon the plains of North Italy, where Hannibal's cavalry and Gallic allies were most useful to him, and to defend central Italy; the fortresses in the Po valley could look after themselves. But they could not foresee where Hannibal would cross the Apennines. From Bononia (*Bologna*) to which he had advanced he could move either south-west, crossing by one of the numerous passes which led into Etruria, or south-east, marching to Ariminum (Rimini) and then along the Flaminian Way. So the Senate wisely sent Flaminius to

Arretium (Arezzo) to guard the western route while Servilius protected Ariminum, which was a strong strategic position where the Apennines reach the Adriatic and the northern plains terminate. From these two points the consuls could concentrate on any place at need and might even catch Hannibal between them Though this division has been criticized, it was perhaps the wisest arrangement possible The Romans might hope to hold fast to central Italy, where they had loyal allies, abundant supplies and knowledge of the country, and Hannibal would lack all these.

In May, when the passes were free from snow, Hannibal again abandoned his base and crossed the Apennines by the pass of Collina [1] This route descends at Pistoia Between here and Faesulae (Fiesole) Hannibal encountered great difficulties in the marshes which were swollen by the flooding of the Arno and the melting snows. Riding on the sole surviving elephant and suffering intensely from ophthalmia from which he lost the sight of one eye, he got his army through in four days, though with loss After resting he recommenced his march southwards, ravaging the land as he went. Contrary to the advice of some of his staff, Flaminius determined to follow, if he had waited for and joined Servilius, the combined Roman armies might have caught Hannibal between themselves and the troops in Rome But Hannibal, reckoning on Flaminius' rashness, deliberately drew him on by exposing his flank as he marched to Cortona The Roman, however, was not quite the headstrong fool that tradition has painted him, he declined battle and hung on Hannibal's tracks.[2] But to follow closely with his smaller force was dangerous, especially as Hannibal's superior cavalry could prevent adequate reconnoitring—a fact which in some way modifies the blame attaching to Flaminius for the disaster that befell. For Hannibal set yet another trap by suddenly swinging off the road to Rome eastwards towards Perugia along the north shore of Lake Trasimene Here was a narrow defile with the hills coming right down to the lake except

[1] See Appendix No 8

[2] The extant tradition, which is aristocratic in outlook, depreciates popular leaders, as Flaminius and Varro, but an impartial estimate of their careers goes far to modify such criticism Tradition asserts that Flaminius refused to co-operate with Servilius, which the facts contradict He acted rashly but did not fall into every trap that Hannibal set He was probably hastening south, not to fight, but to join Servilius further south, instead of awaiting him in the north

round a small plain over three miles long. On the hills above this plain Hannibal placed his troops in ambush.[1] Flaminius followed blindly. Early on a misty morning his army marched in column into the defile. Signalling from the hill-tops above the mist Hannibal's troops rushed down simultaneously from all sides. For two hours the fight raged. Flaminius paid for his rashness by meeting a hero's death. Some 6,000 men in the front cut their way through the enemy but were later rounded up. The disaster was complete, nearly two legions were wiped out, although Hannibal granted the surviving Roman allies their freedom. There was no disguising the gravity of the occasion and in Rome a praetor announced laconically. 'We have been beaten in a great battle.'

Hannibal followed up the victory by sending his cavalry leader, Maharbal, against an advance guard of 4,000 of Servilius' horsemen who were riding hot-spur down the Flaminian Way. They were surprised and destroyed near Assisi.[2] But this crowning success must have been qualified for Hannibal by the obstinate fact that no towns of Umbria or Etruria opened their gates to him. A saviour from Rome's tyranny was at hand but they would have none of him. Knowing that an attempt on Rome itself would be vain, although the way thither lay open, he turned instead over the Apennines to Picenum, where he could rest men and horses. Then with fire and sword he blazed his way to Apulia and ravaged the territory of Luceria and Arpi. But once again the towns barred their gates.

The disaster of Trasimene caused such a crisis in Rome that the traditional remedy of appointing a dictator, unused for thirty years, was revived. As one consul was dead and the other cut off from Rome, the task was assigned to the Comitia Centuriata which elected a man of wide experience and well-known caution, Q. Fabius Maximus. The Comitia, not the dictator, then appointed the Master of the Horse, M. Minucius Rufus. The essence of the dictatorship was absolute power, but now the power of the Master of the Horse, though subordinate, derived from the People and not from the dictator himself. Whatever the explanation of this hampering of the dictator's power was—distrust of reviving the office, popular demands, or the rivalry of the noble families—it did not work well. Fabius first restored the morale of the people

[1] See Appendix No 8

[2] See De Sanctis, III, ii, p 122 ff Appian (*Han* 9, 11) who follows an inferior tradition places the defeat at the lake of Plestia (Pistia) east of the Via Flaminia.

by some religious celebrations, and then stated his policy· to dog Hannibal's heels and avoid pitched battles at all cost. He took over Servilius' army and marching to Apulia camped at Aecae near the enemy at Vibinum. Hannibal, unable to bring about a decision, struck through Samnium past Beneventum into Campania, one of the most fertile regions of Italy. Fabius followed and looked on while Rome's allies were unsupported and their land laid waste. Such a strategy of exhaustion was only justified as a temporary expedient; the Romans could still trust in the invincibility of their legions, so a breathing space was only permissible until Hannibal could be manoeuvred on to favourable ground. The situation was changed by the disaster at Cannae the following year, but now Fabius must offer very solid recompense for the severe economic and moral loss which his strategy inflicted on the Roman cause. At length came the chance to prove the wisdom of his policy. Hannibal wished to withdraw to Apulia for the winter, but Fabius himself held Callicula, the pass by which Hannibal hoped to leave Campania.[1] Here was the opportunity to force him to battle on ground which would hinder his cavalry and where the Roman legions fighting in close order might anticipate success. But the over-cautious Fabius was outwitted as easily as the impetuous Flaminius By a famous ruse, Hannibal at night drove 2,000 oxen with burning faggots tied to their horns towards Fabius' camp on the high ground, the pickets left the pass to investigate and under cover of the resultant surprise and confusion Hannibal slipped through He marched back to Apulia, crossing the Apennines for the fourth time that year, and captured Gerunium near Luceria Yet though his army was laden with booty, no city in Campania had revolted to him.

All this time opposition to Fabius' policy had been growing, though with courageous tenacity of purpose he had turned a deaf ear No sooner was he summoned to Rome to confer with the Senate than Minucius, who had followed Hannibal to Gerunium, disobeyed Fabius' orders and attacked with considerable success, forcing Hannibal to change his camp. In Rome Fabius vainly tried to check popular discontent by getting Atilius Regulus elected consul in Flaminius' place, but the people demanded that Minucius should be made co-dictator with Fabius, an extraordinary undermining of the very nature of the dictatorship,

[1] Probably between Cales and Teanum (cf De Sanctis, III, ii, p 124 ff ; Hallward, *Cambr Anc Hist* , VIII, p. 50), less probably further north at Mte Caievola, as Kromayer

which thus soon fell into disuse. When, after this political upheaval, Fabius returned to Minucius, the army was divided into two camps. Hannibal, counting on the discord of the Roman generals and on Minucius' desire for battle, soon drew him into an engagement which would, it is said, have proved disastrous but for the timely help of Fabius Again the aristocratic tradition has perhaps exaggerated the danger of Minucius, the popular favourite, and the importance of Fabius' help; in any case Fabius allowed the Carthaginians to retire unopposed.[1] But Fabius' period of office soon expired, and the consuls, Servilius and Regulus, took over the command at Gerunium

The consuls elected for 216 were the aristocrat L Aemilius Paullus and the popular leader C. Terentius Varro who was a *novus homo*; the aristocratic tradition deals with him no more kindly than with his predecessors Flaminius and Minucius. He is represented as a radical demagogue opposed to the Senate, but his career shows that he enjoyed its confidence. Tradition made him the scapegoat of the disaster of Cannae, but he was scarcely more culpable than his colleague. He was decried as a butcher's son, as Cromwell was called a brewer, but he did not lack sterling qualities.

Suddenly came news that Hannibal had captured the Roman depôt at Cannae on the right bank of the Aufidus.[2] Though he had carefully chosen a position in the plains by the Adriatic where his cavalry would have full scope, the Romans decided to give battle. The new consuls advanced to Cannae with their four legions slightly reinforced. Hide-bound by tradition and hampered by practical difficulties, they probably did not unduly increase their usual force, as they still trusted in the quality of their troops They outnumbered Hannibal's infantry, though they had few cavalry. Reaching the Aufidus they camped probably on the left bank not far from Cannae.[3] Hannibal was encamped on the other bank some three miles higher up near Cannae The Romans then formed a smaller camp on the right bank, as a protecting outpost. At this Hannibal transferred his camp to the north bank. It was probably early in August that

[1] Cf De Sanctis, III, ii, p. 54 Topography Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, III, p. 248 Minucius' office T A. Dorey, *J R.S* , 1955, 92 ff.

[2] Excavations have revealed six deep grain depositories, which may have formed part of the rich granaries captured by Hannibal. See *The Times*, 2 8 30, and Appendix No 8 for other discoveries on the site.

[3] See Appendix No 8.

both armies crossed the river to battle. The Romans disposed their cavalry on the wings and massed their infantry in deep and close formation in the centre where they hoped to break the foe; they relied on their weight and push. To meet this Hannibal trusted the elasticity of his formation. He drew up his line in crescent shape The Gauls and Spaniards held the centre; on their flanks *en échelon* behind them stood the African troops; the cavalry held the wings. As he expected, his cavalry was successful, the left wing of Spanish and Gallic horse defeated the Roman right, and began to surround the rear of the infantry, while a detachment was sent to help complete the defeat of the Roman left wing Meanwhile the Roman infantry gradually forced back Hannibal's centre, if it broke before the cavalry could assail the Roman rear, Hannibal had lost the battle and probably the war. But the retreating Gauls held firm and the Roman centre was gradually drawn into a trap. Hannibal's crescent was now becoming a hollow, while the Africans encircled the Roman flanks. This encirclement was completed when the Carthaginian cavalry assailed the rear The Romans, massed together and unable to move, were completely surrounded and cut to pieces. Aemilius, Minucius, Servilius and some 25,000 men fell, 10,000 were captured, while perhaps 15,000 escaped including Varro. The enemy lost only 5,700. So ended the greatest battle the Romans had yet fought. Rome's prestige in Italy was shaken. Many towns in Samnium and Apulia and nearly all Lucania and Bruttium revolted to Hannibal; and worse still in the autumn, Capua, the second city in Italy, and other Campanian towns followed suit But the whole of Latium, Umbria and Etruria remained loyal. And Rome herself was safe; Hannibal durst not march against her walls.

Cannae showed with tragic clearness that Rome must now abandon any attempt to seek out the main armed forces of the enemy and that Fabius' strategy of exhaustion must be rigorously followed. As Rome refused to accept defeat, Hannibal could only persevere in trying to break up her Italian Confederacy. But instead of asking his home government for further reinforcements for this task, he advised or acquiesced in a new Carthaginian strategy. This aimed at embarrassing Rome still further by extending the theatres of war and by raising up a circle of enemies around her. In the west the war was to be prosecuted vigorously in Spain and a landing effected in Sardinia; in the north were the hostile Gauls; in the east an alliance was sought with Philip of Macedon who would attempt to drive the Romans

from Illyria; in the south the Greek cities of Sicily would be encouraged to revolt to Carthage, more readily when she was allied with Philip. Thus from all sides Carthage sought to encompass Rome, and before the fortunes of Hannibal in Italy are followed further, the new theatres of war in Spain, Sardinia, Macedon, and Sicily must be viewed.

§ 3. THE SCIPIOS AND SPAIN

In Spain, where the war had started, the tide of war first rolled back on the Carthaginians. This country, where large armies starve and small armies get beaten, has always imposed similar difficulties and restrictions on invading armies. Only a small part was directly involved in the Hannibalic War, namely, the Mediterranean littoral with its hinterland, more particularly, the Ebro valley in the north and the rich valley of the Baetis (Guadalquivir) in the south where lay the seat of Carthaginian power These two valleys were linked by a coast road which passed through the two key towns of Saguntum and New Carthage (Cartagena), the latter being the Carthaginian war base. To an army invading Spain from the north-east three factors are necessary: control of the coast road, an adequate base and command of the sea. Thus Pompey's first plan of attack against Sertorius failed because he lacked the last two, while centuries later in different circumstances Wellington, entrenched at Torres Vedras with the command of the sea, threw into relief the vain attempt of Sir John Moore to advance inland without an adequate base. The three Scipios who fought in Spain realized the conditions of warfare which the country imposed, and thus succeeded where Napoleon failed; ultimately, to adapt Napoleon's vain hope, they were able 'to carry their victorious eagles to the Pillars of Hercules and drive the "Punic" leopard into the sea.'

The supreme importance of holding the enemy at bay in Spain was realized by P. Scipio who despatched thither his brother Gnaeus in 218 and joined him the following year. Reinforcements from a country so rich in natural wealth and man-power must at all costs be prevented from reaching Hannibal. But events were to show that the Scipios, the two Thunderbolts of War (*duo fulmina belli*), aimed not merely at a defensive campaign of holding the line of the Ebro but at an offensive to break the enemy's power in the Peninsula.

In the late summer of 218 Cn. Scipio landed with two legions

at Emporiae (Ampurias), from which base he marched south. His passage was uncontested till he reached Cissa, the enemy's base in northern Spain, where he defeated the commander Hanno. Cissa was taken, and Scipio advanced his fleet to Tarraco (Tarragona). Here the Roman naval camp was attacked by Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian commander of southern Spain, who arrived on the scene too late to help Hanno. Hasdrubal was repulsed and withdrew to his base at New Carthage Thus in his first campaign Scipio prevented reinforcements reaching Hannibal, won a base and commenced the conquest of the district north of the Ebro. The next year, 217, was critical in Spain. Would Hasdrubal break through before the arrival of Roman reinforcements? With all his land forces and fleet he approached the mouth of the Ebro. Notwithstanding the smallness of his fleet Scipio decided to give battle, not only to avoid having his flank turned, but also because command of the sea was essential for further advance southwards, not to mention for precluding the shipping of help to Hannibal. Further, Scipio was reinforced by the Massilians whose naval prowess was well known and who were eager to safeguard their trade with Spain by checking the power of Carthage at sea. So the Romans sailed forth and engaged and defeated the enemy's fleet off the mouth of the Ebro. This victory, besides enabling them to cross the Ebro in safety, affected the whole war and Hannibal's hopes of success. After a feeble demonstration off Italy this same year, the Carthaginians abandoned any large-scale naval operations, so that Hannibal was left in Italy with Rome as mistress of the seas [1]

When the proconsul Publius Scipio had joined his brother in Spain with reinforcements of 20 warships and 8,000 men, they advanced in the autumn across the Ebro and encamped near Saguntum.[2] After this demonstration to impress the Spanish

[1] For the naval aspect of the war see J H Thiel, *Studies on the History of Roman Sea-Power in Republ Times* (1946) A description of the battle of the Ebro is probably found in a fragment of the Greek and pro-Carthaginian historian Sosylus· see F Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 176 F Our five sources all give different reasons for the victory Polybius (III, 95–6) gives the nearness of the Carthaginians to their infantry on the shore, for Livy (XXII, 19–20) it is surprise, Frontinus (*Strat* IV, 7, 9) tells of the throwing of burning projectiles, Zonaras, of the destruction of the Carthaginian sails; while Sosylus says the skill of the Massiliotes foiled the enemy's manoeuvre The reasons given by Polybius, Livy and Sosylus are not mutually exclusive

[2] Traces of the Scipios' camp have recently been found by A Schulten

tribes they withdrew to winter-quarters north of the Ebro, having won and garrisoned Intibili and Iliturgi [1] During the next year the war was at a standstill, the Romans consolidated in the north, while Hasdrubal suppressed a serious rising of the Turdetani in the south. But in 215 Hasdrubal, who had received reinforcements, advanced to put everything to the hazard. He met the Roman army near Ibera on the Ebro. The situation was critical. A Roman defeat would involve the loss of Spain and allow Hasdrubal to join Hannibal in Italy. Hasdrubal used the same tactics as his brother did at Cannae, but his weak centre of Spanish troops crumpled before his wings could outflank and surround the enemy. The Roman victory was crushing, since Hasdrubal's best African troops suffered most. The Scipios had won the first victory of the war in pitched battle; an achievement which might well hearten the home government in the gloom caused by Cannae. It strengthened Rome's prestige in Italy and still more in Spain, where other native tribes revolted from the Carthaginians.

To counteract this defeat the Carthaginians diverted to Spain an army under Hannibal's brother Mago, which had been destined for Italy. Native risings in North Africa under Syphax, however, involved the temporary recall of Hasdrubal, but by 212 the Carthaginians were able to maintain three armies in Spain under Mago, Hasdrubal Barca and Hasdrubal son of Gisgo Meanwhile the Scipios had rested on their oars (215–213), because their strength was temporarily exhausted and further advance involved securing a new base and the coast road, while the further south they marched the deeper they penetrated into pro-Carthaginian territory where to win native support by force would alienate their allies, while to neglect it would endanger their communications. But by 212 their gradual advance was crowned with success, for they won the urgently needed base by capturing Saguntum.[2] They could now plan an offensive further south,

at Almenara, five miles north of Saguntum The accuracy of Polybius' topographical description is thus strikingly confirmed See *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 1933, pp. 522–7

[1] The former of these towns lay near Benicarlo, the latter near Oropesa; there was another more famous Iliturgi in South Spain. Cf. Schulten, *Hermes*, 1928, p. 288 ff.

[2] That the Scipios also penetrated into Andalusia and captured Castulo (cf Livy, XXIII, 49, XXIV, 41, 42) seems most improbable to the present writer, contrast *Cambr. Anc Hist*, VIII, pp 70, 71. Such annalistic accounts which Livy probably derived from Valerius Antias may contain

although the superior forces of the enemy rendered it risky and further penetration would increase the distance from the centre of supplies. But to revert to a defensive policy would involve the sacrifice of their previous conquests and of their new Spanish allies. Trusting these, in 211 they advanced in two divisions against the enemy. This division was probably a mistake, as the united force might have crushed Hasdrubal Barca. They divided to put less strain on the natives of the districts from which they derived supplies. But though 'Spain is a country where large armies starve,' it is also one where 'small armies get beaten.' Gnaeus was the first to learn the fickleness of their Spanish allies,[1] who deserted when he advanced with one-third of the army against Hasdrubal. Forced to retire, he was harassed by the Carthaginian cavalry until the infantry came up and destroyed his forces at Ilorci (modern Lorqui), in a desolate plain surrounded by bleak and arid mountains in the hinterland of New Carthage.[2] Meantime his brother Publius penetrating probably to the upper courses of the Baetis was cut off and his army was destroyed in an attempt to break away. Only a remnant under Fonteius at length reached the Ebro where the soldiers elected as commander a Roman Knight, L. Marcius Septimus.

So fell the Scipios. But they had accomplished much. They had prevented reinforcements reaching Hannibal from Spain, they had inflicted two severe defeats on the enemy, by sea off the Ebro, by land at Ibera; then taking the offensive they had captured Saguntum and advancing further south had won from Carthage a considerable part of her Spanish Empire. But their last gallant attempt overstrained their inadequate resources. The Carthaginians, however, lamentably failed to drive home their victory, for each of the three generals wished to exploit the success for himself and would not co-operate with his colleagues. This saved Rome. Carthage lost a unique chance of sending help to Hannibal. The way was soon to be barred by the arrival of Nero and then barred still more firmly by the future conqueror of Spain.

elements of truth, but it is safer to reject them entirely. Strategical considerations make an advance and victories in South Spain very improbable.

[1] Compare Wellington's bitter experience at Talavera.

[2] On the topography, cf. Scullard, *Scipio Africanus*, pp. 50 n. and 142 n.

§ 4. THE EXTENSION OF THE WAR TO MACEDON

The Carthaginians also sought to embarrass Rome in Sardinia and Macedon. In 215 a force was despatched under Hasdrubal the 'Bald' to Sardinia, where the natives were already restive under Roman rule especially as the governor was ill. Rome energetically sent out a legion under T. Manlius Torquatus, who knew the island well. Landing at Cagliari he defeated the rebels before the arrival of Hasdrubal who had been delayed by a storm. He then forced Hasdrubal's army to fight and won a decisive victory. Thus the Carthaginian attempt miscarried, and they made no further efforts to regain the island.

The extension of the war to Greece, known as the First Macedonian War, was little more than a 'side-show.' Its ramifications belong rather to the history of the Greek world[1] and its importance derives largely from the fact that it drew Rome closer to that world. For if Hannibal hoped that it would seriously distract Rome's attention, he miscalculated. Philip of Macedon, long suspicious of Rome's intervention in Illyria, was watching Hannibal's progress in Italy with keen self-interest. When he received news of Trasimene, he hastily terminated the war he was waging in Greece so as to have his hands free; at Naupactus he concluded a peace with the Aetolians, many of whom viewed with apprehension 'the cloud rising in the west.' Driven on by dreams of conquest and by the advice of the pirate chief Demetrius, he built a fleet of light cutters which he launched in the Adriatic in 216 in order to obtain a naval base there and to reinstate Demetrius at Pharos. The approach of a Roman fleet caused his hasty withdrawal but he had shown his hand. When it was clear that Cannae would not end the war Philip took the decisive step of forming an alliance with Hannibal, it was to be offensive during the war and defensive afterwards, when Hannibal would deal with Italy while Philip and Demetrius could assert their claims to Rome's Illyrian possessions and Corcyra.[2]

News of the alliance reached Rome through the capture of Philip's envoys and despatches. To meet the new danger on her flank, she ordered M. Valerius Laevinus, a praetor in command at

[1] See M Cary, *A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B C*, ch xi

[2] On the terms and Philip's subsequent war with Rome see F W Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon*, p 70 ff. See also E J Bikermann, 'Hannibal's Oath,' *A.J.P*, 1952 p 1 ff, A H. Chroust, *Class et Med.*, 1954, p. 60 ff.

Tarentum, to watch Philip and if necessary to cross to Illyria with 50 warships. In 214 Philip attacked the naval bases of Illyria, but Laevinus quickly recaptured Oricus, relieved Apollonia and forced Philip to burn his boats and retire to Macedon, further he established himself on the Illyrian coast. Philip could only hope to dislodge him with the help of the Carthaginian fleet, for which he waited in vain, though he regained access to the Adriatic by capturing Lissus (213?)[1] Laevinus, who feared the possible advent of a Carthaginian fleet, turned to a diplomatic offensive against Philip by stirring up war against him in Greece. In 211 (or 212) he concluded an alliance with the Aetolians they were to operate by land and keep any territory wrested from Philip, Rome was to fight by sea and have the portable booty or part of it.[2] The alliance—the first concluded between Rome and a Greek people—was soon joined by many Greek states, Elis, Messenia and Sparta, by Attalus of Pergamum and by the chieftains of Thrace and Illyria Not only was all possibility of Philip helping Hannibal in Italy averted, but by this skilful move the war in Greece was shifted largely on to the shoulders of the Greeks themselves.

In four campaigns Philip hurried with surprising energy from front to front (211–208).[3] In 211 or 210 Laevinus was succeeded by P. Sulpicius Galba who celebrated his arrival in the Aegean by failing to relieve Echinus which Philip was besieging, although he captured Aegina. So the war dragged on, notwithstanding fruitless attempts by various parties to negotiate a peace. Throughout this war Philip in vain awaited naval help from Carthage and the growing realization at Rome that this support to their enemy was not forthcoming led to a gradual slackening of interest in this theatre of war. In 208 Attalus returned to Asia, and Rome did little in Greece; the Aetolians could be left to oppose Philip by themselves. This might suit Rome, but it did not suit the Aetolians, who ended the Hellenic War in 206 by making peace with Philip. This act, which Rome herself had made inevitable, at last stirred her to activity In 205 P Sempronius Tuditanus was sent out with a large force to succeed Sulpicius and to protect Illyria. But a successful demonstration

[1] The chronology of some events of 213–210 is uncertain

[2] A fragment of the treaty, in Greek, has now been found See A H McDonald, *J R S*, 1956, reviewing G Klaffenbach's publication of the inscription, E Badian, *Latomus*, 1958.

[3] He organized a telegraphic system of fire-signal see Polybius (X, 42–7) and his account of the system elaborated by himself.

there was not sufficient to rekindle the spirit of Aetolia against Philip. So Rome decided to abandon the war; she did not wish for a long single-handed struggle with Philip, especially at a time when, as will be seen, she was preparing to make her final thrust against Carthage. Sempronius was ordered to decline battle and to come to terms. The Peace of Phoenice (205) which was concluded on the basis of *uti possidetis* made only slight territorial adjustments. It was clearly an agreement for the mutual convenience of Rome and Philip. The Romans had been drawn into Greek affairs to meet a specific danger; with that removed they were ready to leave Greece to work out its own salvation. For Philip further resistance was futile, since no support came from Carthage Further, the eastern world, of which Rome knew so little but was soon to learn so much, claimed his thoughts. Thus Carthage had signally failed to utilize her ally in Greece to the full in her struggle with Rome.

§ 5. MARCELLUS AND SICILY

Events in Magna Graecia proved more formidable than those in Greece proper, for Sicily was suddenly swept into the war on the death of the aged Hiero (215) During his reign he had raised Syracuse to great prosperity and culture, and though the loyal ally of Rome, he had avoided the enmity of Carthage. Some of his subjects, however, including his own son, began to intrigue with Carthage and Rome's rebellious allies in Italy, while others desired to end the monarchy. But if they hoped for a glorious War of Independence they forgot that the citizens of Syracuse lacked the resources and spirit which had made possible the resistance of their ancestors to the armada of Athens. Successful revolt from Rome could only lead to dependence on Carthage.

Since Hiero's son died shortly before his father, the kingdom fell to a grandson of the old king. This fifteen-year-old boy, Hieronymus, was soon entangled in the meshes of court intrigue. Two of Hiero's sons-in-law quickly usurped the regency of fifteen members which Hiero had appointed, and forced Hieronymus to approach Hannibal, whose agents, Hippocrates and Epicydes, arranged a treaty by which all Sicily was conceded to Hieronymus—notwithstanding the warning protests of the praetor Appius Claudius. A reaction of popular feeling against the monarchy quickly followed, and resulted in the murder of Hieronymus and nearly all the royal house (214), relations with Rome might yet

be established. But suddenly the pendulum swung back again and the new republic chose as generals the two Carthaginian agents, Hippocrates and Epicydes. Meantime the Romans were alarmed, and sent the consul M. Claudius Marcellus to Sicily with an additional legion to join the two already there—the disgraced survivors of Cannae, the fleet was raised to a hundred sails. On Marcellus' arrival an attack on a Roman frontier post led to the actual outbreak of war. In reply Marcellus sacked Leontini with great severity. Hippocrates and Epicydes, who escaped to Syracuse, there massacred the Roman party and amid the utmost confusion prepared to defend the city against the might of Rome. It was a different beginning to the war from the one they had hoped for, when Syracuse, supported by the uprising of all the Siceliots, might have taken a glorious offensive, yet they could trust in the strength of their city, protected by the walls of Dionysius and the engineering skill of Archimedes.

Syracuse was situated partly on the 'island' of Ortygia, partly on the mainland.[1] This latter settlement was divided into three separate regions: Neapolis (an extension of the old Temenitis) in the west, Achradina on the east coast, and Tyche to the north. The whole town nestled at the foot of the cliffs of the large plateau of Epipolae, around which ran the almost impregnable walls built by Dionysius and guarded at their western extremity by the fort Euryalus. Nothing daunted, Marcellus approached with all speed and the Roman army camped in two divisions, one in the south at Olympieum, the other to the north of Epipolae near Hexapylon (Scala Graeca); thus they controlled the two main roads to the city. Then he launched an assault by land and sea from the north; Appius Claudius tried to storm the walls by Hexapylon, while Marcellus brought siege engines on his ships against the sea walls at Achradina But the attack was beaten off, thanks largely to the efficiency of the artillery and contrivances devised by Archimedes,[2] Marcellus had to desist and resign himself to a regular and lengthy blockade.

Meanwhile Carthaginian reinforcements under Himilco had

[1] On the topography, see K Fabricius, *Das Antike Syrakus* (1932), who shows that no part of the town extended on to the plateau of Epipolae

[2] Polybius (VIII, 6–8) describes the catapults of varied range, the huge beams and cranes which swung over the walls to drop weights, the mechanical arms which capsized the Roman boats, etc On the skill with which Archimedes sited his artillery, see A W Lawrence, *Journ Hell Stud.*, 1946, p. 99 ff

captured Agrigentum where Marcellus arrived too late But he won over some towns that had belonged to Hiero and cut to pieces a force which had slipped out of Syracuse to support Himilco. Reinforcements from Rome reached the army at Syracuse in safety, while the Carthaginian fleet, after an abortive demonstration by Bomilcar, did not try to relieve the city But an ugly incident in central Sicily provoked considerable anti-Roman feeling· in attempting to hold Enna in face of treachery, the Roman garrison massacred the inhabitants So ended the year 213; though Rome had lost much of the south coast and centre of Sicily, she had satisfactorily withstood the first shock of the revolt of the Greeks

Throughout the winter the siege of Syracuse continued; no Greek or Punic army appeared to divert the besiegers One night in the spring of 212, utilizing the preoccupation caused by the drunken revelry of a festival, Marcellus stormed part of the northern walls of Epipolae and advanced over the plateau Tradition tells how when day broke he gazed over the beautiful city weeping with joy at his achievement and with sorrow at the impending doom. This was not long delayed. Descending the southern slopes of Epipolae, he camped between Tyche and Neapolis (near the necropolis of Groticelli) and overran the two suburbs In his rear was the great fort of Euryalus, the impressive ruins of which still demonstrate its impregnable strength; but the commander in panic surrendered Thus Marcellus had won all Epipolae. Counter-attacks by a sortie from Achradina, by Himilco, and by the fleet, all failed. Then, as so often in the history of Syracuse, Nature intervened A pestilence swept through both armies; the Romans on the higher ground and with better sanitation escaped lightly, but Himilco's force perished This decided the fate of Syracuse, the fall of the remaining portions, Achradina and Ortygia, was only a matter of time In 211 Bomilcar arrived in Sicily with a Carthaginian fleet, only to panic and sail off again. Finally the city was betrayed by a Spanish mercenary captain; its rich artistic treasures were shipped to Italy, and Archimedes was killed during the looting of the city while absorbed in a geometrical problem. So after a siege of two and a half years fell a city which for three centuries had been chief among the Greek cities of the west.

The rest of the tale is soon told. Marcellus easily defeated a small Carthaginian force near Himera and then hastened home to enjoy an 'ovation.' A praetor continued to reduce the smaller

towns, while late in 210 Valerius Laevinus took out fresh forces and conquered Agrigentum. Sicily was pacified So by the persistent energy of Rome and the dash of Marcellus, through Carthage's lack of naval enterprise, fatal alike in Sicily and Greece, and above all because of the plague, a serious danger was averted. Sicily was the bridge between Italy and Africa, between Hannibal and his home government, the control of the bridge was of paramount importance.

§ 6 FABIUS AND ROME'S DEFENSIVE

We must revert now to Rome's bitter hour after Cannae when the dark background served only to show up the splendour of her courage She would not accept defeat though the flower of her manhood was slain, though South Italy had revolted, though Hannibal was undisputed master in battle. The problem before the Senate was how to nullify Hannibal's tactical superiority, which lay in his cavalry, in the elasticity of his army as a whole and the co-operation of its parts, and in the skill with which he used the terrain. The answer was clear. the open battlefield must ever be avoided and his strength worn down by a 'strategy of exhaustion,' which before Cannae was justified only as a temporary expedient and had earned for its advocate the abusive title of the Delayer.[1]

This strategy, though less spectacular than one of annihilation, required even more effort, and strained Rome's resources to the uttermost Her naval supremacy must be upheld; this involved keeping nearly 200 ships afloat and some 50,000 sailors All legions serving abroad must be maintained there, while as the theatres of war increased, so did their claims, so that by 212 Rome had in the field twenty-five legions, even slaves were allowed to volunteer in the dark months after Cannae. All this involved the utmost financial effort; in and after 215 the property tax (*tributum*) was doubled Only by superior numbers and by time could Rome hope to win. But these forces must be applied wisely Rome must conquer Hannibal, as she had conquered Italy, by her roads and fortresses. He must be worn down by marches and counter-marches But it was not enough to dog his heels. Roman armies, while avoiding open battles, must yet

[1] On the strategy of the war, see especially Kromayer's excellent little book *Rom's Kampf um die Weltherrschaft*, chap III

operate in the open; while one force acted on the defensive in face of Hannibal, another must take the offensive where he was not. By a wise use of the terrain parts of Italy could be protected and Hannibal's attempts to besiege towns could often be impeded, since his army was ill-equipped for siege work; he might capture Casilinum and Petelia, but he did not attempt bigger cities as Naples, Cumae and Tarentum, still less Rome. When urged after Cannae by his cavalry officer to advance against Rome—'for in five days we shall dine on the Capitol'—he knew the folly of such counsel.[1] Further, small engagements, even if nominal tactical victories for Hannibal, were to Rome's ultimate advantage, because they all tended to whittle down his slender resources Finally, though Hannibal had won much of South Italy, which served as a base for recruiting, provisioning and wintering, it was also a responsibility: it crippled his freedom of movement, for he must protect his new allies On such considerations rested Rome's policy, as advocated by Fabius And Hannibal's only reply was to ravage the land mercilessly. But although this strategy of attrition might finally have brought a peace of sorts it could not humble Carthage and guarantee Rome's future security. It was only when Rome produced a military genius who could face Hannibal in the field that a lasting victory could be won. But until the *deus ex machina* appeared, it was only the great moral qualities of Rome that saved her—the tenacity of purpose of her citizens, the discipline of her soldiers, the prudence of her generals, and the wise directing force of her Senate.

After Cannae, as we have seen, news reached Rome of the revolt of Lucania, Bruttium, and Capua. Then came a report that Postumius had been surprised in Cisalpine Gaul, his force of two legions was cut to pieces, while the commander's skull was preserved for use in the temple rites of the priests of the Boii To supervise Rome's defence a dictator was appointed, M. Junius Pera (consul 230 and censor 225) with Ti. Sempronius Gracchus as Master of the Horse. The People no longer challenged the political control of the Senate, the unfortunate careers of their own champions taught them to trust the Senate's judgment Raising fresh forces Pera took up a position on the Latin Way near Teanum, covering the road to Rome. The Romans thus withdrew behind the line of the Volturnus so that Hannibal won over most of Campania except the coast towns and Nola, where he was frustrated by Marcellus. During the winter of 216–215

[1] A. D Fitton Brown (*Historia*, 1959) argues that political rather than military motives restrained Hannibal

Hannibal besieged and finally captured Casilinum on the Volturnus. Later Roman annalists might delight in recounting that this winter, passed in luxurious quarters in Campania, undermined the discipline of Hannibal's army, but the Roman generals of the day knew better.

The year 215 proved embarrassing to Carthage, as she sought to encircle Rome with enemies. Hannibal had to remain without help. The Scipios' victory at the Ebro necessitated diverting to Spain the reinforcements designed for Hannibal (p. 198) The rebellion of Syphax in Africa involved the recall of Hasdrubal from Spain The ill-fated attempt of Hasdrubal the Bald in Sardinia was a useless dissipation of energy. In the summer Bomilcar landed a small force at Locri, but this was all the help Hannibal received Only the arrival of reinforcements from Spain could change the complexion of the war; and this the Scipios prevented. In Italy the Romans again ventured across the Volturnus Marcellus occupied a strong position (at modern Cancello) between Capua and Nola; Gracchus protected the coast near Cumae, while Fabius covered the way to Rome near Cales. Hannibal who was thus surrounded on three sides moved his camp from Capua to the hills above; at Mt. Tifata he could command all the important roads and valleys, while a plateau suitable for his cavalry nestled among the peaks From this stronghold, where centuries later Garibaldi also rested, Hannibal struck twice, but he struck in vain. His attempt on Cumae was thwarted by Gracchus, a second thrust at Nola was parried by Marcellus But while he achieved little in Campania, his lieutenants were completing the conquest of Bruttium; Rhegium alone held out. Yet Rome showed her confidence in her generals by electing Fabius and Marcellus consuls for 214; the number of legions was raised from fourteen to twenty.

In 214 Hannibal, who had wintered in Apulia, returned to Mt Tifata and summoned Hanno from South Italy. On his march *via* Compsa, Hanno found his path blocked by Gracchus who defeated him near the river Calor some three miles east of Beneventum and thus forced him to retire again to Bruttium So Hannibal, who had in vain attacked Puteoli and Nola, abandoned his offensive in Campania He failed to surprise Heraclea and then Tarentum, where the Roman fleet stationed at Brundisium was too quick for him Meanwhile Marcellus had stormed Casilinum and the Romans had recovered Compsa and Aecae in Apulia, which meant that they could advance their base from

Luceria to Herdonea. Hannibal was being pushed further and further south.

In 213 the Romans decided to concentrate on Apulia rather than to assay the more difficult task of reducing Capua. With four legions operating from a circle of fortresses they won over Arpi, but later a severe blow befell them. Not only had Syracuse transferred her allegiance and thus necessitated the removal of the energetic Marcellus from Italy, but now Tarentum followed her example; and in the wake of Tarentum came Metapontum and many other Greek cities in South Italy. The Tarentines had been embittered by Rome's execution of some of their hostages who had tried to escape. Their town lay on a narrow peninsula, north of which stretched the best harbour in Italy (the Mare Piccolo); the site bears considerable resemblance to New Carthage (p. 212). By night two gates in the city's eastern wall were opened and when day broke two detachments of Hannibal's army had united in the Forum. The Roman garrison, however, retained the citadel, a strong hill which commanded the harbour entrance; this greatly diminished the value of Hannibal's success. He had to build a defensive wall between the town and citadel, and to drag the ships out of the harbour overland[1] So ended a dark year for Rome

Many felt at Rome that their superior numbers were not being used to the best advantage; more boldness and vigour, greater clearness of purpose were required. Capua had been given a breathing-space which Marcellus' energy had denied to Syracuse. The People were tiring of Fabius (consul 215 and 214) and his son (consul 213). New men were elected consuls for 212, Q. Fulvius Flaccus (consul 237 and 224) and Appius Claudius Pulcher (praetor and propraetor in Sicily since 215); and all the commands in Italy, save only Gracchus', were changed. But most of the foreign commands remained unaltered. The number of legions was raised to its highest total of twenty-five; Rome braced herself for the effort and planned to start the siege of Capua. Though the consuls made their base at Bovianum instead of Beneventum or Casilinum in order to mask their intention, the Campanians suspected what was in store and asked Hannibal for supplies Hanno was ordered to conduct convoys from Lucania. He advanced *via* Salernum towards Beneventum, which Flaccus entered secretly by night Issuing forth, Flaccus surprised and captured Hanno's camp and supplies at Apollosa, three miles south-west of Beneventum, and thus thwarted the attempt to

[1] See E Saint-Denis, *Latomus*, 1954

provision Capua. This success was counter-balanced by the surprise and death of Gracchus, probably in Lucania; this was the first Roman reverse in the field since Cannae and Rome could ill afford to lose so brave and energetic a soldier. Hannibal himself marched into Campania, but could do little as provisions were already short. Three Roman armies closed round Capua and surrounded it with a double line of circumvallation.

In 211 the twenty-five legions were maintained and Flaccus, Appius Claudius and Claudius Nero continued in the command at Capua Hannibal made one last effort to relieve the city. He suddenly descended on it with a picked force, but the Roman entrenchments faced outwards as well as inwards, so that he could accomplish nothing when the Romans declined battle. He then made his final desperate throw: by marching on Rome itself he hoped to draw off the armies from Capua. Advancing through Samnium perhaps as far north as Amiternum he suddenly swept round to the south-west; crossing the Anio he camped four miles east of the city and rode up to the Colline Gate[1] It was a terrifying moment, no enemy had approached the gates of Rome since the Gauls nearly two hundred years before. Beside the new recruits there were two of last year's legions in Rome. The walls were manned and a camp was formed about a mile outside, opposite Hannibal's. After a few days, when he hoped that part of the Roman army might be on its way from Capua he recrossed the Anio and marched by Tibur to Casinum after a slight skirmish with the consul Sulpicius Galba. By this route he would get between Capua and a Roman army advancing up the Via Latina. But at length realizing that his bold stroke had miscarried and that the Roman armies were still beleaguering Capua, he did not return to Campania but swung off to Apulia, and left Capua to its fate This was not long delayed, in despair the Capuans surrendered. Apart from some of the nobility, the people were granted their lives, the city was not sacked, but its land was confiscated, it was deprived of all municipal autonomy and was administered by a *praefectus* elected annually at Rome. The

[1] According to Polybius (IX, 5) Hannibal marched through Samnium and crossed the Anio, and Coelius (Livy, XXVI, 11) sent him through Samnium, the Paelignian Sulmo, Amiternum and Reate, but Livy (XXVI, 7–12) thought he advanced direct along the Via Latina E. W Davies argues for the Via Latina (*Phoenix*, 1959), but the longer route is supported by E T Salmon (*ibid* , 1957), who attributes Livy's mistaken route to confusion (by Valerius Antias) of Paelignian with Volscian Sulmo Traces of Hannibal's sack of the temple at Lucus Feroniae (L XXVI, 11) survive *Rev Phil.*, 1953, p 75

Senate's judgment of its defection was stern but just; politically Capua was destroyed, but materially it was allowed to live. It did not suffer the bitter fate of Syracuse.

The fall of Capua marked a turning point. The same year Syracuse also had fallen and an alliance had been negotiated with Aetolia. But news came from Spain of the disaster of the Scipios. Claudius Nero, who had served at Capua, was despatched with reinforcements to hold the line of the Ebro In truth Rome was exhausted Hannibal might be confined to South Italy, troops might come home laden with booty from Campania and Sicily, but the land of Latium and Samnium was still devastated and groaning for rest So the legions were reduced to twenty-one and the year 210 passed comparatively uneventfully. Salapia was captured, though the consul Cn. Fulvius was trapped and killed near Herdonea in Apulia. His colleague, Marcellus, the victor of Syracuse, did not attempt to storm Tarentum but contented himself by operating carefully near Venusia. But Rome's inactivity had a grave result in the autumn; twelve of the Latin colonies through war-weariness refused to send their contingents.

The year 209 opened with the gloomy prospect of further cautious advances gained at great sacrifice amid serious dissatisfaction among many of the allies; it finished, however, more successfully than could be anticipated. While Fulvius and Marcellus held Hannibal at bay, the cautious Fabius was to advance to Tarentum Marcellus manoeuvred successfully against Hannibal near Canusium, Fulvius won back some hill towns; Fabius, aided by a fleet and by an attack on Caulonia to distract Hannibal's attention, moved against Tarentum which fell by treachery before Hannibal arrived. The city was sacked. Thus the long war dragged on in Italy. At stupendous sacrifice and with dogged perseverance Rome, after parrying Hannibal's offensive, had at length reduced Syracuse, Capua and Tarentum, and had confined Hannibal to South Italy. But all might be in vain if the Italian Confederacy in the north began to break up. Not a moment too soon came news of young Scipio's brilliant success at New Carthage The whole complexion of the war was changed; fresh courage and hope flowed in the veins of Rome and her allies. The conqueror of Hannibal had arisen

CHAPTER X

SCIPIO AND ROME'S OFFENSIVE

§ 1. SCIPIO'S CONQUEST OF SPAIN

AFTER the disaster of the two Scipios in 211 the Romans lost all Spain south of the Ebro, including perhaps Saguntum, while the survivors clung precariously to the Ebro line. Had the Scipios been killed a year earlier, the situation would have been indeed calamitous; but the fall of Syracuse and Capua facilitated the sending of reinforcements The appointment of Claudius Nero, who had long served in Italy under Fabius' cautious strategy, suggests that the government envisaged a purely defensive strategy in Spain. Indeed, with his few troops Nero could hardly have acted otherwise. Landing late in 211 he tried during the next year to secure the land north of the Ebro; his hold on the interior was slender, though he possibly embarrassed Hasdrubal Barca

But a defensive attitude in Spain might not prevent the ultimate break-through of overwhelming forces. A return to the offensive strategy of the Scipios was indicated, if the man to direct it could be found And who was more fitting to avenge the Scipios than the son of Publius, the future conqueror of Hannibal? Aged twenty-five, courageous, resourceful, self-confident and wise, the young P. Scipio had an extraordinary power of inspiring confidence in others. His character was a blend of the man of action and the religious mystic; his unusual enthusiasm was moderated by Greek culture and Roman common sense. He had fought in Italy, but as he had only held the aedileship (in 213) he was not qualified for a high command. The details of his election are obscure, but he was enthusiastically nominated by the people to a proconsular command in Spain and the Senate wisely acquiesced. Constitutional precedent was neglected; Scipio was the first *privatus* to be invested with proconsular *imperium*. His colleague, M. Junius Silanus, possessed only propraetorian *imperium* Late in 210 he sailed with reinforcements to Spain where his total force, including the Spanish allies, was over 30,000 men

Scipio spent the winter organizing his army and planning one

of the most daring exploits of Roman history. So far from remaining on the defensive, he would strike at the enemy's heart by swooping on their base, New Carthage (Cartagena) Its capture would be of immense value. It contained the bulk of the Carthaginians' money and war material and their hostages from the whole of Spain, its harbour was one of the best in the western Mediterranean; and it would give Scipio a base from which to conquer the south. Inheriting the strategic ideals of his father, he realized that a base was essential and that his father had failed because Saguntum was not far enough south. His plan was possible because the three Carthaginian generals were still on bad terms and had wintered apart, Hasdrubal Barca in central Spain, the other Hasdrubal near the mouth of the Tagus, and Mago near Gibraltar, each was ten days' march from New Carthage. Thus one morning early in 209 the small garrison of the city awoke to find the town beleaguered by land and sea. For Scipio, leaving Silanus to guard his communications, had marched south with his main army at great speed and arrived at the same time as the fleet under his friend Laelius.

The town lay on a peninsula, which ran east and west, within a deep bay which faced south. On the east the peninsula was joined to the mainland by a narrow isthmus On the west it was separated from the mainland by a narrow channel which ran north into a large lagoon which spread over the land immediately north of the town. The town was thus surrounded by water on three sides· by the lagoon in the north, by the canal in the west, and by the bay and open sea on the south.[1] On his arrival Scipio encamped on a hill across the eastern isthmus. Next day after beating back a sortie he vigorously assaulted the town from the land side, while the fleet attacked from the south. The first assault failed, but later in the day he renewed the attack and simultaneously sent a party through the lagoon to storm the northern walls while the enemy's attention was engaged on the other fronts. This lagoon was shallow and in part fordable, but was probably not affected by any tidal action of the sea. When

[1] On the topography of New Carthage and the difficulties of Polybius' account of the storming of it, see Scullard, *Scipio Africanus*, pp 56–99 and 289–99 cf plan on p 290 Although Polybius had visited New Carthage and based his account on a letter from Scipio to King Philip, his description abounds in difficulties. Some of these arise from his rationalistic outlook, which refused to recognize anything extraordinary either in nature or in the character of his hero Scipio.

the wading party was about to start, a squall from the north suddenly sprang up and lowered the level of the lagoon by driving the water into the bay. Of this possibility Scipio who had made careful topographical enquiries during the winter may have been aware. To the men, however, it seemed like the direct intervention of heaven, not out of keeping with the mystical self-confidence of their inspired leader [1] The men raced through the now shallow waters and scaled the deserted battlements, for all attention was focused on Scipio's frontal attack. Sweeping along the northern wall the escalading party fell on the enemy in the rear At the same moment the whole defence was crumbling and the naval detachment was scaling the southern walls. So fell the city.

Thus Scipio had won the key position in Spain. Besides an immense quantity of booty, money and munitions, he gained control of the local silver mines and thus cut deep into the enemy's revenue. By his wise treatment of the Spanish hostages and prisoners, he obtained more than mere territorial advance His romantic personality and his generous outlook, like that of Sertorius later, fired the Spaniards' imagination, so that many native princes came over to him. He spent the rest of the year building up a New Model Army, drilling it in tactical reforms of far-reaching effect and training it in the use of new weapons He adopted the Spanish sword and perhaps adapted the javelin (*pilum*) which led the Romans to the mastery of the civilized world. Meanwhile the three Carthaginian armies abandoned without a blow the eastern shore of Spain and held on to the south and interior.

Scipio now had a base sufficiently far south to justify an offensive in Baetica whither he marched early in 208. Hasdrubal Barca, who was quartered near Castulo, advanced to a strong position south-east of Baecula (Bailen) which he hoped would counterbalance the numerical superiority of the Romans. Scipio occupied the hills opposite, but fearing the arrival of a second Carthaginian army he decided to fight on the ground chosen by

[1] Many parallels might be quoted, the most striking is that contained in Exodus 'And the Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all the night and made the sea dry land' If the early account is disentangled from later miraculous elements, we find a perfectly natural explanation of the passage of the Red Sea. The miracle consists, not in a violation of natural law, but in the coincidence in time For an attempt to compare the two incidents see Scullard, 'The Passage of the Red Sea,' *Expository Times*, Nov. 1930, p. 55 ff.

Hasdrubal. This was a gradual hill, broken half-way up by a flattish terrace, the front and rear were protected by rivers, the sides by streams or watercourses.[1] The Roman light-armed troops at first engaged the enemy's covering force on the terrace, while Hasdrubal began to lead his main forces out of the camp down towards it Scipio sent all his light troops to support the first attack and to rivet the enemy's attention. Meantime he divided his main army Detachments swept up the two valleys on to the terrace and fell on the Carthaginians' flank before they had formed up. Seeing the day was lost Hasdrubal executed a masterly withdrawal and retired with half or two-thirds of his army. Crossing central Spain and the upper Ebro, he ultimately slipped through the western passes of the Pyrenees on his way to Italy.

Though thwarted strategically, Scipio had won a glorious tactical victory, which was a real turning point in the development of the Roman army. The Romans were learning the lesson of Cannae and being trained to greater flexibility and individual initiative. Tactically the weak point at Baecula was that Scipio's light troops were not holding the enemy's main body during the outflanking movement. But that was soon to be remedied. Scipio has often been condemned by ancient and modern critics for allowing Hasdrubal to leave Spain. In the circumstances the charge is unjustified for three reasons To follow Hasdrubal was too dangerous, if not impossible, and he could not hold all the passes of the Pyrenees Secondly, Scipio's object in Spain was to subdue it, not to expose it to the other two Carthaginian armies while he went on a wild-goose chase after Hasdrubal; indeed, it is doubtful whether as a mere *privatus cum imperio* he had the right to leave Spain without orders. Thirdly, the seriousness of Hasdrubal's arrival in North Italy in 207 has been over-emphasized; Rome could and did cope with the danger. Scipio solved a difficult situation with marked success [2]

After Hasdrubal Barca's departure for Italy, reinforcements were sent to Spain under Hanno, who joined Mago to recruit further in Celtiberia. They were checked by Silanus who captured Hanno, though Mago escaped and joined Hasdrubal Gisgo near

[1] On the topography, cf Scullard, *op cit*, p 300 ff, and Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, IV, p. 503 ff.

[2] Scipio is criticized and Baecula minimized to a mere rearguard action by e g Ihne, II, p 380, and Feliciani, *Studi e Doc di Storia e Diritto*, 1904, p 266. For a defence, cf Scullard, *op. cit*, p. 114 ff, and Hallward, *Cambr Anc Hist*, VIII, p. 87 'the censure ignores the lesson of all campaigning in Spain'

Gades (207). With the threat to his flank now removed, Scipio could advance southwards, but Hasdrubal refused battle. His only hope was delay; so he turned to a Fabian strategy of exhaustion and distributed his army in various towns. Scipio did not waste time with a war of sieges, although as a demonstration his brother Lucius carried by assault a rich and valuable town, Orongis. In 206 the situation was changed. When Hasdrubal Gisgo heard that Hasdrubal Barca, while seeking to join Hannibal, had been defeated and killed at Metaurus, delay was useless; the fate of Spain must be staked on a pitched battle. Early in the year[1] Scipio met the combined Carthaginian forces near Ilipa (Alcala del Rio, near Seville). For several days both armies faced each other in battle array with their best troops in the centre, their allies on the wings. Early one day Scipio drew up his troops in a different order with the Romans on the wings and a centre of Spaniards. A cavalry attack forced Hasdrubal to lead out his men in their usual formation, before he realized the altered Roman order. It was then too late to change. After a deliberate delay to weary the enemy who had not breakfasted, Scipio stopped skirmishing and delivered the final blow. His centre advanced slowly, declining battle. Meanwhile his wings, by a complicated manoeuvre, were extended, advanced in column and then wheeled again into line, so that they outflanked the enemy, whose resistance soon crumpled.[2] By a brilliantly rapid pursuit Scipio cut off the enemy's retreat; though Hasdrubal and Mago escaped, their forces were cut to pieces or else surrendered No less brilliant were Scipio's tactics. He had rectified one of the weaknesses of Baecula; he now held the enemy's main forces while the wings carried out their outflanking movement.

The rest of the year was spent in diplomatic arrangements and punitive expeditions. To prepare for the future Scipio slipped across to Africa to interview Syphax, the Numidian sheikh who had been embarrassing Carthage. On his return he made an example of some Spanish towns, Ilurgia (Ilorci), Castax and Astapa (Estepa near Osuna), capturing the first by a brilliant

[1] Here Livy's chronology is followed. Many, e g De Sanctis, III, ii, pp. 496–97, transfer Ilipa to 207, because of the number of events to be crowded into 206. See *Scipio Africanus*, pp 304–9, for the present writer's view

[2] Polybius' account contains many difficulties, cf *Scipio Africanus*, p 131 ff, F. Taeger, *Klio*, 1931, p 339 ff, Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, IV, p 517 ff On the site see Scullard, *J R.S.*, 1936, p 19 f

converging attack A report that Scipio was ill caused a mutiny among troops stationed on his lines of communication at the Sucro, but this was promptly crushed To steady his men he led them against two Spanish allies who had also profited by his illness to revolt. A brilliant Roman victory up the Ebro restored their loyalty and removed a dangerous threat to Scipio's flank. An interview with another African prince, Masinissa, and the founding of a colony at Italica (Santaponce, near Seville) for his veterans, completed Scipio's work in Spain. The final Carthaginian resistance at Gades collapsed and Mago, after a vain attempt on New Carthage, sailed off to the Balearic Isles, where he has left his name enshrined in Mahon, the capital of Minorca. So fell the Carthaginian Empire in Spain, while Scipio returned to Rome conquering and to conquer.

§ 2. THE WAR IN ITALY

Meantime Rome had successfully weathered the storm in Italy. After the recapture of Tarentum in 209 the people were eager to make a final effort to end the war in Italy. The energetic Marcellus was elected consul for the fourth time for 208, his colleague, T Quinctius Crispinus, had served under him at Syracuse. The two consuls encamped near Hannibal and it looked as if they might risk a battle. But while out reconnoitring they fell into an ambush; Marcellus was killed and Crispinus was mortally wounded.[1] In this unimportant skirmish Rome lost one of her best generals; it would be hard to replace the energy and dash of Marcellus, who alone seemed ready to cross swords with Hannibal. No further effort was made to renew the projected offensive, especially when news came that the commander at Tarentum had been defeated near Petelia, and later that Hannibal had driven off a Roman force which was besieging Locri. But the year was more successful abroad than in Italy. Laevinus, returning from a naval raid on the African coast, had defeated a Carthaginian squadron and captured 18 ships, and Scipio had won the battle of Baecula.

But news soon reached Rome that Hasdrubal had left Spain

[1] Hannibal is said to have buried Marcellus with full military honours, though he kept his signet ring. He tried to capture Salapia by means of a forged dispatch sealed with this ring, but the trick miscarried and he lost 600 men, who on entering the city were cut off by the dropping of a portcullis

and was wintering in Gaul. True, Scipio was wisely keeping at bay the two other Carthaginian armies in Spain, but Hasdrubal might soon arrive in North Italy with some 20,000 men. It was too hazardous for the Romans to attempt to check him, as they had tried to check Hannibal, at the Rhône, or even in the plains of North Italy. Instead they must concentrate on central Italy and at all costs prevent him coming south to join Hannibal. The consuls elected for the critical year of 207 were C. Claudius Nero, who had served at Capua and in Spain, and M. Livius Salinator, who after conquering the Illyrians in 219 had withdrawn from public life. The legions, which for the last three years had dropped to twenty-one, were raised to twenty-three. While Nero held Hannibal at bay, Livius was to counter Hasdrubal's arrival.

By the end of May Hasdrubal had crossed the Alps, probably by the same pass used by his brother, and reached the Po valley where he raised his numbers to 30,000 by recruiting Gauls. After failing to take Placentia, which would have been of great value, he advanced south in the summer when the fields of central Italy would provide corn for his troops and forage for his horses As in 217, the Romans stationed two legions under Terentius Varro at Arretium in Etruria and two more under a praetor Porcius at Ariminum in the east; but they improved on the previous plan by placing Livius south of the two advance armies near Narnia, where he could support either according to Hasdrubal's movements When it was clear that Hasdrubal was making for the Adriatic coast and the Flaminian Way, Porcius gradually withdrew while Livius hastened to join him, so that Hasdrubal found the united force of four legions awaiting him at the Metaurus.

Meanwhile Hannibal did not attempt to join his brother in North Italy, and risk losing Bruttium, his only base in Italy. Instead the brothers hoped to meet in central Italy. Hannibal moved slowly northwards to Grumentum where he found Nero and four legions [1] Here, and again at Venusia, skirmishes took place which Roman tradition magnified into victories. Faced by four legions and with two more behind him at Tarentum, Hannibal could not advance beyond Canusium without serious risk. But events played into the hands of the Romans who learned from the capture of Hasdrubal's despatch riders that the brothers intended to meet in Umbria. Claudius Nero then took a momentous decision. Leaving four legions to watch Hannibal he deter-

[1] On the topography of the fight at Grumentum, see Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, III, 1, p 414 ff, and *Atlas*, col. 28, 9.

mined to join Livius in the hope of defeating Hasdrubal with their augmented forces and of returning to his southern command before Hannibal had realized his absence. He marched with 6,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry along the coast road, which was shorter and where provisioning was easier, amid enthusiastic aid from the loyal population. At the river Metaurus he entered Livius' camp by night, having covered 240 miles in six days according to the pro-Claudian tradition. In the morning a double bugle-call rang through the Roman camp and Hasdrubal knew that two consular armies lay over against him.

The Romans had encamped probably south of Fanum and the Metaurus where they could cover the coast road and watch the Via Flaminia without being forced to fight on the level ground near Fanum, where Hasdrubal had in vain offered battle to Livius. The arrival of Nero changed the situation. In face of superior numbers Hasdrubal could not force the coast road. He must either withdraw to North Italy and await events or stake all on marching inland along the Via Flaminia in the hope of joining Hannibal further south but with the risk of finding himself between two Roman armies. It is not certain which plan he favoured, but probably he chose the bolder one; he had before him the example of how Hannibal had successfully thrown himself between Flaminius and Servilius at Trasimene [1] In any case Hasdrubal withdrew by night up the Metaurus valley, where he was overtaken by the Romans before he could cross the river. He was forced to fight He posted his Gauls on a steep position on the left and massed his other troops and elephants on the right where he hoped to break the Roman line But Nero on the right wing, finding he could not engage the Gauls because of the ground, led a force round to support Livius on the left and thus outflanked the enemy Seeing the day was lost Hasdrubal charged into the thick of battle and died fighting. 'And it would not be just to take leave of this commander without one word of praise,' wrote Polybius, who in a fitting tribute esteemed him a worthy son of Hamilcar and a worthy brother of Hannibal

Victory was complete, Rome had won an open battle in Italy for the first time during the war The first serious attempt to reinforce Hannibal had failed. The relief was tremendous and the effect on Rome's prestige in Italy instantaneous. The battle of Metaurus was a decisive moment in world history; it was Rome's Crowning Mercy. But had the result been otherwise, it would

[1] See Appendix No 8.

scarcely have ended the war. Rome, that had stood so much, could surely have braced herself for one more shock when the tide of war was turning in her favour elsewhere.[1] But the joy at Rome was unbounded Hastening back to the south, Nero, a member of the grim Claudian house, flung Hasdrubal's head into his brother's camp at Larinum. Thus learning the bitter news, Hannibal was forced to withdraw to Bruttium, unaided and alone

The war in Italy began to hang fire and the centre of interest shifts to the Roman offensive in Africa. In 206 the legions were reduced to twenty. Although there were thirteen in Italy itself, the consuls still feared to attack Hannibal, but the next year while preparing for his African campaign Scipio snatched Locri from Hannibal's grasp. At the same time the Carthaginian government made one last attempt to help Hannibal and to keep Scipio in Italy. Mago sailed from the Balearic Isles and captured Genoa, where he received reinforcements from Carthage.[2] This danger of a fresh invasion from the north was met by stationing armies at Arretium and Ariminum, as in 207. But Mago could not yet take the offensive, the Gallic tribes, abandoned by Hannibal and remembering the fate of Hasdrubal, were lukewarm, and it was a slow task to organize the hill tribes of Liguria. At length in 203 Mago advanced into the Po valley with some 30,000 men One legion had been sent to Genoa, two more held the Boii at bay, while four advanced from Ariminum against him After a serious engagement, Mago withdrew wounded to the coast, where he found orders to return to Carthage, but he died on the voyage.

Meanwhile Hannibal had been holding on desperately in Bruttium like a lion at bay. Reinforcements from Carthage in 205 had been driven to Sardinia by a storm and there captured. Gradually one small town after another was wrested from Hannibal and he was even worsted in a skirmish near Croton according to the Roman claim. All hope of success in Italy was dead, he could only try to prevent reinforcements being sent to Scipio in Africa, where success after success was reported. Finally in the autumn of 203 he received orders to return home to defend Carthage. Having kept together a loyal army for fifteen years in

[1] Cf. W E. Heitland, *Roman Republic*, I, p 310 ff.

[2] J. H Thiel (*Roman Sea-Power*, p. 144 ff) suggests that in view of her available naval forces Rome was culpable in allowing Mago to land, as earlier Scipio was in allowing his escape from Spain

an enemy's country, undefeated, he at last evacuated Italy more sorrowfully than an exile leaving his native land. He had failed in an attempt to which he had devoted his life. Yet all was not lost, and he must have felt some eagerness in the thought that he was going to face in battle the most brilliant general Rome had produced, and that when they parted the fate of the civilized world would be decided.

§ 3 THE ROMAN OFFENSIVE IN AFRICA

On his return from Spain Scipio was elected consul for 205 amid great popular rejoicings, although he was not granted a triumph, which as a mere *privatus cum imperio* he could not claim It was now well known that he wished to carry the war into Africa When the Senate discussed the allocation of provinces, strong opposition to Scipio's African project was led by Fabius; but finally a compromise was reached by which one consul should command in Sicily with the right to sail to Africa if he thought fit. As Scipio's colleague, P. Licinius Crassus, was Pontifex Maximus and could not leave Italy, Scipio had clearly triumphed But he was still further checked; he was given the command of only the two legions in Sicily, who were the disgraced survivors of Cannae However, he raised 7,000 volunteers and the Italian allies supplied corn and material for the fitting out of 30 ships, so that he had a good nucleus with which to forge a weapon to strike at Carthage.

Fabius' opposition to Scipio's schemes was based on politics and strategy. Politically, he represented a class which did not look beyond Italy for Rome's future Such men tried to stem the tide of Hellenism which was flooding Rome and wished to finish the war with all speed and to heal the wounds it had inflicted on the countryside of Italy.[1] The other view, as represented by the Scipios, was that a purely Italian policy was obsolete and that Rome must become a Mediterranean power. The military views of the two parties varied correspondingly. The object of the Fabians was 'limited'· Hannibal was to be forced from Italy.

[1] It has been suggested by Ed. Meyer (*Meister der Politik*, I, pp. 101, 131 ff , *Kleine Schriften*, II, p 353, n 2) that this party was ready in 205 to compromise with Carthage and allow her her African possessions in exchange for peace. W Schur (*Scipio Africanus*, p. 47) summarizes their policy as the freeing of Italy, the re-conquest of the lost Po valley and its colonization by farmers.

Scipio's object was more 'absolute'. the crushing of Hannibal and Carthage. He thought Rome would never be secure until Carthage was humbled and fettered—though not destroyed. the cry 'Delenda est Carthago' had not yet arisen The strategy of each party represented its aims. Tactical inferiority forced on Fabius a defensive strategy, which had won him the title Cunctator. But a strategy of exhaustion seldom wins a war. Fabius could only hope that the war might 'fizzle out' and Hannibal retire He could never conquer Carthage. But Scipio by his tactical reforms did not fear to meet Hannibal in the field and could use a strategy of annihilation. To defeat Hannibal in Italy might terminate the war, but Carthage would remain a danger. Hence he determined to disregard the enemy's main forces, strike at their base and so force Hannibal to return to Africa to fight the decisive battle. And this policy won the day

Scipio began to train his new army in Sicily where his Hellenic sympathies and conduct won him ready support. His seizure of Locri from Hannibal had an unfortunate sequel, for Pleminius, the governor whom he left in charge, spent his time plundering the unhappy Locrians, and thus gave Fabius a chance to criticize the absent Scipio. A Senatorial commission, headed by Scipio's cousin, Pomponius, was sent to conduct an enquiry Pleminius was condemned, but when the court began to investigate Scipio's Hellenic manner of life, he skilfully turned the tables by impressing them with his own military preparations. The Board, which had come to criticize, remained to bless, and in the spring of 204 the expeditionary force, numbering perhaps 30,000 men, set sail for Africa amid great enthusiasm.

Scipio landed according to plan at Porto Farina near Utica, which he hoped to capture as a base. He was soon joined by Masinissa and his cavalry, the young Numidian prince with whom he had wisely negotiated in Spain, but not by Syphax whom Hasdrubal had won to the Carthaginian cause by giving him his beautiful daughter Sophonisba in marriage. After a slight cavalry success Scipio advanced to Utica and encamped on the hill behind the town. Meantime Carthage in alarm prepared for a siege and sent out desperate appeals for help to Syphax and Hasdrubal; the latter's son, Hanno, was busy recruiting But Masinissa decoyed Hanno's squadron past some hills to the south-west of Utica at the Tower of Agathocles, while Scipio lay ambushed behind them. Suddenly Scipio's troops burst forth over a flat saddle of the hills and fell on Hanno's flank, while Masinissa

wheeled round and attacked in front. After this victory Scipio pressed forward the siege of Utica by land and sea, but winter came on and the town still resisted. Threatened by Hasdrubal and Syphax, Scipio withdrew for the winter to a sharp headland projecting into the sea which was later known as the Castra Cornelia.

The first season's campaign had been somewhat unspectacular and Scipio was driven to an awkward position. His initial caution, however, was quite justified and has been compared with that of Gustavus Adolphus when he landed in Germany. He had wisely refused to contemplate an attack on Carthage before winning an adequate base. During the winter Syphax attempted to negotiate peace on the terms that Carthage should evacuate Italy, and the Romans Africa. Though Scipio had no intention of accepting conditions which would offer Rome no compensation for all her sufferings, he prolonged negotiations in order that his envoys might pay frequent visits to the enemy's quarters and obtain detailed topographical information, for Syphax and Hasdrubal were encamped during the winter on two adjacent hills, these formed the southern termination of the ridge which in the north ended at the Castra Cornelia, some six miles away.

In the spring of 203 Scipio broke off negotiations and renewed the blockade of Utica. When the enemies' suspicions were lulled, he launched an attack as sudden as his dash on Cartagena. One night he marched under cover of the hills against the enemies' camps, which he learnt were made of osier and reed. While he himself held back, Masinissa surrounded Syphax' camp and Laelius set fire to it. When the Carthaginians in Hasdrubal's camp, thinking the fire was accidental, rushed out to help, Scipio fell on this camp also. The two enemy leaders escaped, but a large part of their armies was destroyed. Polybius believed that no other disaster, even if exaggerated, could compare with the horror of this night For the Romans success was complete Instead of being confined to a narrow peninsula, Scipio had taken the offensive and with practically no loss had crushed superior forces.

At Carthage alarm prevailed, for Scipio was not only renewing the siege of Utica but now commanded the open country. Yet the bolder counsels of the war party predominated and it was decided to recruit a fresh army out of Scipio's reach. Within a month of the disaster Hasdrubal and Syphax had mustered some 20,000 men at the Great Plains (near Souk el Kremis) on

the upper reaches of the Bagradas, seventy-five miles from Utica. They were still gathering strength in the quiet of the desert when suddenly Scipio struck. Leaving part of his army to continue the siege of Utica, he set out with some 12,000 men in light marching order, and in five days camped opposite the enemy. Trusting in their superior numbers and local knowledge the Carthaginians unwisely determined to fight, guerilla tactics would have been safer. Thinking that they had Scipio within their grasp, they advanced to battle, with their Celtiberian mercenaries in the centre, the Carthaginians on the right wing, the Numidians on the left. Scipio placed his infantry in the centre in the usual three lines, the Italian cavalry on the right wing, Masinissa's horse on the left. At the first encounter the enemy's wings gave way and exposed the flanks of the centre which stood firm. Under cover of the first line the two rear lines of the Romans turned into column, half to right and half to left, and marched out to encircle the Celtiberians, who were cut to pieces It was a great tactical victory Not only were Scipio's troops more flexible, but he had used his legionaries (not merely the cavalry) to outflank the foe, at the same time the enemy's centre was not merely held at bay, as at Ilipa, but was actually engaged. Scipio could now do what Hannibal had done at Cannae; he had trained an army to meet the master tactician.

Scipio next captured Tunis, only fifteen miles from Carthage, where he could command the enemy's land communications. The Carthaginians made a desperate counter-attack on his fleet at Utica, but he marched there just in time to thwart it He did not, however, return to Tunis immediately Meantime Laelius and Masinissa had pursued Syphax to his own country and defeated him near Cirta (Constantine), which they captured. Syphax was taken prisoner, but his wife Sophonisba took poison.[1] The situation at Carthage was now desperate and Hannibal was at length recalled to defend his country. But the peace party of merchants and landowners prevailed and peace was sought. Scipio, who did not aim at the destruction of Carthage itself, offered terms Carthage was to evacuate and renounce Italy, Gaul and Spain; surrender her navy, except 20 ships; pay an indemnity of 5,000 talents; and recognize the power of Masinissa in the west and the autonomy of the native tribes of Libya and Cyrenaica in the east. The terms were severe and would reduce

[1] The romantic story of her relations with Masinissa and her death is recorded by Livy, XXX

Carthage to a purely African power, crippled in her trade, nominally independent, but in practice little more than a client state of Rome. But she accepted them, an armistice was made and the Senate after some delay ratified the treaty (winter 203–202) The delay was ominous for Scipio, it meant that rival noble families grudged him his success and were working against him The war seemed at an end, but Hannibal was returning.

§ 4. VICTORY AND PEACE

While terms were being discussed at Rome, Hannibal landed in Africa near Hadrumetum and was soon joined by Mago's army from Italy. When a storm drove a Roman convoy ashore near Carthage, the populace of the overcrowded and ill-supplied city seized the supplies. Scipio sent envoys to complain of this violation of the armistice, but they were dismissed and treacherously ambushed on their return voyage. Thus the war party at Carthage, trusting in Hannibal, again prevailed, and renewed hostilities just when the peace had been ratified at Rome [1]

Scipio in anger stormed up the Bagradas valley, cutting Carthage off from her economic base. He hastily summoned Masinissa, who was fighting in western Numidia, and advanced further and further inland to meet him, as he dared not face the enemy without the Numidian cavalry. Thereupon Hannibal advanced from Hadrumetum to Zama, the western town of this name, hoping to cut Scipio's communications and to force him to fight without the cavalry. At Naraggara (Sidi Youssef) Scipio was joined by Masinissa and then advanced perhaps to the Ou.-et-Tine.[2] After an ineffective interview between the two generals, the two armies faced one another for battle. Each side numbered between 35,000 and 40,000 men, the Carthaginians being slightly stronger in total, although weaker in cavalry; and each side was drawn up in three lines. Hannibal placed his foreign mercenaries in his first line with a screen of light troops and elephants in front, the weak native Libyans and Carthaginians formed the second line, the third line was some distance from the first two and consisted of the Old Guard, Hannibal's veteran army from Italy; on the wings was the cavalry.[3] The Romans

[1] For a new papyrus fragment dealing with the rupture of negotiations see *Rylands Papyri*, III, 491.

[2] See Appendix No 8

[3] The statement of the annalists (Livy, XXX, 33,6) that Hannibal was supported by a Macedonian contingent is not credible.

were drawn up in their customary three lines, but the maniples of each line were stationed directly behind one another, not in echelon The tactical aims of the two generals have not been fully recorded, but the following motives seem justified. Scipio counted on his superior cavalry to expose the enemy's wings; he then hoped to apply the outflanking movement which he had used with increasing skill and success at Baecula, Ilipa and Campi Magni Hannibal realizing his weakness in cavalry probably ordered it to simulate flight and so draw its opponents off the field. He would then throw all his infantry in successive waves against Scipio's numerically inferior infantry, while he would thwart an outflanking movement by holding back his veterans as a reserve.

The battle opened with the charge of Hannibal's elephants, which miscarried. Some turned back on their own lines, others ran down the passages which Scipio had skilfully left in his ranks, others were driven off to the flanks. The Roman cavalry then charged and drove both Carthaginian wings off the field The infantry closed, while Scipio, seeing Hannibal's third line remaining stationary, realized an outflanking manoeuvre was impossible. The *hastati* drove back the first line of mercenaries who were forced out to the wings by their second line which would not receive them; then supported by the *principes*, they broke the Carthaginians of the second line Scipio took the opportunity to break off the battle and both sides re-formed. Scipio lengthened his front by bringing up his two rear lines on the flanks of the *hastati*, Hannibal, whose front would thus be shorter than Scipio's, probably placed the survivors of his first two lines on the flanks of his veterans. Hannibal would need longer to reorganize, while Scipio would give him as long as he needed, hoping for the return of his cavalry. When the ranks again joined, it was hotly contested until the returning Roman cavalry fell on the enemy's rear. The cavalry had arrived in time to decide the course, not only of the battle, but of the world's history.

Hannibal's army was destroyed, although he himself escaped to Hadrumetum. Scipio received supplies at Castra Cornelia, and after making a demonstration at Carthage, he received a peace deputation at Tunis, for Hannibal himself on his return to Carthage after thirty-six years was counselling peace, especially as news came that Syphax' son had just been defeated Further resistance was useless and might involve the destruction of the city. Scipio also was ready for peace, because the siege of Carthage

would involve fresh effort when Italy most needed rest, and because he wished to disarm but not to destroy.

A three months' armistice was concluded on condition that Carthage offered reparations for breaking the truce, gave hostages, and supplied corn and pay for the Roman troops during the armistice. According to the terms of the peace Carthage retained her autonomy, her territory within the 'Phoenician Trenches' (i.e. very roughly equivalent to modern Tunisia as far south as the Gulf of Gabes) and her control over trade-marts like Emporia. She was to restore to Masinissa all his land and ancestral property. She was reduced to the state of a dependent ally of Rome, being allowed to make war on no one outside Africa and only with Rome's permission within Africa This meant the end of her life as a great Mediterranean Power and gave her no guarantee against future aggression in Africa All her elephants and nearly her whole navy were to be surrendered, prisoners of war were to be given up and finally an indemnity of 10,000 talents was to be paid in fifty annual instalments, which would keep her weak and dependent on Rome for this long period [1] In return the Romans would evacuate Africa in 150 days. And so the long war ended. The Senate ratified Scipio's terms and he returned victorious to Rome, where he was surnamed after the land he had conquered—Africanus.

The importance of the Second Punic War can hardly be exaggerated. It was a turning-point in the history of the whole ancient world. Its effect on Rome and Italy, on the constitution, on economic and social life, on religion and thought was profound. After it no power arose which could endanger the existence of Rome. The Hellenistic monarchies of the East still flourished, but at Rome's touch they fell like a house of cards She was mistress of the fortunes of the civilized world and gradually introduced into that world a unity, unknown since the days of Alexander, which lasted some five hundred years. Further, the dramatic nature of the struggle has captivated the imagination of mankind. It was on this stage that one of the world's most glorious failures rose and fell, that one man pitted his resources against those of a nation Not that Hannibal bore on his shoulders alone the whole weight of a war of revenge, unsupported by his home government, as popular fancy likes to paint the heroic figure, it was circumstances, or rather Rome's unceasing activity,

[1] Cf Livy, XXXVI, 4: in 191 B.C Carthage tries to pay the balance of her indemnity as a lump sum and is refused

that isolated Hannibal and forced him to fight unaided. And the causes of his failure were largely the causes of Rome's success: Rome's superiority at sea, her roads and fortresses, the unexpected loyalty of her Italian allies which morally justified her conquest of the Italian peninsula, the unshaken direction of the Senate, the loyal co-operation of the people and their 'will to conquer' which survived disaster after disaster, the wisdom of a strategy of exhaustion and the courage by which it was maintained while the countryside bled, the blocking of reinforcements from Carthage and Spain, the undermining of the enemy's resources in the Spanish peninsula, and above all the superior quality of the vast man-power on which Rome could draw in her hour of need. Finally, what turned the hope of ultimate success against Hannibal into complete and devastating victory against Carthage was the production of a military genius by Rome, one who learning as a pupil from Hannibal himself forged out of the Roman army a weapon which could be turned against the master Rome produced many generals of distinction but only one who dared face Hannibal in open battle after Cannae. Fabius was called the Shield of Rome and Marcellus her Sword, but Scipio's very name meant a Staff, on which Rome could lean and with which she could thrash her foe But the brilliance of a Scipio would have been useless without that unswerving loyalty and dogged perseverance of the Senate and People of Rome. The unavailing gallantry of the great house of Barca at length succumbed to the solid moral qualities of the self-sacrifice of a nation at war. It was by moral forces that Rome survived her ordeal: forces which were soon to be blunted by ambition and avarice at home and by the contagious corruption of the eastern world into which she was next drawn. Never did the spirit of the Roman People shine forth brighter than in the dark hours of the Second Punic War

PART III

ROME AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

CHAPTER XI

ROME AND GREECE

§ 1 THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

HARDLY had peace been signed with Carthage when the Roman People was asked by the Senate to declare war against Philip, King of Macedon. Doubtless the ordinary Roman citizen was somewhat surprised and wondered what Greek politics had to do with Rome, but he was soon to learn that Rome's interests and obligations were no longer confined to Italy. The struggle with Carthage had broken down barriers which could not be raised up again, and Rome had become a world power. She had crushed one great power and must now align herself with the monarchies of the East. For the Greek world consisted of three great kingdoms, the remains of Alexander's empire, together with a number of Greek leagues and states more or less free. Throughout there reigned a balance of powers whose equilibrium could easily be upset. It only needed a spark to set the whole Hellenistic world ablaze. But before seeing how this conflagration was started we must glance round the eastern Mediterranean.[1]

In Greece, since the days when the city-state flourished, many communities who wished to preserve their independence but were too weak to do this alone had combined into federations or leagues The two chief of these were the Aetolian League in the north, the Achaean in the south. The former was loose and flexible in form and somewhat primitive in outlook; its unity derived largely from common interests in war. The plundering raiders from Aetolia had been severely checked for crossing Philip's path in 217 Smarting under this treatment they readily welcomed Roman intervention and fought with Rome against Macedon, only to be deserted by their ally and forced to patch up a peace with Philip (206). The Romans on their part also felt

[1] See M Cary, *A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B C*, M Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941)

deserted by the Aetolians and so feelings had become very embittered. The Achaean League under the leadership of Aratus had become the predominant power in the Peloponnese, but had succeeded in defeating Sparta under Cleomenes only at the price of enlisting the help of Philip's predecessor, Antigonus Doson of Macedon (222), to whom the League surrendered its control of Corinth. But though Macedon guided their foreign policy the Achaeans still retained more of the old Greek outlook than did the Aetolians; and turning a deaf ear to Philip's call they maintained a policy of neutrality during the First Macedonian War.

In addition to these Leagues, one among the old Greek city-states had shaken off the yoke of Macedon and regained its independence in 229: Athens. Though a shadow of her former self and little more than a university town with small military power, Athens still retained some influence, based partly on her glorious past; in politics she maintained a selfish neutrality. Of the other surviving Republics the most important was Rhodes, the Venice of the ancient world This flourishing maritime state, whose control extended to the mainland of Asia Minor, had built up a prosperous trade. Her name was raised high among the nations by the good faith of her citizens and by her suppression of piracy; she consistently aimed at remaining on good terms with all men.[1]

Of the three Great Powers which balanced their weight precariously against each other, Macedon had retained fitfully throughout the third century its old European dependencies and its control over the cities of Greece. On the accession of Philip V to the throne in 221 she held the three fortresses known as the 'Fetters of Greece,' Demetrias, Chalcis and Corinth, and thus controlled Greek destinies without direct rule. As successor to the leadership of Antigonus Doson's Hellenic Federation Philip had by 217 reduced the Aetolians, who were the chief disturbers of the peace in Greece. The pirate chief Demetrius, angered at Rome's police raids in the Adriatic, had then involved Philip in a ten years' war with Rome. But his ambition for empire did not lead to a happy conclusion.

The second great monarchy, Syria, was at this time ruled by Antiochus III, surnamed the Great (223–187) His predecessors, the Seleucid kings, had failed to retain a large part of the eastern conquests of Alexander and had been constantly fighting with Egypt for the possession of southern Syria, Antiochus himself was defeated in a similar attempt at Raphia in 217. He aimed at reconstituting the old Seleucid Empire and undertook an

[1] See H. H Schmitt, *Rom und Rhodos* (1957)

Anabasis in the Far East (212–205) The report of this adventurous expedition filled the Greek world with admiration and Antiochus appeared as a second Alexander. His thoughts then turned again to Egypt, and he hoped to reverse the result of Raphia, but so far Rome was beyond his horizon

Egypt, the third great monarchy with its enormous resources and wealth, had flourished materially under the Ptolemies, while Alexandria led the Greek world in learning, art and commerce. Abroad Egypt had gained wide control in Asia Minor and the Aegean, she had made her influence felt in Greece and, alone of the Hellenistic states, had entered into friendly relations with Rome, as early as 273, with a view to extending her commerce. Her success at Raphia in the fourth of the series of wars against Syria was followed by a period of degeneration. Internal dissension was reflected abroad and several of Ptolemy's foreign possessions slipped from his sluggish grasp.

Beside the three great monarchies there were other kingdoms. Bithynia, Pontus and Cappadocia paid only a nominal allegiance to Syria Celtic tribes had set up the independent state of Galatia in the heart of Asia Minor But the chief of these smaller kingdoms was Pergamum, where since 241 there had reigned a despot and merchant prince named Attalus, who differed much from the other rulers of the East. His sympathies with Greek culture and with the political aims of Athens and Rhodes drew him into the Greek world away from the great monarchs, who looked with jealous eye on the growing wealth and prosperity of the Pergamene kingdom.[1]

We must next trace how and why Rome was drawn into the vortex of Eastern affairs and soon emerged riding the storm Our sources record the facts clearly, but the motives of Roman policy are not so definitely stated. Hence it will be well to follow in some detail the incidents which led up to the war, because only so can we hope to lay bare Rome's policy and compare the varying constructions placed upon it by modern historians. First then the events, and secondly the policy that dictated them.

§ 2. THE OUTBREAK OF WAR[2]

The balance of the three Eastern Powers was upset by the death of Ptolemy Philopator and by the accession of a child to

[1] On Pergamum see E V Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamon* (1947)

[2] On the causes, chronology and events of this war see especially F W Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon*

the throne of Egypt In the winter of 203–202 Philip of Macedon and Antiochus of Syria formed a disgraceful alliance to share between themselves Egypt's possessions in Europe and Asia, although neither party probably intended to remain loyal to the terms of partition. As the lion's share was to fall to Antiochus, he was probably the moving spirit. In the spring of 202 he invaded South Syria, while Philip, at first avoiding a direct breach with Egypt, attacked with a newly built fleet some cities along the Bosphorus, some being free and independent while others were allied with or dependent on other communities Lysimacheia, Chalcedon, and Cius were allies of Aetolia; Perinthus was a dependency of Byzantium; Thasos at this date was a free island. Philip's capture of Cius with the help of Prusias of Bithynia angered the Aetolians, displeased Antiochus, and led the Rhodians to decide to oppose Philip; their ambassadors had appealed in vain for the town and were forced to see it sacked. When in 201 Philip annexed the Cyclades, occupied Samos, defeated the Rhodian fleet at Lade and invaded the mainland of Ionia, the anti-Macedonian coalition was joined by Byzantium, Cyzicus, Chios and Attalus of Pergamum. Philip next suffered severe losses in an indecisive engagement off Chios against the joint fleets of Rhodes and Pergamum and then operated in South Caria where he was forced to winter

Philip's wanton atrocities against unoffending cities in peacetime had indeed stirred up a hornets' nest. The violence of his actions, which made war inevitable, may have been due to a desire to settle his accounts while Rome was still engaged with Hannibal. In that case he miscalculated, for Zama was being fought and the Romans would soon be free. But he may have derived some encouragement from the fact that in 202 (autumn) they had coldly rebuffed an Aetolian embassy, which had come to appeal on behalf of their wronged allies, Rome had not forgiven Aetolia for making peace with Philip in 206 [1] In the following autumn Attalus and the Rhodians also sent ambassadors to Rome to seek help. Rhodes' relations with Rome were somewhat strained: while remaining neutral in the First

[1] Appian (*Mac* , 4, 2) places the embassy in 201–200, when the Senate would have welcomed it This is to be corrected to 202 De Sanctis (IV, p 39) places it before Zama, when the Senate would naturally wish to avoid Eastern complications, Holleaux (*Cambr Anc Hist* , VIII, p 152, n 1) places it after Zama, in which case Philip may have derived an unwarranted hope from the Senate's attitude See also Livy, XXXI, 29, 4

Macedonian War she had denounced Rome's interference. Attalus, however, was on good terms with Rome, but as he was not technically an 'ally' or perhaps even a 'friend,' there was no legal ground for Rome to intervene. The Senate took no immediate open action but it suddenly reversed its earlier policy towards the Eastern situation [1] One of the consuls elected for 200 was P Sulpicius Galba who had campaigned as proconsul in Macedon from 210 to 206, and when the new consuls entered office in March 200 Macedonia was allotted as a consular province to Sulpicius.

Why the Senate wanted war must be considered later, for it is a matter of conjecture rather than of proved fact. How the Senate declared war is the present question, for it had apparently to drive two unwilling parties into conflict. the Roman people and Philip. Towards Rome Philip's conduct had been legally correct and offered no formal ground for reproach; and the Roman people unanimously rejected the consuls' proposal, made in March 200, that war should be proclaimed.[2] It was then decided to present Philip with an ultimatum, so strongly worded that he would be unlikely to accept its terms; these were that he should make reparation to Attalus (as if he, Philip, were the aggressor) and should not make war on any Greek state (as if Rome was allied to any Greeks and could demand their protection). Three ambassadors were sent, probably in the spring of 200, to carry this ultimatum through Greece to Philip who had returned to Macedonia; at the same time they were to stir up pro-Roman feeling in Greece itself, to confer with Attalus and Rhodes, and to visit Syria and Egypt with the object of mediating between the two countries and sounding Antiochus' real intentions.[3]

[1] Perhaps they sent an embassy to Egypt, cf n. 3 below

[2] Livy (XXXI, 6 f.) places this at the beginning of the consular year and then recounts a second appeal which resulted in the declaration of war Mommsen pointed out that the latter occurred in the summer of 200, not in March. But the assumption that the two appeals were made in quick succession makes it difficult to explain the sudden change of the people's feelings De Sanctis (IV, p 32 n) rightly separates the appeals, placing one in March (as Livy), the other in midsummer (as chronology demands).

[3] Livy (XXXI, 2 and 18) says the embassy went in the summer of 201 to Egypt to report the defeat of Hannibal and to ask the king to remain friendly with Rome if she should be forced to fight Philip Chronology demands that the embassy started in 200, hence an annalistic error is generally assumed, e.g. by De Sanctis (IV, p 23) and Holleaux (*Rev d*

In Greece the ambassadors were received none too cordially until they reached Athens, where events played into their hands By a selfish neutrality the Athenians had kept out of the national movements of Greece but had recently been forced to face the question of friendship or enmity towards Philip. When they had put to death two Acarnanian citizens who had forced their way into the Eleusinian Mysteries (autumn 201), in the following spring the Acarnanians had devastated Attica with help from their ally Philip Athens did not reply by an immediate declaration of war on Philip, but received help from Rhodes and Attalus when a Macedonian squadron seized four of her warships Thus when the Roman ambassadors reached the Piraeus they met Attalus who, with the help of Rome's promise to assist, persuaded Athens to declare war on Philip (about May 200), however much Rome may have contributed to this decision the responsibility must ultimately rest on Athens herself When Nicanor, a Macedonian commander, attacked the suburbs of Athens, the Romans intervened and gave him Rome's ultimatum to take to Philip. Then, as their anti-Macedonian appeals found little favour with the Aetolians and Achaeans, the Roman embassy went to Rhodes.

When the Athenians sent a certain Cephisodorus to Egypt, Rhodes, Pergamum, Crete and Aetolia, he obtained little direct help and proceeded to Rome which he reached in July about the time when the Senate again appealed to the Roman People to declare war on Philip, this time with success [1] Meantime Philip sent a general to ravage Attica, and he himself after campaigning in Thrace besieged Abydos Here he received a formal *indictio belli* from Aemilius Lepidus, one of the Roman ambassadors from Rhodes. In order to leave Philip no loophole, further demands were added to the previous ultimatum, namely, that he should make reparation to Rhodes as well as Attalus, and should respect all Egyptian dependencies. Philip accepted the challenge, stormed Abydos and returned home where he learnt that Sulpicius had landed near Apollonia with two legions. The Roman ambassadors

étud. anc. 1913, p 4, n 1, and *Cambr. Anc Hist*, VIII, p 161, n 1) The latter remarks 'It is to be observed that Hannibal's defeat happened a year before.' But it is also to be observed that the peace was only officially concluded that year (201) May there not be a confused reference in Livy to an earlier embassy sent in 201 by the Senate (on the pretext of announcing Hannibal's defeat) to ascertain the attitude of the Great Powers to one another? If the personnel of the two embassies was the same, confusion would easily arise

[1] See Appendix No. 9

meanwhile proceeded to Antiochus in the hope of securing his neutrality, and were met with cordiality and evasion. On their way back to Rome, they called at Alexandria to report their failure to mediate with Antiochus.

§ 3. THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

Events show that the Senate decided to fight Philip, but no authoritative statement supplies the reason. Thus the ground has been left free for modern historians to suggest the motives of Roman policy, which has been expounded as varying between the extremes of pure altruism and unscrupulous Machiavellianism. Two fundamental points are clear. First, the People did not want war. Their objection was natural enough: their numbers were depleted, agriculture was almost ruined, taxes were high, and they needed rest after the Hannibalic War. Secondly, there was little, if any, legal sanction for the war. The *ius fetiale* only allowed wars in defence of the state or of her oathbound allies (*socii*), while now the appellant peoples—Rhodes, Pergamum, Aetolia, and perhaps Egypt and Athens—were probably only *amici*, and some not even that, on whose behalf Rome was not bound to intervene. Rome had bound herself to her Italian *socii* by permanent *foedera* by which the ally supplied an annual military contingent and was not allowed to maintain neutrality. But in Greece and the east she found a different type of alliance: temporary alliance for a definite purpose and friendship in peace-time with the right to maintain neutrality. So Rome had adapted herself to her environment and had entered into relations of friendship (*φιλία amicitia*) with various states (e.g. with Egypt in 272 B.C.). Neither party was to fight the other, neutrality, if desired, must be respected; mutual help was not obligatory; such help, if supplied, would not be subordinate to Roman commanders, as were the contingents from *socii*; *amici* were formally enrolled but not by treaty.[1] Now that Rome had adapted herself to Greek customs in dealing with Greek states, the question was raised. What was the position of *amici* in fetial law? When this was referred to the fetial priests it was decided to disregard the distinction between *amici* and *socii*, and for the occasion to extend the provisions of the *ius fetiale* over the *amici*. A phrase which had no legal standing was coined—*socius et amicus*—and the

[1] On *socii* and *amici*, see Matthaei, *Class. Quart.*, I, p. 182 ff., A. Heuss, *Klio*, Beiheft xxxi (1933).

law was stretched a point to meet a present need.[1] But though perhaps by the Senate's wish the legal and religious difficulties were met, Rome did not in fact need to intervene on behalf of her 'friends' unless she so willed. Why then did she intervene?

The first and most obvious explanation is that Rome started a policy of systematic conquest aggressive imperialism and militarism were the keynotes of the day.[2] This theory, particularly in so far as it envisages desire for territory as Rome's object, must be rejected After the Hannibalic War Rome annexed no Carthaginian territory in Africa; after this war with Philip she took no land and did not even claim Illyricum If land was needed, the West offered better and richer ground for expansion. Spain, the Eldorado of the ancient world, had been left on her hands, while the colonization of the Po valley was uncompleted. But in fact the devastated land of Italy itself needed all her attention. There is little evidence to show that the spirit of military imperialism affected Rome's policy during the first decade of the second century—whatever its influence later. It was too soon after a life and death struggle, of which the issue had been uncertain almost to the end, for such a sense of power and superiority to arise which would drive on a people when they most needed rest. The day when Rome could justly be called 'that old unquestioned pirate of the land' was not yet With militarism commerce may also be rejected as an important cause of the war: the bulk of Roman trade was too small to influence her policy. Trade may have followed the flag, but it hardly pointed the way for it [3]

To turn to the other extreme, the motive may have been an altruistic love of the Greeks, which led Rome to adopt what Dr. Frank has called 'sentimental politics.' The glory of the Greek world which was capturing the imagination of men, as it did again at the Renaissance, may have inspired the Romans to strike a blow in defence of the liberty of Greek states and thus gain for the 'barbarians' of the west the respect of the civilized world A more cynical view,[4] which rejects 'an over-romantic ardent sympathy for the Greeks,' suggests that such a motive

[1] See T Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, pp 147, 160, n 19, and *Class Phil*, IV, p 122 For the view that Pergamum was an ally, not merely an *amicus*, of Rome, see J A O. Larsen, *Class Phil*, XXXII (1937), p 17

[2] This is the view of Wilamowitz and De Sanctis

[3] Cf T Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, ch XIV, and *Amer. Hist Rev*, XVIII, p 233 f, and De Sanctis, IV, p. 26, n 58. See Livy, XXXI, 13

[4] Holleaux, *Cambr Anc Hist*, VIII, pp 158, 9

was used by Rome as a mere pretext. 'The Roman nobility had steeped itself in Hellenic culture, but had no tenderness for Greeks, as the late war had shown plainly enough. . . Their philhellenism confined itself to the things of the spirit . . they were going to use a philhellenic policy against Philip . because it suited their purpose, not through love of Greece.'

But between the extremes of militarism and philhellenism a middle course can be traced Rome may have adopted a policy of defensive, rather than offensive imperialism With the balance of powers upset in the East and with Philip launched on a career of conquest and trampling on his neighbours' rights, what guarantee had Rome that he would not turn against Italy when he was sufficiently strong, even if an immediate attack was improbable? May not Rome, through fear of ultimately being forced to fight in self-defence, have tried to forestall Philip? Livy at any rate describes how the consuls tried to stir the people to war by painting in lurid colours the dangers to be expected from Philip's aggression. The objection to this theory is that the Senate can hardly have had much real anxiety about Philip, it may explain how the Senate drove the people to war, but it hardly explains the Senate's own policy.[1] To counter this difficulty it has been proposed to substitute Antiochus for Philip in the rôle of chief villain· it was fear of Antiochus that was the deciding factor with the Senate, who were suddenly converted to a warlike policy by the appeal of Rhodes and Attalus [2] What these ambassadors brought home to the Senate was the danger of Antiochus' attitude. they were too skilful to emphasize their own grievances against Philip, which would hardly move the Senate, but having got wind of the coalition between Philip and Antiochus they used this information to scare Rome. Antiochus, the conqueror of the

[1] It has often been said, e g. by Mommsen, that Rome's desire for quiet neighbours was a cause of the war; yet Mommsen himself admits that Philip was not a real danger to Rome

[2] This is the attractive theory of Holleaux (*Cambr Anc. Hist*, VIII, p. 156 ff), who believes in a sudden change in the Senate's attitude since it had recently rejected the Aetolian appeal Even if the Aetolian embassy arrived before Zama (p 231, n. 1), the bitterness with which the Senate rebuffed it can scarcely be explained merely by Rome's pre-occupation with Africa; this bitterness presupposes Roman indifference to Greece and Philip. See F W Walbank, *Philip V*, p 310 A. Passerini (*Athenaeum*, 1931, p. 542) attempts to refute Holleaux' theory (esp. pp 553, 4) and, less plausibly, maintains that the Rhodian embassy emphasized the danger of Philip's intrigues with Carthage See further pp 432–3.

East, who had just returned from following the victorious route of Alexander to India, loomed large amid the mist of fears and rumours What if he combined with Philip and concentrated in Greece as a base of operations againstItaly? Now was the moment to intervene in Greece; not to subjugate it, which would have allowed the monarchs to pose as liberators, but to free it and then throw over it the aegis of permanent protection If the Senate in appealing to the people harped on danger from Philip it was perhaps less because they themselves feared much from that quarter, than because they wished to use Philip's name as a handle where the more illusive and shadowy Antiochus would fail to touch a practical people To this appeal to self-protection and self-interest the Senate may have added the claims of Attalus and Greek civilization and even perhaps of Athens The idea of defensive imperialism, of establishing a protectorate over Greece for the mutual benefit of Rome and Greece (for it is unnecessary to deny any genuine feeling of interest in the welfare of Greece) was probably the determining cause of the Second Macedonian War.

But it is perhaps a mistake to seek too cut and dried an explanation of the policy of a people who, like the British, proverbially had a genius for muddling through. Rome had sought to avoid interfering with the balance of powers a policy which though selfish was reasonable and pacific. But circumstances were too strong. The desire to safeguard her future, possibly to punish Philip for his past conduct, possibly also to pose as the patron of the Greeks whose past glories she so admired, all swept her into the vortex of the Eastern disturbance. Her actions were not the result of aggressive imperialism, commercial exploitation or territorial covetousness

§ 4. THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR

When Rome and Philip settled down to play the game of war, the dice were heavily weighted in Rome's favour, though the Greeks at first acted with great circumspection Beside Rhodes and Pergamum which could not put land forces into the field against Macedon, Rome only had the help of Athens, which provided a good naval base in the Aegean, and of the semi-barbarous princes of Illyria, Dardania, and Athamania in the north, the Aetolians were waiting to see which way the wind would blow. Philip's Greek allies were equally slow to rally to his banner The

Achaean League, his nominal ally, sent no material help, though some volunteers came from Boeotia, Acarnania and Epirus The wealthier Greeks distrusted his ideas of social revolution, and the upper classes in most towns inclined rather towards Rome Finally, two savage raids on Attica in the autumn of 200 increased his unpopularity. The initial neutrality and caution of Aetolia and Achaea was natural, because the Hannibalic War had revealed the measure of Rome's strength. They could hardly doubt that ultimate victory would fall to Rome; by taking up arms they might delay this, but then they would have to face Rome's vengeance. Or even if they thought victory possible, what would they gain by it? Might it not make Philip's hand on Greece still heavier to bear? And Rome was coming, nominally at any rate, to protect a Greek city from Macedon.

The Romans can scarcely have anticipated great difficulty in launching an attack on Philip. Their naval supremacy allowed them to strike wherever they wished. They could devastate part of the enemy's land before Philip could concentrate his strength there Their own and their allies' forces could surround him on most sides True, if he made a spectacular start, he might hope to turn the balance in Greece in his favour and elicit help from Achaea and the continued neutrality of Aetolia; but otherwise he must expect to see more Greeks gradually rallying to the Roman cause and the net being drawn more tightly around him. Further, the Romans could count on their big battalions, if one expeditionary force was defeated, they could send out another, but Philip would find it very difficult to raise a second army if his forces were worsted in open battle. He was thus forced to renounce the offensive and plan a cautious but energetic defensive, however alien it was to his impulsive nature He must try to wear down the Romans' patience After all, they were weary of war, and the struggle in Greece was not vital, as they did not premeditate territorial expansion possibly it might be fought to a standstill. The First Macedonian War provided good reason for such a hope; the Romans in weariness had left the Greeks to settle it by themselves, and their final intervention had been somewhat half-hearted. It had also trained Philip in the requisite strategy Small fights, plundering raids, and surprise attacks had gradually exhausted both sides But such a defensive strategy, although the best that Philip could devise, had many drawbacks. he must divide his forces to protect all fronts, and every loss he suffered, every unpunished devastation or strategic retreat would

encourage his allies to desert and would drive the neutrals into the enemy's arms But despite its shortcomings this plan was the only feasible reply to Rome's invasion. It was impossible to rally the Greeks to unite against a foreign invader. The Greek spirit seldom had permitted that, while now Rome was coming to protect Greece from Macedon Thus Philip did not lack boldness in entering the lists in so unequal a contest [1]

Landing with two legions near Apollonia in the autumn of 200 Sulpicius Galba sent a force to ravage the Macedonian frontier and a squadron to protect Athens The former captured Antipatreia, the latter raided Chalcis *en route* The next year Sulpicius planned to encircle Macedon, the Dardanians were to attack from the north, the Athamanes from the south, the navy from the east at Chalcidice He himself advanced boldly from the west along the line of the later Via Egnatia and penetrated into Macedonia notwithstanding difficulties of commissariat and communications Philip meantime advanced from Pella and after some manoeuvring gave battle at Ottolobus, where he suffered a slight defeat, which Sulpicius did not follow up. Though trivial, the engagement had the important result of deciding the Aetolians to support Rome. From the plain of Lyncestis (modern Monastir) Sulpicius might have turned north to join his Dardanian allies, but he preferred to march south, perhaps to join the Aetolians. Philip in vain contested his passage through the pass of Banitza and was again defeated. But hampered by practical difficulties in the heart of the enemy's country Sulpicius prudently turned westwards and returned to the Adriatic after completing a great circuit. Philip did not attempt to hinder him, for danger threatened on other fronts His general thrust back the Dardanians who had entered Paeonia, while he himself rushed south to Gomphi to drive back the Aetolians who had broken into Thessaly The Roman naval attack in the Aegean, though unopposed by Philip, had produced only small successes apart from its capture of Oreus. Thus the year's campaign, notwithstanding Philip's activity, had seriously damaged his prestige in Greece, Aetolia had sided with Rome, while Achaea was tending in this direction and was only stopped by certain territorial concessions from Philip

Sulpicius' successor found that Philip had occupied a strong position on his western front near Antigoneia, which controlled

[1] On Philip's strategy see Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, II, pp 3–9, and De Sanctis, IV, pp 44–7

the Aous valley to Thessaly and covered the Drinus valley to Epirus, thus preventing the Romans from joining the Aetolians by either valley [1] Evidently Philip realized the need to take the offensive, at least in appearance, and not to wait for a Roman army to invade his territory. The Roman commander, however, was almost immediately replaced by the consul T. Quinctius Flamininus who arrived with reinforcements in the spring of 198. On the banks of the Aous the Epirotes arranged a meeting between Flamininus and Philip. Flamininus declared that Philip must abandon all the Greek states which he held and must offer compensation where actual restoration was impossible. Philip was ready to abandon what he had taken, but not what he had inherited, and to submit the question of indemnities to arbitration. that is, he was clearly prepared to sacrifice much. When Flamininus suggested that he should start with Thessaly, Philip indignantly broke off negotiations. From this it is clear, as it must have been clear to the Greeks, what Rome's intention was. Philip was to be driven out of Greece. The terms he offered might have prevented the war, but were inadequate to stop it when once started. If they were accepted Macedon would remain an autonomous great power, though humbled. But future peace and security could only be obtained by breaking the power of Macedon. As Scipio had realized that lasting peace could not be secured merely by driving Hannibal from Italy, so now Flamininus wished to reduce Macedon and to deprive her, like Carthage, of an independent foreign policy. His rousing proclamation not only expressed his own desire, but showed the official policy of the Senate.[2]

When negotiations had failed, Flamininus, unable to force Philip's position, turned it by guile. He learnt of a track which led round behind the enemy and so during a battle he fell on their flank Philip was forced to retire; after considerable loss he rallied his men and withdrew along the Aous valley and the Zygus Pass to the vale of Tempe. The Romans could now overrun Thessaly and central Greece. Their allies, the Aetolians and

[1] See F. W Walbank, *Philip V*, p 149 f., who argues cogently for the view of Kromayer, who placed Philip at the entrance of the Aous valley De Sanctis, IV, i, p 60, placed Philip nearer Antigoneia (Tepeleni), where he could block the approach to both valleys

[2] Cf. T Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p 161, n. 29 The terms were more sweeping than those offered in 200, Flamininus could not make these additions on his own initiative.

Athamanes, promptly fell on Thessaly and captured Gomphi. Flamininus also approached through Epirus and the Peneus valley, but finding that many strongholds withstood him he turned south towards the Corinthian Gulf, where the allied fleet arrived after capturing Eretria. Here Flamininus brought pressure to bear on the Achaean League and at last won their support by promising to help them recover Corinth. However, Corinth and its Macedonian garrison unexpectedly resisted the attack, and shortly afterwards Argos seceded from Achaea to Philip

With so much of Greece slipping from his grasp, notwithstanding events at Corinth and Argos, Philip was ready to seek terms; in November a conference was held at Nicaea in Locris. Polybius[1] gives an interesting account of the proceedings at which Philip's sardonic humour found full scope. It is unnecessary to follow the details: Rome clearly pursued the same policy, and though Philip was willing to concede more than earlier in the year he stubbornly refused to surrender the 'Fetters of Greece,' Demetrias, Chalcis and Acrocorinth. But Rome, and still more her allies, insisted on the complete evacuation of Greece; for the allies hoped to free Greece from Macedonian and Roman alike and so deprive Rome of the excuse or necessity for future intervention. The Senate refused to accept Philip's terms, broke off the negotiations and prolonged Flamininus' command.

Philip's desperate efforts to retain what he still held met with little success. Unable to protect Argos he handed it over to the tyrannical king of Sparta, Nabis, who played him false After instituting a reign of terror in Argos, Nabis calmly threw in his lot with the Romans who thus controlled the whole Peloponnese. Next Boeotia fell away from Philip, after Flamininus had thrown a body of Roman troops into the Theban assembly to influence the voting Thus virtually all Philip's Greek allies, except Acarnania, Chalcis and Corinth, had been brought over to Rome, the Hellenic League was broken. This success, which had been reached partly by arms, partly by diplomacy, was due largely to Flamininus. He was a genuine admirer of Greek culture and met the Greeks on their own ground. His magnetic personality, his enthusiasm, the tact and adaptability which he displayed instead of the Roman's all too common blunt and almost brutal self-assertiveness, all appealed to the Greeks. In his un-Roman qualities he resembled Scipio Africanus, though he lacked his strength and loftiness of character. If Rome wished to free Greece

[1] XVIII, 1–11

there were few men better suited than Flamininus to accomplish this with less loss of blood and without robbing the Greeks of their remaining shreds of self-respect. Here was a Roman consul seeking their friendship and promising their freedom, not spurning their ideals and exposing their weakness.

The end was at hand. In 197 Philip marched south with 23,000 infantry and 2,000 horse. At Pherae he came into contact with the Roman army which was slightly larger. The ground was not suited for a battle, so both armies marched westwards on the opposite sides of a range of hills named Cynoscephalae (Kara-dagh). Near Scotussa detachments of the two armies met unexpectedly and a general engagement ensued.[1] On the rough ground on the southern slopes of Cynoscephalae the legion faced the phalanx The right wing of each army was successful, the left was retreating. Victory hung in the balance, when an unknown tribune decided on his own initiative what ought to be done. Detaching twenty maniples from the two rear ranks of the victorious Roman right wing, he led them to the left where they outflanked the enemy and charged on them from the rear. The battle was won; to the astonishment of the Greek world the Roman legion had defeated the Macedonian phalanx. This was achieved partly owing to the nature of the ground and Philip's lack of cavalry, but mainly through the tactical flexibility which Scipio Africanus had given to the legion. The troops employed by Flamininus were largely composed of Scipio's veterans from Spain and Africa and there can be little doubt where the tribune had learnt his lesson in tactics. Flamininus was the victor of Cynoscephalae, but he was building on the foundations laid by another. And he was soon to realize that it was almost more difficult to make peace than war among the bickering states of Greece

§ 5. THE SETTLEMENT OF GREECE

After the battle the Aetolians, who had contributed largely to the victory of the Roman right wing, were eager to invade Macedon and to destroy its power once and for all. But this suited neither Rome nor Philip Sweeping the Aetolians aside

[1] De Sanctis (IV, i, p 86 n) roughly follows Leake (*Northern Greece*, IV, p. 457) who places the site between Supli and Duvlatan, Kromayer places it some six miles further west

Flamininus announced that in answer to Philip's overtures and subject to the Senate's approval he had determined to make peace with Philip on the terms laid down at Nicaea, namely, that Philip should abandon all his dependencies outside Macedon Philip was too clear-sighted to refuse. Further resistance might involve the extinction of the independent existence of Macedon. True, he might hope for the intervention of his ally Antiochus. But if, when the Syrian came, he was too weak to treat him as an equal, he would be regarded as a mere dependant like the kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia. How much better to retain his kingdom intact and to renew war on more equal terms if Antiochus did come later, than to risk all on a gambler's chance.

Flamininus also was ready for peace, not only for fear that he might be superseded in his command, but for very solid impersonal reasons. To reduce Macedon to the utmost was to court danger on all sides. It would remove the barrier which held back the barbarian Thracians, Illyrians and Gauls from the Greek frontiers [1] If this barrier were to be removed either Rome or Greece would have to step in, but Rome was unwilling to undertake military occupation in the Balkan peninsula, while to allow the Greeks to advance in this direction would lead to interminable rivalry and confusion Further, a prostrate Macedon would empower not only Greek and barbarian but also Antiochus, who having wrested Coele-Syria from Ptolemy was free to re-establish his authority beyond the Taurus Mountains in Asia Minor and on the Asiatic shores of the Aegean. Although their relations with him had officially been friendly, the Romans could not but see that he had a formal right to intervene, since he was allied with Philip to share the Ptolemaic dependencies, while Rome had insisted on the restitution of the territory in Asia which Philip had occupied But while Antiochus was not averse to seeing Macedon weakened, as that would give him supremacy in the Graeco-Oriental world, he can hardly have been eager to see the Macedonian control in the Balkans and Aegean merely replaced by that of Rome. Thus many motives, chief among them fear of Antiochus, induced Flamininus to meet Philip at Tempe, where despite the protests of Rome's allies an armistice was concluded during which all parties were to submit all details to the Senate. The Aetolians in particular were disillusioned and embittered;

[1] This danger is minimized by Holleaux, *Cambr Anc Hist*, VIII, p 177

the Greeks were forced to see that Rome intended to settle affairs in her own way.[1]

Anxiety about insurrections in Cisalpine Gaul and Spain (pp. 283; 289) and still more about Antiochus, induced Rome to conclude peace with Philip on terms not unduly severe (winter 197–6). The terms, which were expounded in a Senatorial decree, showed that the peace was more than a treaty with Philip; it was a manifesto to Greece and a warning to Antiochus· all the rest of the Greeks in Asia and Europe were to be free and governed by their own laws; the Greek cities subject to or held by Philip were to be surrendered to Rome, he was to evacuate and free certain cities in Asia Minor, all prisoners, deserters and his fleet to be surrendered, an indemnity of 1,000 talents to be paid, half at once, half by annual instalments.[2] Yet Philip was not humbled as Carthage had been.

In the spring of 196 ten commissioners were sent to Greece with the Senatorial decree to settle affairs there with Flamininus, who had pacified some trouble in Boeotia by a show of force. They then published the Senate's decision, which was received with some uneasiness· what would happen to the 'Fetters of Greece' when surrendered to Rome? To allay this disquiet and to prove the sincerity of the Senate's intentions, Flamininus staged his famous declaration at the Isthmian Games. To the assembled Greeks a herald proclaimed that a number of Greek peoples whom he named were by order of the Roman Senate and the proconsul Titus Quinctius Flamininus declared free without garrisons or tribute to be governed by their own ancestral laws Flamininus, his ambition at last sated, was almost mobbed by the enthusiastic crowd The proclamation, together with the Senate's manifesto, was the high-water mark of Rome's philhellenic policy. She proclaimed freedom for Greece, and more, she proclaimed herself to be the permanent protectress of Greek liberty throughout the world, a liberty to be respected alike by the Greeks themselves, by the conquered Philip and by the aggressive Antiochus.

This glorious moment was soon followed by a reaction in

[1] On the peace see esp. De Sanctis, IV, 1, p 90 ff Pol., XVIII, 33–39 Livy, XXXIII, 11–13. Plut, *Flam.*, 9.

[2] Polybius, XVIII, 44 Livy, XXXIII, 30, adds that Philip's armaments were limited and that he was not to engage in foreign wars without Rome's consent. This is probably an annalistic invention to try to justify Rome's interference later, cf Taubler, *Imperium Romanum*, I, p. 230

Greece. Although Rome imposed no tribute or garrisons, she was still the protectress and as such proceeded to 'settle Hellenic affairs.' The ten commissioners started on this disillusioning task and had accomplished enough by the end of the year to allow them to return to Rome, leaving Flamininus to complete the settlement. It is hardly necessary to follow the details: the Aetolians claimed back all their past conquests, but were only granted Phocis, Eastern Locris and part of Thessaly, the rest of Thessaly was grouped into four small federal states, while Euboea was made into a separate league, Corinth was added to the Achaean League. But before returning home the commission had accomplished two things of importance An alliance was concluded with Philip, Antiochus' former ally, so that Rome might now hope to use him against Antiochus, and secondly the disgruntled Aetolians, who were on the point of revolting, were persuaded to refer their troubles to Rome But the commissioners could not advise the immediate evacuation of Greece, however ominous this might seem to the Greeks, who began to doubt Rome's integrity. Friendship with Philip, the pacification of Aetolia, the continued military occupation of Greece, all pointed in one direction—Antiochus, who had crossed to Europe.

In 195 Flamininus assembled delegates from all Greek states in Corinth to confer about liberating Argos from the clutches of Nabis of Sparta. All voted in favour of this crusade, except the Aetolians whose claims had not yet been settled An allied army and navy was launched against Sparta and the power of Nabis was broken. But Flamininus would not go as far as his allies desired; as with Philip, he wished to cripple, but not destroy. Once again it was the Romans and not the allies who dictated the terms, which included the surrender by Nabis of Argos and other towns and of his fleet, an indemnity, and the renouncing of the right to make war or alliances. At the Nemean festival the freedom of Argos was proclaimed and the city re-entered the Achaean League In the next year, 194, Flamininus persuaded the Senate, in spite of the danger from Antiochus, to redeem its pledge and to recall the army from Greece. He presided over a pan-Hellenic conference at Corinth, where he announced the Roman evacuation of Greece and amid much fatherly advice he urged the Greeks to make right use of their new freedom. The Roman garrisons were withdrawn from all towns, including the three 'fetters,' and Flamininus returned to Rome, where he celebrated a magnificent triumph His ideals and ambitions were

they had paid a heavy price for their freedom and many besides the Aetolians looked askance at the settlement and the new régime. How they would respond to their fresh responsibilities, the future alone would show.

CHAPTER XII

ROME AND ANTIOCHUS

§ 1. THE DIPLOMATIC CONFLICT

ANTIOCHUS had landed in Europe. After conquering Palestine, he turned to his hereditary possessions in Asia Minor and Thrace, now held by Ptolemy or Philip.[1] In 197 he started a military promenade along the coast of Asia Minor He was checked momentarily by Rhodes, who refused him the opportunity of joining his ally Philip. But when news of Cynoscephalae arrived, the danger was past and he easily bought over the Rhodians by some territorial concessions in Caria He gradually made his way to the Hellespont, though respecting the boundaries which he had long ago guaranteed to Attalus.[2] Eumenes, Attalus' successor, however, was alarmed to find Pergamum surrounded on all sides by the advancing tide. At his advice the cities of Smyrna and Lampsacus, who had refused to submit to Antiochus and were being reduced by force, appealed for protection to Rome, although they had no substantial claim on her. The appeal was welcomed and the Senate, which was concluding peace with Philip, issued its proclamation that 'Greeks in Europe and Asia were to be free and autonomous.' Beside this warning, which extended their philhellenic policy to Asia, the Senate tried to embarrass Antiochus by sending to him an ambassador who was to protect the interests of Egypt which Rome had conveniently neglected for three years. Undaunted, Antiochus crossed to Europe by the early summer of 196 and established himself on the Thracian coast 'To him this was his last conquest, the recovery of the last piece of his heritage, but in the eyes of the Romans, Thrace could only be the first stage of an invasion planned to drive them from Greece ' (Holleaux, *Cambr Anc Hist*, VIII, p. 184.)

[1] On the Greek cities of Asia Minor and on Rome's treatment of them see now D Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), especially ch IV and the notes in Vol II where many matters are discussed in detail relevant to the present and the following chapters. See also E Badian, 'Rome and Antiochus the Great· a study in Cold War,' *Class Phil*, 1959, p 81 ff

[2] The annalistic tradition (Livy, XXXII, 8 and 27) that Attalus appealed to Rome against Antiochus' invasion in 198 has been rejected by Holleaux, *Klio*, 1908, p 273 f., but is defended by Bickermann, *Hermes*, 1932, p 47, and E Badian, *op cit*

A diplomatic duel followed which merely caused Rome and Antiochus to harden their hearts. Antiochus who had sent envoys to Flamininus at Corinth received a brusque reply after the Isthmian Games: 'he must abstain from attacking autonomous cities in Asia and go to war with none of them, he must evacuate those which had been subject to Ptolemy or Philip; he was forbidden to cross into Europe with an army (which he had as a matter of fact already done); for no Greek henceforth was to be attacked in war or to be enslaved to any one; finally ambassadors would wait on Antiochus.'[1] These ambassadors, supported by the knowledge of Rome's alliance with Philip, explained the situation to Antiochus in much the same terms. The king replied that he could not understand the Romans interfering in Asia when he did not in Italy; he was merely recovering his ancestral kingdom in Thrace. He then played his trump card. the Romans need not worry about Ptolemy's possessions because he had just concluded an alliance with him. The Romans were outwitted. Though not admitting their claim to interfere, Antiochus took the wind out of their sails still more by offering to submit the cases of Lampsacus and Smyrna to the arbitration of Rhodes Matters were thus brought to a standstill. The king would not admit, and the Romans would not abate their demands. Neither side wanted war and the question might have been settled amicably by an equitable recognition and definition of the king's 'sphere of influence' in Thrace. But Rome could neither believe that his intentions were pacific, nor tolerate a Great Power in the East which might one day grow to rivalry and hostility. The conference was interrupted by a report of Ptolemy's death. This was false, but it occasioned the ending of the king's minority and his accession to the throne as Epiphanes Eucharistos.[2]

The next year, 195, Antiochus sent an offer to Flamininus to renew conversations about arranging a treaty of friendship with Rome, when told to deal direct with the Senate, he refused. Yet he had shown that he was ready to treat on his own terms and had no evil intentions against Rome Rome's fears were increased by the movements of Hannibal, whose political opponents alleged, probably falsely, that he was intriguing with Antiochus. The Senate foolishly rejected Scipio's generous advice of non-interference and thereby drove Hannibal to join Antiochus (p. 298)

[1] On the legal status of the Greek cities of Asia Minor see Appendix 10 below

[2] This event is celebrated on the Rosetta stone.

This seriously complicated the Eastern situation and fanned into a flame Hannibal's latent hatred of Rome In 194 Scipio, elected to his second consulship, urged that Greece should remain one of the consular provinces, because he sincerely believed that it must be held a little longer as a barrier against the Syrian; to evacuate it would create a vacuum into which Antiochus with Hannibal behind him would inevitably be drawn. Scipio keenly supported a philhellenic policy, but he saw clearly the danger of pressing it to extremes. Yet to occupy Greece any longer would have strained to the breaking point the belief of the Greeks in Rome's sincerity. So the Senate followed Flamininus' advice and Greece was evacuated But Scipio showed how deep his fears were by founding eight maritime colonies at unprotected seaports in South Italy, if Hannibal should provoke an invasion of Italy, he should find it prepared.

In the winter of 194–193 Antiochus sent two envoys to propose a treaty of friendship with Rome. This was in effect an ultimatum of peace or war [1] If the offer was accepted, it would imply the recognition by Rome of Antiochus' authority in Thrace and Asia, if it was rejected, war might follow But Flamininus, as the spokesman of the Senate, proposed a compromise: let Antiochus renounce his claims either to Thrace or to the autonomous Greek cities of Asia. Of the two alternatives, Rome apparently hoped to realize the evacuation of Thrace, since Flamininus told the delegates of the Asiatic towns, then in Rome, that the Roman People would uphold their claims unless Antiochus withdrew from Europe It is perhaps too severe to suppose that Rome's interference on behalf of these towns had been a mere diplomatic manoeuvre,[2] but clearly Rome was willing to sacrifice their claims to avert war, especially as they might not suffer severely under Syrian rule. Yet it is difficult to believe that the Senate really anticipated that these terms would be acceptable to Antiochus, perhaps they were merely trying to postpone the evil day. The proposal is interesting, for it shows that Rome was now ready to adopt from the Greeks the theory of 'spheres of influence'[3] and Antiochus was perhaps foolish in refusing to sacrifice his rather useless European annexe But such a compromise could only be lasting if Rome could once and for all overcome her mistrust of Antiochus In any case little was achieved,

[1] Cf De Sanctis, IV, 1, p 130

[2] As suggested by Holleaux, *Cambr. Anc Hist*, VIII, p 200.

[3] Cf Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p. 171.

the king's representatives, having no power to compromise, withdrew The Romans contented themselves with sending an embassy to the East to obtain further information and to continue the negotiations. The sequel was not happy. After long delay a conference was held at Ephesus (193), where delegates from the Greek cities were instigated by Eumenes to speak out boldly. This merely annoyed Antiochus further, negotiations again broke down, and when the embassy returned to Rome in the late summer war was looming large on the horizon. The same year the Aetolians invited Antiochus to liberate Greece

When news reached Rome that Antiochus was preparing for war with the help of Hannibal, a commission headed by Africanus was sent to Carthage, where Hannibal's agent Ariston was fomenting trouble. Little could be accomplished because of the extreme delicacy of relations with Antiochus, but doubtless the current rumours were investigated Hannibal was said to be urging Antiochus to give him 10,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry and 100 ships. With this force he would stir up Carthage against Rome and then land in Italy; meanwhile Antiochus was to lead his main army into Europe and to paralyse Rome's efforts by taking up a strong position in Greece. It is uncertain what truth such rumour embodied. Antiochus certainly did not approve of a more ambitious scheme which Hannibal is said to have proposed later at a council of war at Demetrias. Probably the details of this first plan are exaggerated. Hannibal could scarcely have planned an immediate invasion of Italy with so small a force and such limited naval resources. It would be difficult to reinforce the infantry, as the Carthaginians, who were now without their Spanish and Numidian allies, would find it hard to raise mercenaries; and they would be attacked by Masinissa in their own country. The force landing in Italy could not expect to evoke widespread rebellion in the south before being overwhelmed, while if they landed in the north they would be too far from their base and from their objective and might meet the fate of Hasdrubal or Mago Hannibal may have suggested the invasion of Italy as an ultimate object, probably his immediate proposal was to stir up Carthage This would satisfy his hatred and suit Antiochus' plan by distracting the attention of Rome away from Greece, if it succeeded beyond their hopes, Antiochus would welcome the rise of Carthage as a power to balance Rome in the western Mediterranean. Thus Antiochus probably encouraged Hannibal to make trouble in Carthage, but their *agent provocateur*

failed and affairs in Greece soon claimed all Antiochus' attention and precipitated him into the war with Rome [1]

§ 2. THE WAR IN GREECE

The Aetolians, bitterly disappointed at the peace which Flamininus had imposed on Greece and at his casual treatment of themselves, sought relief by trying to combine the three kings, Philip, Nabis and Antiochus, against Rome (summer 193). Antiochus received their overtures, but did not seem disposed to take immediate action Philip rebuffed them; he remembered how they had urged the Romans to overthrow his kingdom. Nabis, however, responded, but too quickly. Breaking his treaty with Rome he fell on the freed towns of the Laconian coast. The Achaeans under Philopoemen denounced Nabis' conduct to Rome and then defeated him in battle and blockaded Sparta.[2] The Romans sent a small squadron to operate against Nabis, while during the winter Flamininus went to Greece to bring his personal influence to bear, he was soon joined by Eumenes. He quickly ended the war in the Peloponnese on the basis of the *status quo* (spring 192). Nabis was lucky to have escaped so lightly, but the Achaeans were disappointed at not being allowed to press home their victory.

Despite the failure of their ambitious coalition the Aetolians continued on their course, buoyed up by the hope of winning Demetrias, where considerable opposition had been shown to Flamininus who had accomplished a disquieting journey through Greece. Further, Antiochus now seemed ready to take action and his envoy announced that he was willing to join the Aetolians in restoring Greek freedom (March 192). They then formally asked

[1] On Hannibal's plans and his relations with Antiochus, see Kromayer, *Ant Schlachtfeld.*, II, 127, and *Neue Jahrb f. d. Klass. Alt.*, XIX, 1907, p 681 ff Lehmann (*Delbruck-Festschrift*, pp 69–92) argues against Kromayer, who is supported by Ed Meyer (*Kl Schr* , I, p 260 ff , *Meister d Politik*, I, p 160 ff) Cf De Sanctis, IV, 1, pp 143 f , 155, who rejects Kromayer's view that Hannibal intended to carry the war into Italy. Groag (*Han als Politiker*, pp 132–43) attempts to defend Hannibal's war-plan against Kromayer's criticism, but his attempt is not convincing, especially in its assumption of the weakness of the Italian federation

[2] It is not certain that the conduct of Nabis was so black and of Achaea so white as our pro-Achaean sources paint it cf De Sanctis, IV, 1, pp 133 and 231. In any case the Romans wished to stop the fighting before it spread

him to deliver Greece and to settle their quarrel with Rome. Thus Antiochus could now play the same rôle of liberator to the cities of Greece as Rome had to the Greek cities of Asia: not yet by open war, but by armed mediation.[1] This alarmed Rome. She hurriedly prepared 70 quinqueremes to protect Sicily and to form a reserve; an army was sent from Bruttium to Brundisium and an emergency force was levied. But while Rome prepared and Antiochus delayed, the Aetolians acted. They proposed to seize Demetrias and Chalcis to facilitate Antiochus' landing and to occupy Sparta in order to check the Achaeans At Sparta they succeeded in assassinating Nabis, but were soon defeated and massacred, as a result Sparta was driven into the arms of the Achaean League. At Chalcis they failed completely. But they won Demetrias, and could thus offer Antiochus a secure base But they had alienated Philip still more, for he had long coveted Demetrias. After further hesitation Antiochus landed a detachment of his army at Demetrias and marched to Lamia (autumn 192)

War, though not formally declared, was now inevitable. Antiochus, however, was not ready, he had only started preparing during the previous year and it was a long task to mobilize the resources of his vast empire. But now that the Aetolians had precipitated the crisis, he must face a war which he did not really want. He was not going to fight in Greece from lust of conquest, nor even merely to assert his rights in Thrace. He desired that Rome should recognize him as an equal, and that he should be permitted to maintain his empire unhampered, and to develop it freely and in peace. To this end he had constantly tried to obtain friendship with the Romans, who failed to believe in the sincerity of his intentions and feared his increasing activity. To his offer of friendship they had replied by demands, unaccompanied by any concessions; that is, they insisted on asserting their superiority, not from militaristic aims but because they feared that the king, if recognized as an equal, would not be content to remain as such. Antiochus' aims were reflected in his method of war[2] He did not wish to destroy Rome, but merely to make a military demonstration which would lead to his recognition as an equal power. Thus he rejected any idea of invading Italy and while perhaps countenancing Hannibal's plan for Carthaginian cooperation he turned to a limited offensive in Greece Here he

[1] Cf. Holleaux, *Cambr. Anc Hist*, VIII, p 206.

[2] On Antiochus' aims, see De Sanctis, IV, 1, p 141 ff

could challenge Rome's supremacy with some prospect of success. If this was not immediately forthcoming he might hope that the Romans would tire of a long war in which their interests did not warrant great sacrifice. And even if they gained the upper hand they would hardly seek to destroy him root and branch· they had not pushed the First Punic War or their contest against Philip to this extreme Thus he might hope for the success of his limited project, but he underestimated the perseverance and the distrust of Rome.

Although the smallness of the force with which the new liberator of the Greeks appeared caused much disappointment, he was somewhat grudgingly elected generalissimo by the Aetolians. Disturbances in his favour in many towns were soon checked. For instance, trouble at Athens was calmed by the presence of Flamininus and perhaps of Eumenes, supported by the eloquence of another Roman legate, M Porcius Cato, who had advanced the Roman cause in Patrae, Aegium and Corinth.[1] Antiochus was rebuffed by Chalcis and Boeotia, and in November Flamininus succeeded in persuading the Achaean League to declare war on the king and his Aetolian allies But while Antiochus was busy storming Chalcis, a body of 500 Roman troops marching thither from the fleet on the Boeotian coast was attacked and almost annihilated by one of his generals at Delium. This act may have been justified from the military and legal point of view—for Rome's allies, the Achaeans, had now declared war on him—but Antiochus could no longer pretend that he had come to liberate the Greeks without fighting Rome Further, now that he was technically the aggressor, Rome could start the war before it was formally declared by a vote of the People. Antiochus at last captured Chalcis so that the rest of Euboea and Boeotia went over to him. Then he conducted a successful campaign against Thessaly as far as Larissa, but the appearance of a Roman detachment at Gonni led him to suspend operations in January 191 The dramatic appearance of this Roman force was a severe blow it revealed that Rome had entered the war and that Philip was siding with Rome, for only with Philip's consent could the troops have come through his country. Rome had in fact secured the support of Philip by promising that he might keep Demetrias and any other Thessalian cities which he took from the Aetolians. Hannibal was said to be urging Antiochus to a larger view. his son Seleucus should attack Macedon through Thrace to prevent

[1] Cf Plutarch, *Cato*, 12, which probably refers to this occasion.

Philip's co-operation with Rome; part of the fleet should attack the west coast of Italy, while part hindered the Romans crossing to Greece; Antiochus should advance to Apollonia to protect Greece and to seem ready to invade Italy. If ever Hannibal formulated this plan or hoped that Antiochus would follow it, his hopes were now effectively broken by Philip's declaration of friendship with Rome. The war must now be fought in Greece.

Realization of this affected the plans of Rome also. In the autumn of 192 a praetor named Baebius had crossed from South Italy to Apollonia with only a few troops; until Antiochus' plans were known a large force could not be sent, as reserves must be held in Italy in case of diversions in Africa, Sicily or even Italy. But when Philip, actuated by self-interest and jealousy of Antiochus, had shown his hand, Rome could proceed with more energy; in November the People formally declared war.[1] Antiochus, however, had made the best of his opportunities. He held Demetrias and Chalcis, the whole of central Greece except Attica and Acarnania, and the greater part of Thessaly. Early in 191 he attacked Acarnania, but was soon recalled to Thessaly.

The consul M'. Acilius Glabrio landed at Apollonia with 22,000 troops in February 191, and was enabled to march at once towards Thessaly by reason of the mildness of the season and the preparations already made by Baebius and Philip As town after town capitulated he gradually wrested all Thessaly from Antiochus. The king had received few reinforcements from Asia, while the Aetolians only sent 4,000 men; he was thus forced to fall back on Thermopylae which guarded the road to central Greece. In the famous pass he took up a position, not in the middle as Leonidas had done against the Persians, and the united Greeks against the Gauls in 279, but at the eastern Gate where the sea was considerably further from the mountains than it had been in 480 B C He strengthened his position by an earth rampart and a wall,[2] and protected his flank by stationing half the Aetolians at Heraclea and the other half at the three forts guarding the mountain track by which the pass could be turned. Acilius, who camped in the middle of the pass, launched a frontal attack but was easily beaten back, while the Aetolian force at Heraclea

[1] At the beginning of the consular year 191, which by the Julian calendar was about November 192

[2] Ruins of an ancient wall still exist, these probably represent the wall referred to On the topography see Kromayer, *Ant. Schlachtfeld*, II, p. 134 ff , and *Atlas*, col 42, 43, and Grundy, *Great Persian War*, p 257 ff.

threatened his rear. But the inadequacy of the Aetolian contingent enabled the Romans to repeat the exploit of the Persian Hydarnes. Two ex-consuls, who were serving in the army, made the attempt by night Valerius Flaccus, who advanced up the eastern track to join the main route over the mountains, was unable to pass the two forts. But Cato, taking the longer western route, swept past the defenders of the Callidromos path, where the Phocians had fled before the Persians, and descended on the rear of the enemy's main army The defeat was complete. Unlike Leonidas, Antiochus rode off and collecting the panic-stricken survivors retired to Chalcis Thence he set sail for Ephesus The half-hearted support of his Aetolian allies and the slowness of his own mobilization thwarted his attempt to fight out the Syrian War in Europe At one blow the Romans had driven their dreaded opponent from Greece.

The settlement of Greece was carried through the same year. Phocis, Boeotia, Chalcis and Euboea surrendered to Rome at once, but Aetolia remained obdurate. Acilius determined not merely to impose a peace on the Aetolians, from which they might recover to cause continued trouble, but to strike at the very roots of their power. When Heraclea, which commanded Thermopylae and had enabled the Aetolians to cut communications between northern and central Greece, was stormed by Acilius, the Aetolians sought peace, but they were offered such harsh terms that they determined to resist Acilius struck a shrewd blow by laying siege to Naupactus, their principal port in the Corinthian Gulf But such harshness was unwise, for it unduly benefited Philip, who was steadily regaining his power in the north, and it destroyed the ideal of a free Greece. Further, as a war of sieges must necessarily be protracted, it gave Antiochus longer to recover before Rome could square accounts with him. Flamininus, who meanwhile had been checking the cupidity of the Achaeans and imposing unity in the Peloponnese, ended hostilities in Aetolia by demonstrating to Acilius that the destruction of Aetolia involved the aggrandisement of Philip He thus won for the Aetolians permission to appeal to the Senate and struck a blow at Antiochus who still hoped for Aetolian co-operation.

§ 3. THE WAR IN ASIA

In the war with Hannibal Scipio had maintained that future security demanded his decisive defeat, not merely his expulsion

from Italy. The Senate now believed with Scipio that Antiochus must not merely be driven out of Greece, but must be defeated in his own country and forced well back from the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Only by reducing his kingdom from the rank of a great power could permanent peace be guaranteed. There is no justification for assuming that the motive for this decision was imperialism or militarism. The man best suited to face the Great King was obviously Scipio Africanus, but he could not be re-elected consul without violating the constitution, since he had held this office only three years before The consuls elected for 190 were his brother Lucius Scipio and his friend C Laelius; the former obtained the province of Greece with the right to cross to Asia. As Lucius was a mere figure-head, his brother Publius was 'associated' with him without specific duties and so the conqueror of Hannibal held the effective command against Antiochus.[1] The Scipios, who were to take over the two legions from Acilius, set sail with 8,000 reinforcements in March 190.

Meanwhile the Romans had determined to challenge Antiochus' supremacy at sea by preparing 100 battleships. With 50 of these C. Livius Salinator[2] sailed across the Aegean to join Eumenes. The Rhodians, who till then had remained neutral, had to decide their policy. If Antiochus predominated in the Aegean, their trade would suffer; but the Romans, if victorious, would hardly maintain a permanent squadron there. Further, Rhodes was ill-pleased that Eumenes should derive all the advantages from victory and so she decided to co-operate with Rome, forgetting that when once the old balance of powers was destroyed, she would be virtually dependent on the goodwill of the victor. Antiochus, who was holding the Dardanelles against the possibility of a Roman invasion of Asia, sent his fleet to defeat Livius and Eumenes before they joined the Rhodians (Sept.) An action was fought off Cape Corycus, between Ephesus and Chios, in which Antiochus' admiral, Polyxenidas, lost more than one-third of his ships. The Romans owed this important victory to their superior numbers and their grappling and boarding tactics: Antiochus was cut off from the Aetolians and deprived of the command of the sea, by which alone he might hope to contest the Roman crossing to Asia.

[1] On the political intrigues behind these appointments see the slightly differing accounts of Livy (XXXVII, 1–2) and Cicero (*Phil*, XI, 7, *Pro Mur*, 14).

[2] Son of the victor of Metaurus

The Aetolian embassy which had come to Rome at the end of 191 had been offered hard terms· unconditional surrender or the immediate payment of 1000 talents and the renunciation of an independent foreign policy. Only by a decisive defeat could Rome expect to impose such conditions, which were naturally refused. Thus when the Scipios landed in Greece in April 190 they found that war had blazed out again and that Acilius had recommenced his siege warfare by capturing Lamia and besieging Amphissa. Wishing neither to spend time breaking up the Aetolian League piece by piece nor to leave behind them an unbeaten Aetolia or a Greece in which Philip could expand freely, they offered Aetolia a six months' armistice. The Aetolians foolishly accepted, forgetting that further resistance would only be feasible if Antiochus remained unconquered, by this act they sacrificed any hope of help from him. The Scipios then despatched an energetic young man, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the future son-in-law of Africanus and father of the Gracchi, to secure Philip's co-operation Learning that the king had supplies ready, they proceeded safely through Macedon and Thrace to the Hellespont. The fact that Philip remained loyal when he had the chance of destroying the Roman army on its march through these wild countries, is perhaps a testimony to the magnetic personality of Africanus, who quickly won his friendship.[1]

At the same time a naval campaign was conducted to win control of the Hellespont and to secure communications. Antiochus had spent the winter enlarging his navy; he increased Polyxenidas' fleet to 90 warships, while Hannibal raised a second fleet in Phoenicia. A series of operations followed in which Livius and Eumenes were outmanoeuvred, Livius' successor, Aemilius Regillus, at first fared little better. Success at sea encouraged Antiochus to negotiate (May–June), he needed a breathing space before renewing the war, such as the Romans had obtained in Greece by their truce with Aetolia. But Aemilius was persuaded by Eumenes to reject the king's overtures. When news came that Hannibal was sailing up with another fleet, the Rhodians under Eudamus bravely sailed off to intercept him Despite Hannibal's superior force Eudamus outmanoeuvred him off Side in Pamphylia and thus shared with Scipio Africanus alone the glory of having defeated Hannibal in battle Antiochus then saw his opportunity Only part of the Rhodian fleet under Eudamus had rejoined the Romans, while Eumenes was at Troas, so Polyxenidas

[1] Cf Pol., X, 9, 3 Scipio's letter to Philip about his Spanish campaign

was ordered to attack the numerically inferior enemy The fleets met off Myonnesus. Eudamus skilfully prevented an enveloping movement against the Roman vessels and held the Syrians' wing while the Romans broke their centre. The battle gave the allies the command of the sea and opened the way for the Scipios to cross to Asia in safety.

Antiochus evacuated Thrace and did not try to contest the crossing to Asia.[1] Avoiding all useless diversions he concentrated on mustering his army, summoning his allies of Galatia and Cappadocia. The Scipios, however, secured the neutrality of Bithynia.[2] After receiving the surrender of Lysimacheia, where a large supply of provisions had unwisely been left undestroyed, they crossed the Hellespont, as their communications by land and sea were secure. For the first time a Roman army set foot in Asia But the way was prepared by the number of allied or friendly states there: most of the Troad, Pergamum and Rhodes, and many cities on the Aeolian and Ionian coast. During a delay caused by the fact that as a Salian priest Africanus could not move for a month, Antiochus, clear-sighted and prudent, sent an envoy to offer terms. He would abandon Europe and break off relations with Aetolia, recognize the independence of Smyrna, Lampsacus and Alexandria Troas and of those Greek cities on the Aegean coast over which Rome wished to throw her aegis; finally he would pay half the cost of the war. These terms which went considerably beyond what the Romans had claimed in 196, nevertheless left the power of Syria substantially intact On his brother's advice Lucius Scipio replied that Antiochus must withdraw from Asia Minor north and west of the Taurus Mountains and pay full costs. Antiochus refused, while his envoy failed to win Africanus' co-operation by bribery and by offering to return his son who had been captured, incidentally thereby he provided Scipio's political opponents in Rome with good propaganda.

Proceeding down the Asiatic coast the Romans were joined at Elea by Eumenes, but here P. Scipio fell ill and had to be left behind His brother advanced inland towards Thyatira while Antiochus retreated eastwards, not to avoid battle, but to seek suitable ground where his cavalry, chariots, elephants and superior

[1] In spite of the Polybian tradition to the contrary, this seems wise on Antiochus' part Pol , XXI, 15 Cf Kromayer, *Ant Schlachtfeld* , II, p 161 ff

[2] See their letter to Prusias with its statement of Roman policy towards kings. Pol , XXI, 11.

numbers would have full scope. He had gathered a host of some 75,000 men to face the 30,000 Romans; their fighting quality was good but the variety of their equipment and training made co-operation of the parts difficult. In a carefully chosen position in the plain of Magnesia-ad-Sipylum, he fortified a camp between two rivers, the Phrygius and Hermus. The Romans camped on the opposite (western) side of the Phrygius and then crossing over offered battle with their flanks covered by the two rivers Antiochus drew up his army but would not advance against the strong Roman position A third time the Romans moved their camp nearer the enemy's and again offered battle, though their right wing was unprotected, an engagement followed (probably in January 189).

The Roman weak spot was their exposed right wing in the south, here they massed their cavalry under Eumenes, hoping to defeat the enemy's armoured horsemen before or while these attempted to outflank the Roman line.[1] So it fell out. After the archers and slingers had scattered the Syrian scythe-chariots Eumenes charged home and thrust the cataphracts in confusion on to their own centre. Meantime Antiochus himself had led a successful charge of his Iranian horse on his right and had driven back the Roman left wing. But he repeated the error made by him at Raphia, by carrying on the pursuit instead of wheeling to support his centre or his broken left The phalanx in the Seleucid centre had been drawn up with gaps between the columns and these had been filled with elephants. It stubbornly resisted the Roman legionaries until the elephants began to stampede and its flank was turned by Eumenes' successful cavalry charge. Gradually giving way to the legions under Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was the real commander in Africanus' absence, it was finally cut to pieces. The Syrian camp was captured and their losses were immense. Antiochus fled to Sardes and then to Apamea, when he saw his empire falling like a house of cards and the towns of Asia Minor surrendering to the Romans he laid down arms and sought terms Thus the Romans had won Asia Minor, like Greece, at a single blow [2]

[1] Similar tactics were employed by Alexander at Gaugamela, Lucullus at Tigranocerta, Caesar at Pharsalus and Napoleon at Austerlitz

[2] The best discussion of the battle is that of Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, II, p 163 ff , and *Atlas*, col 43–46 The criticism of Delbruck, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, 1^3, p 426 ff., is far from convincing.

§ 4. THE SETTLEMENT OF THE EAST

Antiochus' ambassadors reached L. Scipio at Sardes, where he had been rejoined by his brother, Africanus, who proposed very similar terms to those demanded before the battle: the withdrawal of Antiochus beyond the Taurus, an indemnity of 15,000 talents, the payment to Eumenes of an old debt of 400 talents and a quantity of corn, and the surrender of Hannibal together with certain Greek agitators. When hostages had been given, an armistice was concluded The terms were not crushing. The indemnity was large—the largest known to ancient history: Carthage had paid only 10,000 talents after the Hannibalic War —but it was not beyond Antiochus' power to pay. The surrender of Hannibal merely meant that he must leave Antiochus' territory; indeed Scipio, ever generous, may have inserted this clause to give him the opportunity of escape, an opportunity which Hannibal did not miss The terms show that Scipio intended to leave Syria humbled but still alive and to give Rome no further occasion for interference and dispute. These terms were revised later by the Senate when ten commissioners were sent to make the final settlement with Cn. Manlius Vulso who succeeded Scipio in 189. The additional clauses were Antiochus was not to war in Europe or the Aegean, if attacked by any of these nations he could resist, but he must not have sovereignty over them or attach them to himself as friends; Rome should arbitrate in such disputes; he must surrender his elephants and fleet, except ten ships which were not to sail west of Cape Sarpedonium. Thus the Senate showed a jealous anxiety to exploit the victory and to rob the king of his armaments which would have been useful in the future against a neighbour like Egypt, in crushing internal troubles and in checking the expansion of the Rhodians, who not being allies of Rome were left considerable scope for expansion. Unable to guarantee that he would not be attacked, Rome gave him the right to resist assaults but not to procure allies in the region from which he had been excluded. Scipio's more generous terms would have allowed him freedom for development within definitely prescribed limits, Syria could still have flourished under a Roman protectorate. In the Senate, however, there had been a reaction from the policies of the Scipios and the final peace meant that Syria would have little chance to develop a prosperous national life and that the weakening of the central power would hasten the breaking up of the state; Rome would be drawn into

the East and the foundations were laid of that Roman predominance which was to last eight hundred years.[1]

Meantime other settlements were made by the consuls of 189, M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso, who superseded the Scipios. The Aetolians, once again rebuffed by the Senate, had renewed war against Philip during the winter But their hopes were frustrated by news of Magnesia and then by the arrival of Fulvius with two legions (spring 189) Now for the first time Rome had four consular legions in the East, although the two in Asia were little more than garrison troops. After laying siege to Ambracia, Fulvius was persuaded to offer more lenient terms than unconditional surrender, and by the autumn the Senate had ratified a peace (a *foedus iniquum*), which subordinated the Aetolians to Rome and involved them in considerable territorial losses including Delphi, together with an indemnity of 500 talents. The long chapter of Aetolia's independent history was closed and Rome had accomplished in three years a settlement which Macedon had never been able to achieve [2] There was an epilogue to the war in Greece. Cephallenia had expressly been excluded from the peace. Rome wished to drive the pirates from this island and to gain this valuable base in the Ionian sea. After a four months' siege Fulvius took Same and subdued the island (January 188)

About the same time the final settlement of Asia was accomplished. The consul Manlius carried out an extensive expedition through the territory of the Galatians and reduced them to complete submission (189). The fact that Manlius acquired a staggering amount of booty and money by systematic extortion and warfare, and that the final defeat of the barbarians in their mountain strongholds of the Phrygian plateau involved great loss of life, tends to obliterate the real value of this achievement. It appears an act of wanton imperialism instead of a necessary piece of police work The barbarians were a continual menace to the Greek and native communities of Asia Minor and only their reduction would secure lasting peace, for the small army of Eumenes could hardly be expected to hold them back The harsh and avaricious conduct of Manlius, who fought the barbarians with their own weapons, had turned a wise plan, well-suited to

[1] On the peace, see Pol , XXI, 16–17, 24 and 45, Livy, XXXVII, 45 Appian, *Syr* 38, includes the surrender of fleet and elephants in the preliminaries, but Polybius' silence is preferable Cf De Sanctis, IV, i, p 205 ff

[2] Cf E Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (1958), p 84 ff

Rome's protectorate mission, into a shameful blot on her good name.

In the spring of 188 Manlius joined the ten Senatorial commissioners at Apamea and the final treaty was signed and honoured by Antiochus. As laid down by the terms, the king was confined to Syria [1] A great part of the territory ceded by Antiochus was divided between Eumenes and the Rhodians with the river Maeander as the boundary between, the continental possessions of Rhodes were thus quadrupled, and the kingdom of Pergamum embraced more territory than the Italian federation including Sicily. The status of the Greek towns of the western seaboard proved a thorny question. Eumenes, the former champion of their liberty, now claimed sovereignty over them, but the Rhodians in jealousy urged their liberation, which had in fact been promised by the Scipios to those cities which surrendered. It was decided that cities previously subject to Antiochus were to be free (*liberae et immunes*), but those which had been tributary to Attalus and those which had opposed or seceded from the Romans during the war were to pay tribute to Eumenes; many individual exceptions were made But since the liberated towns formed a barrier between Eumenes and the sea the king did not hesitate to claim Pamphylia, alleging that it was 'on this side Taurus,' although he had been granted Telmessus, an enclave in Rhodian territory Since the exact frontier was doubtful the Senate granted him Western Pamphylia.

This settlement was a far cry from the proclamation of liberation for the Greeks with which Rome had entered the war. But it was a partial fulfilment and showed clearly that the Romans themselves wished to wash their hands of Asia In the autumn of 188 Manlius evacuated Asia and after his army had been attacked by barbarians on its march through Thrace he arrived back in Italy, leaving Eumenes instead of a Roman army to be a bulwark against future disturbances. Pergamum would act as a wedge between Syria and Macedon, and at the same time limit the ambitions of the border states, Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia and Galatia If Pergamum and Rhodes took a large share in frightening the Senate into war with Antiochus, it was certainly they, and not Rome, who reaped the main harvest. In little more than ten years Rome had overthrown the two great Hellenistic

[1] On the exact frontier, see *Cambr Anc Hist*, VIII, p 229 the Halys, then along a line southwards by the western frontier of Cappadocia and round the western end of the Taurus range

monarchies, but so far from having imperialistic aims, she had not left a single soldier behind in either Greece or Asia She left the Hellenistic world free to abuse its liberty and only when this occurred was she again unwillingly forced to intervene. But her patience was not inexhaustible

CHAPTER XIII

ROME AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

§ 1. THE GROWING TENSION

DURING the forty years embraced by this chapter, Rome's foreign policy underwent a subtle change Starting with the Greek particularistic principle of temporary alliances which had led to something like a protectorate system, Rome gradually turned to a policy of annexation in Greece. The philhellenic protectorate policy of the Scipios and Flamininus was abandoned in favour of a return to the old system of alliance which really meant dependence. This reaction, led by Cato, was based on a dislike of things Greek and of the deleterious effect of Eastern conquest on the character of Rome's generals. Further, the people looked askance at the increasing power which foreign conquest vested in the Senate and its prominent members. But beside this partly conscious reaction, Rome was driven on by circumstances The view that she deliberately encouraged quarrels and rivalries in Greece in order to regain a foothold there is hardly acceptable, but having guaranteed the freedom of Greek cities, she could not disregard their quarrels and still more their appeals. The period is a welter of disputes referred to the Senate Rome showed herself slow to intervene, slow even to enforce her decisions, but it is little wonder if her patience was gradually broken down by this bombardment from the Greeks whom she wished to ignore. We must now trace her relations first with Greece and then with Macedon till the outbreak of the Third Macedonian War.

Even before the Romans left Greece trouble was brewing in the Peloponnese. Though Philopoemen's dream of the whole Peloponnese united under the Achaean League was fulfilled, it was soon shattered by the revolt of Sparta and by Philopoemen's own lack of statecraft. Sparta had sent a force against her political exiles who after the recent social revolution were rallying in the liberated towns of the Laconian coast (189). When Philopoemen intervened, Sparta seceded from Achaea and offered Fulvius an explanation of its conduct which had infringed the Spartan-Roman Treaty. The question was referred to the Senate which being more concerned with Asiatic affairs replied ambiguously to an Achaean embassy. Thereupon Philopoemen stormed Sparta,

massacred the anti-Achaean party, incorporated the city into the League, dismantled her walls, expelled the Helots, restored the exiles, and abolished the old Lycurgan constitution (188). But the Senate held its hand Two years later the restored exiles ungratefully found grounds to complain to Rome about Achaea's conduct, but the Senate merely expressed disapproval

In 185 a stiffening is noticeable in the Senate's conduct, due perhaps to the political decline of the Scipios and the growing ascendancy of Cato, and other political rivals of theirs, together with increasing anxiety concerning Philip's conduct Having taken no action for four years despite much provocation, the Senate suddenly intervened On his return from Macedon, Q. Caecilius Metellus (consul 206) rebuked Achaea for its treatment of Sparta and demanded that the League Assembly should be summoned, but he was refused on the legal ground that he had no written instructions from the Senate. The Achaeans then received a sharp rebuke from the Senate, and Ap. Claudius Pulcher ordered a League Assembly (184), which was marked by mutual recriminations. Thereafter Rome forced a settlement on Achaea, whose envoys had to sign it though thereby they broke the laws of their League· Achaea retained Sparta in the League at the price of restoring the exiles of 190 and rebuilding her walls The League refused to endorse the settlement, but came to an agreement with Sparta whereby the exiles were not to be recalled. The Senate swallowed the insult

In 183 Messene revolted from Achaea. The Senate warned the Achaeans, but did not prevent Italian blockade-runners helping Messene Nothing daunted Philopoemen defeated the Messenians but was himself captured and poisoned. Thus died the 'last of the Greeks.' He was ultimately succeeded, not by the like-minded Lycortas, father of the historian Polybius, but by Callicrates, who advised the Senate actively to support the pro-Roman at the expense of the patriotic parties in the various cities. Then, relying on Rome's support, he persuaded the Achaeans to restore the Spartan and Messenian exiles and to allow the re-fortification of Sparta and the restoration of the constitution of Lycurgus (181). This action of Callicrates marked a new era in the relations of Greece and Rome, whereby Rome tended to support those who appealed to her authority whether right or wrong.[1] As a result she had many flatterers but few friends. Callicrates is adjudged 'the initiator of great miseries to all the Greeks, but

[1] Polybius, XXIV, 10.

especially to the Achaeans, who because of their good faith had hitherto the privilege of dealing on something like equal terms with Rome'[1] So ended the long Achaeo-Spartan imbroglio, the somewhat tedious details of which have been recorded because they illustrate the changing methods of Roman policy. Next, it will be seen how this was affected by the conduct of Philip.

Philip's loyalty to the Roman cause during the war with Antiochus was rewarded by the remission of the rest of his indemnity and by permission to keep the cities he had captured —but with a reservation. Glabrio had allowed him to retain those Thessalian cities which he took from the Aetolians, provided that such cities had sided with Aetolia voluntarily and not under compulsion Though this settlement was in line with the policy adopted towards Eumenes in Asia, it obviously contained seeds of future unrest. Philip controlled a wide area which included the coastal strip of Magnesia with Demetrias, and towns on the Phthiotic coast, in Perrhaebia, in Hestiaeotis, and on the borders of Athamania and Dolopia, but the Romans had tried to limit his activity and Glabrio's order to desist from besieging Lamia in 191 still rankled in his mind. If Philip felt aggrieved, Rome felt suspicious of his extraordinary activity in rebuilding the power of Macedon. By fresh taxation, by developing his mines, and by settling many Thracians in Macedon he strengthened his country's manpower and economic resources. His object may have been entirely pacific, but to Rome this presaged war. Indeed Polybius believed that Philip had decided to renew the war with Rome when his preparations were complete and that his successor Perseus merely followed in his father's footsteps. However this may be, the revival of Macedon increased Rome's suspicious fears

Complaints soon reached Rome from various Thessalian cities that Philip was not observing the terms of the peace by withdrawing his garrisons. The details were very intricate, as it would not always be easy to determine whether a given city had gone over to the Aetolians of its own free will or not. The Senate despatched a commission of enquiry, led by Caecilius Metellus. At a subsequent meeting at Tempe, although the Thessalians put forward a weak case, Philip foolishly let his tongue run away with him and observed that 'his sun had not altogether set'; nor did he improve his claims by adding that he knew that he would have to give up what he had received, whether or not his cause was just. He was then ordered to evacuate the cities which were

[1] E. Badian, *Foreign Client*, 91, assesses Callicrates more favourably

appealing, they were to be added to the Thessalian League. A more serious situation, which had already arrested Senatorial attention, arose from his occupation in 187 or 186 of two Thracian cities, Aenus and Maroneia, after their evacuation by Antiochus, Eumenes also on very slender grounds was putting in a counter-claim to these towns. The Roman commissioners required Philip to withdraw his garrisons from the two towns and referred the question to the Senate, which sent out a fresh mission under Appius Claudius and declared the towns free. This, however, so incensed Philip that he cruelly arranged a massacre in Maroneia. An enquiry was instituted and Philip's agent was summoned to Rome, but he mysteriously died on the journey. Rumour added that Philip was merely taking steps to hush up the affair.

To counter Rome's increasing suspicion, which was fed by a further mass of complaints from his neighbours in 184, Philip prudently sent his younger son Demetrius to Rome to protect his interests. Demetrius, who had made a good impression in Rome while there as a hostage after the Second Macedonian War, now obtained from the Senate a verdict in his father's favour which helped to relieve the tension between Rome and Macedon. But reports from Greece were not entirely reassuring, so a message which was sent to congratulate Philip on his compliance ended with a warning The cause of Rome's suspicion was that the king, whose activity was now checked on the coast, had turned his attention to his northern boundaries where he planned new fortresses and shifted the population about. And even when he tried to add his name to the list of ancient explorers by climbing Mount Haemus, a high peak in the Balkans, to investigate a rumour that the Black Sea, the Adriatic, the Danube, and the Alps could all be seen thence, his action was interpreted as an attempt to plan an invasion of Italy.[1] But if Philip's public affairs prospered, his private life was less happy. On the return of Demetrius to Macedon his elder brother Perseus accused him of plotting to win the succession to the throne and suggested that Flamininus and other Romans had been playing on his ambitions. Philip ordered the death of Demetrius and only later found that his fears had not perhaps been fully justified. Sick at heart at his own impetuous folly, he himself died soon afterwards (179). Though he did not live to see the dawn of that glorious day of which he dreamed, when Macedon once more should guide the world, he had raised his country to a height which it had not

[1] For the mountain see F W. Walbank, *Philip V*, p 249, n. 3.

reached since the death of Alexander. Philip, rather than Philopoemen, might be called 'the last of the Greeks '[1]

When Perseus ascended the throne of Macedon in 179 war was in the air, although the storm did not break for some years[2] He himself was not ready, and the number of Roman embassies to Greece showed that the Republic would welcome explanations rather than war. Perseus renewed 'friendship' with Rome and accepted his father's recent agreement with the Senate. At the same time he continued his father's policy of building up the power of Macedon He subdued Dolopia and made a spectacular march through North Greece to the oracle at Delphi. He repelled the attacks of Thracian tribes and strengthened his position by dynastic marriages, he himself married the daughter of Seleucus IV of Syria and he gave his sister in marriage to Prusias of Bithynia. He also won considerable popularity in Greece by appealing to the democratic and revolutionary elements in the cities. This attempt to pose as the champion of the oppressed and unprotected was not happy; it brought little really solid support and naturally annoyed the Romans who tended to favour the law-abiding element in the Greek cities, which generally meant the aristocracy. The political parties in Greece were thus more sharply divided in their attitude to Rome and Macedon

During the first years of Perseus' reign many complaints reached Rome concerning his conduct, until in 172 Eumenes of Pergamum arrived with a detailed list of his crimes[3] Many of these were trivial, many unsubstantiated, and it need not be supposed that the Senate was over-credulous But the visit of Eumenes was the deciding factor in Rome's attitude. Nor was Perseus' position made easier by the fact that on his return home Eumenes was nearly killed by a falling rock at Delphi. Perseus would hardly be foolish enough to precipitate matters by murder, but it served as good propaganda for Eumenes. War could not be long delayed Roman envoys were sent to the East to pave the way. The Achaean League was ready to support Rome—in fact it had anticipated events by severing relations with Macedon

[1] So De Sanctis (IV, p 255), who compares his fortunes with Hannibal's.

[2] For Perseus see P Meloni, *Perseo* (1953).

[3] e.g , the expulsion of a Thracian chief, now called Rome's ally, the harbouring of the murderers of an Illyrian chief, intrigues with Carthage and Byzantium and in Greece, etc The charges are listed in the accusation of Perseus before the Delphic Amphictiony (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 643)

in 175. The Boeotian League hesitated, but under Roman pressure the component cities agreed to support Rome and the League broke up. Several Thracian rulers promised help, though Cotys remained loyal to Perseus Syria, Egypt and Cappadocia were friendly, while Prusias of Bithynia claimed neutrality because of his relationship with Perseus. The support of Eumenes and Rhodes could be relied on. Finally, Q. Marcius Philippus interviewed Perseus (autumn 172) and tricked him into a truce until the next campaigning season,[1] then war was declared on the ground that Perseus had attacked Rome's allies and was planning war on Rome (171).

§ 2. THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR

The consul P Licinius Crassus landed on the Illyrian coast near Apollonia, where he had some 37,000 men, many of whom were recruits. The officers and men were less experienced than in earlier days; the generation which had fought with Hannibal was passing, while the wars with Philip and Antiochus had not afforded such a hard apprenticeship Perseus mustered an army of 43,000 men, half of whom were the kernel of Macedon's power and formed the phalanx This loyal force, which was larger than that with which Alexander the Great had crossed to Asia, was well-armed and well-disciplined by years of frontier warfare, though its officers lacked ability But, like his father, Perseus was fighting for a lost cause and was the architect of his own downfall. Without the support of Greece, without naval power, he could not expect ultimate success, Rome's resources could stand defeat after defeat Like Philip, he could only hope that the Romans, if wearied by initial failures, might drop the war as they had the invasion of Africa after the defeat of Regulus Strategically, the Second Macedonian War had shown the difficulty of a Roman attack from the Adriatic coast up through the mountain valleys to Macedon Perseus chose rather to defend his kingdom in the south, though he may have strengthened the forts in the western valleys. From Macedon to Thessaly ran the strong Olympus range which continued after the pass of Tempe as Ossa and Pelion Here was a strong defensive position where he could control the passes to Macedon and from which he could take the offensive in the plains of Thessaly, when opportunity offered, and fight in the enemy's country.

[1] See F W Walbank, *Journ. Rom Stud*, 1941, p 86 ff

Acting on this bold scheme, Perseus advanced past Tempe along the west of Ossa and took up a position near Larissa (spring 171). Here he was met by the Romans who had advanced from the west past Gomphi. Near a hill named Callinicus the Romans were trounced in a severe cavalry engagement, but they refused Perseus' offer to treat, rejecting anything short of unconditional surrender. They retired northwards on the west of the Peneus, while Perseus marched up the east bank A second engagement, which the Roman annalists magnified into a great victory, was fought near Phalanna, and Perseus withdrew from Thessaly for the winter, though he left garrisons at critical points. Thereupon Licinius marched off to Boeotia His failure can be partly explained by the smallness of his force, also he had not been adequately supported by the Roman fleet. The Roman admiral instead of operating on the Thessalian coast had spent his time plundering Boeotia by land possibly Rome wished to win the war by land and thus avoid any obligation to her naval allies, Pergamum and Rhodes.

The campaign of 170 was uneventful Hostilius Mancinus, who failed to force the passes of the Olympus range and withdrew from Larissa to Pharsalus, tried to curb his marauding troops and to protect his allies, though the commander of the fleet captured Abdera with great cruelty. The Senate also took measures to right some of the wrongs suffered by the Greeks: several officers were punished Perseus busied himself securing his communications with Epirus and campaigned successfully in the north against the Dardani, though his attempt to march south to win over the Achaeans failed In 169 the consul Q Marcius Philippus succeeded in reaching the Macedonian coast. Advancing north from Pharsalus he had the choice of three passes: Portaes, which led to the heart of Macedon, Pythion-Petra, which debouched near Pydna, and the pass of Lake Ascaris (Nezero) which reached the sea near Heracleum All three passes together with Tempe were held by Macedonian troops Marcius chose the third Coming on the enemy's force he feigned retreat and then swung through a thick wood, Libethron (Ziliana), and reached the coast north of Heracleum Perseus, who had scattered his forces to guard the passes from Tempe to Portaes and had only a small central force on the coast at Dium, thought that his men at Lake Ascaris had been defeated, and withdrew to Pydna where he concentrated his whole army Thus the Romans had turned the Olympus range, but being short of

provisions as the fleet had failed to co-operate they retired along the coast to Tempe Perseus was thus enabled to move south again to a strong position near Dium on the Elpeus. This largely cancelled out Marcius' success in forcing the Olympus range, for the Romans only held a narrow strip of coast, of which the north end was blocked by Perseus' strong position.

These mediocre results caused considerable dissatisfaction among Rome's allies, some of whom began to waver in their loyalty, though the fragmentary state of the text of Polybius precludes a detailed judgement on their intrigues. The anti-Roman party at Rhodes got the upper hand and received envoys from Perseus, later they tried to mediate, but their envoys unfortunately arrived in Rome just after news of Perseus' defeat had been received, which naturally annoyed the Senate. Mysterious negotiations also took place between Perseus and Eumenes although they came to nothing When the Achaean League offered the Roman army definite help, it was declined by Marcius, perhaps from mistrust.[1] Perseus was also corresponding with Antiochus IV, and it is significant that the Macedonian navy began to operate off Asia Minor But amid much vague intrigue Perseus obtained one solid advantage, in the autumn of 169 He bought, though by a trick he avoided paying in full for, the support of Genthius the Illyrian chieftain who reigned in Scodra (Scutari)

At Rome decisive action was demanded; an efficient general, L. Aemilius Paullus, consul of 168 and son of the consul who fell at Cannae, was sent to Macedon, and the legions were brought up to full strength. At the same time the praetor Anicius operated in Illyria Taking the offensive against Genthius who had mustered an army and navy at Lissus, he stormed Scodra, captured the king, and then made a demonstration through Epirus. In thirty days he had fought the Third Illyrian War Paullus had a more difficult task. He determined to turn Perseus' position by the Elpeus which he recognized was impregnable. Under cover of a movement which suggested that he was embarking a force at Heracleum, a body of about 8,000 men under Scipio Nasica retired to Tempe and round the Olympus range; then advancing over the Pythion-Petra pass they took Perseus in the rear. The king thereupon withdrew to a weaker position in the plain

[1] The historian Polybius, who was now the second officer of the Achaean League, took part in these negotiations

south of Pydna, for he wished to retain the ability to give battle if he judged fit. Paullus joined Nasica and advanced against the enemy; wisely refusing to fight the same day, he encamped for the night Perseus, who let slip this chance of attacking the enemy, was in a desperate situation; Paullus could penetrate Macedonia, while Anicius after defeating the Illyrians could advance from the north as Galba had in 199. The next day, the 22nd June 168, the two armies were drawn up for battle Between them flowed a shallow stream, the Leucus. Paullus resolutely refused to attack At midday Perseus withdrew to his camp hoping to induce the enemy to advance, but the Romans remained stationary, if indeed they had yet been drawn up in battle array. Later in the day a skirmish took place between some advance-guards by the river which was crossed by some of Perseus' Thracians He thereupon determined to fight and one after another his detachments advanced over the river His left wing, composed of the Thracians and light troops, was quickly vanquished by the Roman allies, strengthened by twenty-two elephants. The Macedonian phalanx in the centre at first made headway against the legions, but it was disordered by the broken ground when it advanced up towards the Roman camp. The legionaries showed great flexibility and brilliance in manoeuvre, by hurling themselves into its gaps or round its flanks where their Spanish swords made short work of enemy spearmen. The fate of the northern wings is unknown; perhaps they were not even engaged The Macedonian losses were terrific. Perseus fled to Pella and thence to Samothrace where he was finally betrayed to the Romans [1]

The war was over and the towns of Macedonia surrendered in quick succession. It remained to make a settlement. This was carried out by Paullus and a Senatorial Commission. The guiding principle was unchanged. freedom for Greece and Macedon and no annexation of territory. On this the various parties in the Senate were united though for different reasons Paullus represented the old policy of Flamininus and the Scipios, who wished Greece to be free, although his outlook had been tempered by the disillusioning passage of time Cato also argued that 'Macedonia must be set free, since we cannot guard her' [2] because he wished to have nothing to do with eastern conquest and its demoralizing influences. Consequently a proclamation was made that the

[1] On the battle of Pydna, see Appendix No. 11.

[2] H Malcovati, *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*² (1955), p 61

Macedonians should be autonomous, that they should pay to Rome annually half what they had paid to their king in direct tax, that the royal mines and estates should be closed and that the land should be divided into four Republics. A general disarmament was imposed, but frontier tribes might maintain armed forces to check the barbarians. This was a generous decision. The tribute was merely another form of war indemnity, which could not be exacted when the central government no longer existed. The importation of salt and the exportation of timber were also forbidden; the measure was not for the benefit of Italian merchants, but to secure for the people the monopoly which the kings had exercised. The king's personal estate, which now became Rome's public property, was not managed by Roman agents. The gold and silver mines were temporarily closed, but the iron and copper ones were worked by contractors, probably Macedonians. The four Republics were formed in accordance with the geographical features of the land They were to be independent, without political or economic intercourse with each other. Thus Rome by imposing a freedom on the Macedonians which perhaps they did not much desire, violated their sense of nationality. But the charters which were given to individual cities and states were sound enough to outlast two centuries. Further, an interesting experiment was tried regarding the constitution of the Republics. The Senate of each state was elected by the separate communities, while the chief magistrate was chosen by the direct vote of a Popular Assembly. Representative government had been tried by Achaea, Aetolia and Arcadia, and in the old Boeotian League, but there the representative body had been limited by other bodies; in the Macedonian Republics the local Senate was the primary authority.[1]

The settlement of Illyria was similar. Freedom from taxation was granted to those towns which had been loyal to Rome; the rest paid about half of the former royal land-tax. Their territory was abandoned by the Romans and divided into three separate regions. In Greece it was proposed to make no radical alterations, but if the country was again to be abandoned it must be taught the full weight of Roman authority. The cities were cleared of all Macedonian sympathizers by a brutal *Putsch*. In Aetolia five hundred of the anti-Roman party were put to death after a farcical trial and throughout northern Greece the predominance

[1] On the settlement of Macedon, see T Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, p 208 ff , J A O Larsen, *Class Phil* , 1949, p 73 ff , A Aymard, *C P* , 1950, p 97 ff

of Rome was explicitly recognized, Athens alone received preferential treatment. In Achaea on the advice of the infamous Callicrates one thousand men were deported to Italy on the pretext of being tried at Rome; among them was the historian Polybius. In Epirus Rome's treatment was still more brutal.[1] Aemilius Paullus was ordered to plunder the country systematically; at one fell swoop 150,000 Epirotes were carried off to the Roman slave-market and the country was left desolate. This inexcusable barbarity shocked even a world on whose conscience cruelty did not lie heavily.

Thus Paullus settled Greece and returned to hold the greatest triumph yet witnessed in the streets of Rome (Sept. 167). Greece was left free and beyond light taxation in lieu of war-indemnity Rome made no attempt to exploit her victory. But her attitude had changed. True, she still preferred diplomacy to war, but the old philhellenic policy was dead, killed by the unending bickerings of the Greeks themselves and by Rome's apprehension which gradually turned to a tired desire to wash her hands of all things Greek, accompanied by a steady deterioration of the character of many of her outstanding men.

§ 3. THE HELLENISTIC EAST

In Asia Minor the power of Eumenes of Pergamum had not been unchallenged. In 186 Prusias of Bithynia, who at Rome's bidding had remained neutral during the war with Antiochus, attacked Eumenes and welcomed Hannibal but he quickly obeyed an order from the Senate to cease hostilities, Hannibal took his own life to avoid extradition (183). Thereafter Bithynia caused but little trouble. Prusias II (*c.* 181–149) showed his humility by appearing in Rome dressed as a freedman. When later he attacked Pergamum after Eumenes' death Prusias had to face a hostile coalition of other states and was soon forced to make an unfavourable peace in the presence of three Roman commissioners (154). Attalus II of Pergamum retaliated a few years later by inciting Nicomedes to dethrone his father, Prusias, who appealed to Rome. But the Senate was so slow sending out commissioners that Nicomedes anticipated them by murdering his father and ruling in his stead, as this involved the renewal of good relations between Bithynia and Pergamum, Rome acquiesced (149).

Pergamum suffered further hostility from King Pharnaces of

[1] See H. H. Scullard, *J.R.S.*, 1945, p. 58 ff., S. I. Oost, *Roman Policy in Epirus* (1954), p. 83 ff.

MAP I



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of Rome was explicitly recognized, Athens alone received preferential treatment. In Achaea on the advice of the infamous Callicrates one thousand men were deported to Italy on the pretext of being tried at Rome, among them was the historian Polybius. In Epirus Rome's treatment was still more brutal.[1] Aemilius Paullus was ordered to plunder the country systematically, at one fell swoop 150,000 Epirotes were carried off to the Roman slave-market and the country was left desolate. This inexcusable barbarity shocked even a world on whose conscience cruelty did not lie heavily.

Thus Paullus settled Greece and returned to hold the greatest triumph yet witnessed in the streets of Rome (Sept. 167). Greece was left free and beyond light taxation in lieu of war-indemnity Rome made no attempt to exploit her victory. But her attitude had changed. True, she still preferred diplomacy to war, but the old philhellenic policy was dead, killed by the unending bickerings of the Greeks themselves and by Rome's apprehension which gradually turned to a tired desire to wash her hands of all things Greek, accompanied by a steady deterioration of the character of many of her outstanding men.

§ 3 THE HELLENISTIC EAST

In Asia Minor the power of Eumenes of Pergamum had not been unchallenged. In 186 Prusias of Bithynia, who at Rome's bidding had remained neutral during the war with Antiochus, attacked Eumenes and welcomed Hannibal but he quickly obeyed an order from the Senate to cease hostilities; Hannibal took his own life to avoid extradition (183). Thereafter Bithynia caused but little trouble. Prusias II (*c.* 181–149) showed his humility by appearing in Rome dressed as a freedman. When later he attacked Pergamum after Eumenes' death Prusias had to face a hostile coalition of other states and was soon forced to make an unfavourable peace in the presence of three Roman commissioners (154). Attalus II of Pergamum retaliated a few years later by inciting Nicomedes to dethrone his father, Prusias, who appealed to Rome. But the Senate was so slow sending out commissioners that Nicomedes anticipated them by murdering his father and ruling in his stead, as this involved the renewal of good relations between Bithynia and Pergamum, Rome acquiesced (149).

Pergamum suffered further hostility from King Pharnaces of

[1] See H. H. Scullard, *J.R.S.*, 1945, p. 58 ff., S. I. Oost, *Roman Policy in Epirus* (1954), p. 83 ff.



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Pontus, whose imperialistic aggression was curbed in a four years' war by a coalition of Pergamum, her erstwhile foe Bithynia and Cappadocia (183–179). For although Ariarathes IV of Cappadocia had supported Antiochus in his recent war, the good offices of Eumenes had secured a large reduction in his indemnity to Rome· in return he supported Pergamum. Pharnaces, though undaunted by Rome's half-hearted intervention on behalf of the coalition, was duly checked After this neither Pontus nor Cappadocia gave Rome much trouble for many years Mithridates III of Pontus (169–121) helped Rome against Carthage, and Ariarathes V (163–*c.* 130) maintained friendship with Rome and even died fighting for her cause.

Eumenes' secret dealings with Perseus naturally discredited him in the eyes of the Romans, who repaid this seeming lack of good faith by hinting to his brother, Attalus, that he might aspire to the Pergamene throne (167). When Eumenes announced that he was coming to Rome to plead his cause, the Senate immediately decreed that no king should be received in Rome, though King Prusias had just been welcomed. Attalus, however, remained loyal to his brother, who lived till 159 His own reign (159–138) was marked only by a defensive war against Prusias, which Rome approved, nor did he incur the Senate's displeasure by his encouragement of Nicomedes (*supra*) In fact, this client prince served Rome well, and diplomatic pressure through such an agent proved a good substitute for armed intervention Indeed the kingdom of Pergamum remained undisturbed, until it was jolted out of existence by the unexpected action of Attalus III in bequeathing it to Rome (133).

Rhodes sank into obscurity even sooner. The Rhodians had received Lycia and Caria for helping Rome against Antiochus (189), but unfortunately the Senate had not specified the status of the Lycians, who regarded themselves as allies of Rhodes, while Rhodes regarded them as subjects. This resulted in war and Lycia appealed to the Senate who ruled that the Lycians had been given to Rhodes not as a free gift but as friends and allies (177). The attitude of Rhodes became somewhat frigid and during the war with Perseus the anti-Roman faction became more prominent, but there was as yet no open breach In 168 an unfortunate episode occurred. Rhodes sent an embassy to Rome to try to mediate in the quarrel with Perseus. When the ambassadors learnt that news of Perseus' defeat at Pydna had just arrived they did their best by hastily substituting a congratu-

latory speech in place of the one they had come to deliver; but it was not convincing. A praetor even proposed that war should be declared, but Cato promptly quashed the idea, the Rhodians in gratitude sent a golden crown and humbly sought alliance with Rome. This was not granted till after a dignified interval (165). Meanwhile the Senate punished Rhodes by declaring that the Lycian and Carian cities assigned to her in 188 should be free and by creating commercial competition at Delos, which was handed over to Athens on condition that no harbour dues should be imposed Both these measures struck hard at Rhodes' revenue, and the greatness of the island began to fade Rome later was hoisted on her own petard when the pirates, whom Rhodes had long kept in check, became the scourge of the eastern Mediterranean. The chief centre of piracy was Crete, which was distracted by internal dissensions; Rome had intervened to settle these in 189 and 174 with little effect. When in 155 a united Crete fought against Rhodes, Rome failed to help her sister Republic who could no longer keep the seas clear for her trade.

After the battle of Magnesia the Seleucid monarchy, despite the loss of Asia Minor, Armenia, Parthia and Bactria, gradually revived. More isolated from the Western world, it began under Antiochus IV Epiphanes (from 175) to strengthen its authority in the East, to check internal disintegration and nationalistic movements, and finally was ready to break another lance with Egypt for the age-long debated possession of Coele-Syria Rome's relations with Egypt were slightly strained antagonized by the alliance of Egypt with Antiochus III in 196, she had not rewarded Egypt at the settlement of Apamea, although she had originally been anxious to protect Egyptian dependencies Further, Egypt had made some tactless overtures to the Achaean League in 185 and 183, but native revolts kept the country out of European politics. By 170 Egypt was planning to renew the invasion of Coele-Syria, when Antiochus IV crashed through her frontier defences. The young Ptolemy VI Philometor was captured and the Alexandrines replaced him by his brother Ptolemy VII, Euergetes Physcon. But instead of fighting his way back to the Egyptian throne, as Antiochus hoped, the deposed king came to terms and set up a joint kingship with his brother. Antiochus, who had withdrawn, thereupon re-entered Egypt and seized Cyprus (168) Rome had been too busy in Macedon to assist either of the Ptolemies, although a centenary renewal of the treaty between Rome and Egypt had been effected, but after

Pydna the Senate sent a peremptory order to Antiochus to evacuate Egypt and Cyprus. The Roman envoy, Popillius, handed the Senate's despatch to the king, who asked for time to consider; but Popillius merely drew a circle round Antiochus in the sand and bade him answer before stepping out of it. The king meekly obeyed and withdrew from Egypt.

The two Ptolemies did not reign in amity for long. In 164 Philometor was expelled from Egypt and appealed to Rome, making a theatrical appearance in the Senate-house dressed in a suppliant's rags; the Senate intervened by diplomacy alone. After another reconciliation between the brothers, Philometor obtained Egypt and Cyprus, Euergetes Cyrene, but when soon afterwards Euergetes appeared in Rome to ask for Cyprus (162), the Senate agreed but took no military action to enforce his claim and merely broke off diplomatic relations with Philometor. Later Euergetes alleged that his brother had tried to murder him and in 154 he returned to Rome where he supported his accusation by displaying to the Senate some knife-marks on his body. Before leaving Cyrene, however, he had tried to propitiate the Romans and to show his subjects that a revolt during his absence would not lead to freedom or union with Egypt: he set up a public inscription stating that should he die without legitimate heirs he bequeathed to the Roman People his rightful realm, the protection of which he entrusted to them This recently discovered document, the earliest known testament of a Hellenistic king in favour of Rome, did not, in fact, become operative, but it illustrates the humility which the Hellenistic world now adopted towards the rising Sun of Rome [1] In reply to his friendly gesture and Ptolemy's personal appeal, the Senate ordered their eastern allies to co-operate in restoring Cyprus to him But when the promised help did not materialize, it seems that the king attempted to reinstate himself and was captured. He was, however, generously restored to Cyrene by his brother Philometor, who continued to reign in Egypt and Cyprus at peace with Rome, where Cato supported his cause. Though Polybius[2] criticizes Rome's policy towards Egypt as an example of how she profited by the mistakes of another, it is in fact noticeable that Rome seemed to procrastinate and often did not insist on the immediate execution of her requests. Indeed, her

[1] The literature which this discovery has provoked is conveniently listed in *Journ Hell Stud*, 1933, pp 263, 4.

[2] XXXI, 10.

hesitancy towards Egypt may have inspired Carthage and the Achaean League with unwarranted hopes.

Further trouble arose in Syria on the death of Antiochus IV (163). The rightful heir to the throne was his nephew Demetrius, the son of his predecessor Seleucus IV; but Antiochus left his son Antiochus V to succeed him. The Senate ordered commissioners to settle the difficulty When they proceeded to enforce some disarmament clauses of the Peace of Apamea, an insurrection broke out, in which the angry crowd at Laodicea mobbed the embassy and killed its leader (162). Further, Demetrius, who was a hostage at Rome, escaped to Syria without the Senate's permission, and recovered his father's kingdom.[1] He secured the death of Antiochus V, but had to face a pretender, Timarchus, governor of Babylonia, who had won verbal recognition from the Senate. Perhaps with a view to checking his power the Senate received the overtures of Judas Maccabaeus from Jerusalem and concluded a treaty with the Jews, promising Roman help and friendship if they were attacked (161).[2] The next year Demetrius, who had overthrown the rebel Timarchus, at length obtained official recognition from the Senate through the good offices of Tiberius Gracchus. Rome continued to avoid active intervention in Syria. About 150 a pretender, Alexander Balas, gained recognition from the Senate and overthrew Demetrius, who was constantly making trouble and enemies. In 147 a son of Demetrius challenged Balas and was supported by Ptolemy VI. When the people of Antioch offered Ptolemy the Seleucid crown, fear of provoking Rome sufficed to make him decline it, and he withdrew in favour of the young Demetrius, who requited him by seizing Coele-Syria at his death and so ended the long struggle between the Ptolemics and Seleucids (145). Thus in the years which followed the death of Antiochus the Great, Rome often exerted diplomatic pressure against Syria where she liked to see a weak king on the Seleucid throne. But as Syria became weaker and her revival less possible, indifference took the place of that

[1] Polybius, his friend, helped him to escape Perhaps the Senate, or part of it at any rate, turned a blind eye to this escapade cf H Volkmann, *Klio*, 1925, p 382 ff.

[2] This treaty, which was granted by the Senate and not ratified by the Comitia, never became operative Its existence has been doubted—but without adequate reason See Ed Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfange des Christentums*, II, p 246, n 4, Ginsberg, *Rome et la Judée*, p 34 ff , Taubler, *Imperium Romanum*, p 239 ff

suspicion and fear which had often driven Rome to intervention and once to arms.

§ 4 THE END OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE

The four Macedonian Republics for some time proved a successful experiment, especially considering that the people were not used to self-government. In 158 the Senate reopened the royal mines and allowed the Republics the right of coinage. The first serious trouble arose from a pretender to the Macedonian throne. This adventurer, named Andriscus, who claimed to be a son of Perseus, at first failed to gain support in Macedon or Syria, and even when aided by Thracian troops and money he only climbed to the throne of Macedon after two victories in the field (149). Rome was slow to act, especially in view of the lack of Macedonian enthusiasm for the pretender. But he was soon strong enough to defeat a small Roman force which was sent against him. In 148 Caecilius Metellus arrived with two legions and quickly ended Andriscus' career. To prevent similar disturbances in the future, Rome took a momentous departure from her old policy of leaving Greece free and ungarrisoned Macedon was declared a Roman province governed by a Roman magistrate, and Illyricum and Epirus were added to his sphere of administration But it was not intended to alter the conditions of the local communities as fixed by Aemilius Paullus, the tribute probably was not increased, while the restrictions between the now abolished Republics were removed. With her frontiers severely guarded Macedon entered on a period of comparative peace and before the death of Polybius the Via Egnatia had been completed from Epidamnus on the west coast to Cypsela near the Dardanelles, a length of 535 miles; but her independent history was ended.

In Greece, as in Macedon, permanent changes were at length introduced. The Senate's refusal to free the thousand deported Achaeans was a bitter pill for the League to swallow; to free them would be to admit that their detention had been unjust. Only after sixteen years was the remnant set free (151). Meantime the League had been robbed of its most experienced statesmen and had been at the mercy of the hated pro-Roman Callicrates, whom even the children in the streets called 'traitor.' The Senate in vain tried to compensate for detaining the prisoners by ensuring that her envoys in Greece were men of character and by allowing the

League or its cities to arbitrate in disputes between Sparta and Megalopolis in 164 and between Athens and Oropus in 156. When Callicrates died in 150 the last check on the anti-Roman party was removed and the Achaeans' anger blazed forth, fanned by the extremist Diaeus. Mistaking Rome's conciliatory attitude for weakness they saw their opportunity for revenge now that Roman armies were engaged in Spain, Africa and Macedon. The cause of the outbreak was Achaea's attempt to coerce Sparta, who had seceded from the League. When Sparta complained at Rome the Senate ordered the Achaeans to restore full independence to Sparta, and to Corinth and Argos who did not desire it (148). At Corinth, where anti-Roman feeling ran strong among the proletariate, the Senators bearing the decree were mobbed and the punishment of those responsible was refused. A conciliatory message from the Senate caused a second hostile demonstration at Corinth. Achaea then declared war on Sparta and Heracleia-ad-Oetam, and there was a general rally among the masses in Boeotia and Euboea in her favour. But the Achaeans' action was aimed at Rome, and while their new general and dictator, Critolaus, was busy storming Heracleia instead of organizing his defences, a Roman army under Metellus descended from Macedon and swept him aside (146) A second army, raised by Diaeus, checked Metellus at Corinth, but in vain. His successor, Mummius, arrived with four legions and routed the enemy at the Isthmus; he then entered Corinth.

For a moment Rome's patience broke under the strain and she decided to punish Corinth for violating the sanctity of her ambassadors and to make an example of her to all Greece. Mummius was ordered to sell the remaining inhabitants into slavery and to level the city to the ground, her artistic treasures were shipped to Rome, whether or not there is truth in the anecdotes which told how the troops played dice on famous masterpieces and how the matter-of-fact Mummius contracted that any lost on the voyage should be replaced. Details of the Senate's settlement are obscure. Individuals were punished. The Achaean and at least all hostile Leagues were temporarily dissolved. The cities, at any rate those which had remained loyal to Rome, were probably immune from taxation, while the prohibition of *commercium* between cities was probably only a temporary restriction. Democracies were abolished and timocracies established in those parts of Greece which had been reduced in war. As Greece had no frontiers to be protected, she

was not made into a province till a century later. But she was placed under the supervision of the governor of Macedonia who was responsible for settling disputes and maintaining order.

The punishment of Corinth was cruel but effective. There is little evidence to support the view that it was dictated by commercial jealousy. It was a lesson to all Greece that Rome was tired of her quarrels, and the lesson was not in vain. That an oligarchical state should seek to impose an aristocratic form of government on Greece was natural enough, especially as it facilitated the transaction of business; at the same time the Greeks retained considerable local autonomy. Indeed, after some years the commercial barriers between cities were removed and even the Leagues were revived on a social and religious basis. The long chapter of Greek independence was ended. But peace did not necessarily bring prosperity or happiness. Hellas had fallen from her high estate. And it is more just to charge Greece herself with slow suicide than to accuse Rome of murder or even homicide.[1]

[1] On conditions in Greece after the Roman settlement of 146, see J. A O Larsen, *Econ Survey of Anc Rome*, IV, p 306 ff., S Accame, *Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto* (1946)

CHAPTER XIV

ROME, ITALY AND THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

§ 1. THE NORTHERN FRONTIER

AFTER the Second Punic War Rome had to face the challenge of the barbarian, as well as of the civilized, world. Cisalpine Gaul must be recovered, subdued and secured. In Spain the natives must be driven back to render the Roman occupation safe; having wrested the Peninsula from Carthage, the Romans no more thought of giving it back to the natives, than the Allies after the First World War thought of letting German colonial possessions revert to a native administration. Yet Rome had not entered on a systematic career of conquest; perhaps it would have been better for the native populations if she had Distracted by Eastern affairs and exhausted by the Hannibalic War, she only fought as need arose. A systematic conquest, followed up by the spreading of Roman civilization, could have been accomplished in a few years Instead, slow wars dragged on interminably, often with little plan, under mediocre or ambitious generals, useless cruelty and great losses were endured by both sides, until at length a semblance of order was imposed.[1] Although the final settlement of these barbarian tribes was only completed by Augustus the Peace-Maker, yet in the fifty years which followed the Hannibalic War Rome had asserted her suzerainty, not only in Corsica, Sardinia and the highlands of central Spain, but also on her northern frontier from near Marseilles, along the sweep of the Alps to Istria and thence down the western coast of the Balkan peninsula.

At Hannibal's approach many of the Gauls of the valley of the Po who had just bowed the knee to Rome had rallied to his standard. But they had not given him adequate support; not till the end of the war did his agent succeed in fomenting a serious Gallic revolt, and then it was too late; the golden opportunity of 218 B.C. had been lost. The loyalty of the Veneti and Mantua, Cremona and Placentia gave the Romans an invaluable foothold

[1] As ancient historians were more interested in Rome's expansion in the East, these dreary wars were ill-recorded by authoritative writers, this afforded an open field for the Roman annalists' patriotic imagination.

in the north against Gallic unrest, which only came to a head in 201 when the Boii defeated a Roman detachment (near modern Forli), while the consul Paetus was trying to secure an important pass over the Apennines by the Sapi (Savio) valley. Encouraged by the victory, instigated further by Hamilcar, and supported by the Insubres and Cenomani, they fell on Placentia (200 or 199). The praetor Furius Purpureo arrived too late to save the town, but he parried a Gallic thrust at Cremona where he defeated the Insubres.[1]

When affairs in Greece began to shape better the Senate decided on more drastic action in the north. The consuls of 197 converged on Cisalpine Gaul from opposite directions. Cornelius Cethegus penetrated thither from Venetia and found the Cenomani ready to acknowledge Rome's suzerainty once more, while he defeated the Insubres on the banks of the Mincio near Mantua. Meantime his colleague Minucius Rufus who marched from Genoa over the Apennines burnt Clastidium as punishment for its defection in the Hannibalic War, and mastered the country around Litubio; but the Gauls and Ligurians would not meet him in open battle. In 196 both consuls again took the field. Marcellus, the son of the victor of Syracuse, crossed the Po and finished the war in Transpadane Gaul by defeating the Insubres near Comum. They signed a treaty by which no Insubrian was ever to receive Roman citizenship, soon afterwards the district of Mediolanum (Milan) was occupied by Italian settlers. Although the Boii were thus isolated, they withstood the other consul in Cispadane Gaul and perhaps even attacked Marcellus on his return journey As their submission was expected shortly, little effort was made; the various battles, recorded by Roman annalists, amount to little, seeing that no general won a triumph. In 192 Lucius Flamininus and Domitius Ahenobarbus, the victor of Magnesia, tried in vain to outshine their predecessors But the next year P Cornelius Scipio Nasica, cousin of Africanus, won a striking and final victory over the Boii, who ceded half their territory and gradually withdrew to Bohemia or else were absorbed by the spread of Roman civilization.

The conquered district was soon organized In 190 Placentia and Cremona were both reinforced by 6,000 Roman and Latin settlers. The next year Bononia (Bologna; the old Etruscan Felsina) received 3,000 colonists who were given large allotments

[1] Much of Livy's account of this campaign (XXXI, 10; 21–22, 47–49) is a doublet of Cethegus' victory in 196

of 50–70 *iugera*. In 183 Parma and Mutina were settled as Roman colonies; the large number of settlers, 2,000 at each, and the traditionally small allotments of 5–8 *iugera* emphasize the military need. Meanwhile the consuls of 187, Aemilius Lepidus and C. Flaminius, were linking up these new districts with roads that bore their names: the Via Aemilia, running from Ariminum through Bononia to Placentia, and the Via Flaminia[1] from Arretium over the Apennines to Bononia Thus the whole of Cisalpine Gaul in the region of the Po gradually came under Roman influence, from the Adriatic to the Sesia in the west. Beyond this river the Romans did not venture; the Salassi of the western Alpine valleys around Aosta long retained their independence.

The Romans then addressed themselves to the problem of the tribes on either side of Cisalpine Gaul: the Ligurians and the Istri. The Ligurians who dwelt in the Apennines from the Arno to Savoy were a hardier race than the Gauls of the northern plain. From their mountain heights they threatened alike the valley of the Po and the plains and ports of Tuscany, and even challenged the commerce of Massilia. Their two chief tribes were the Apuani above Luna (Spezia), and the Ingauni north and west of Genoa. By making peace with the latter in 201 the Romans secured control over the important ports of Luna and Genoa, and were in no hurry to undertake the systematic reduction of the Italian Riviera Minucius Rufus marched through Ligurian territory in 197, and Minucius Thermus thrust back the Apuani, who threatened Pisa in 192, and made a demonstration beyond the Auser[2] The Senate did not take active measures till after the wars with Philip and Antiochus. While constructing a road from Pisa to Genoa in 186 the consul Marcius Philippus ventured with two legions into the mountain fastnesses of the Apuani and was destroyed in a pass which received his name—*Saltus Marcius*. The following year one consul proceeded against the Apuani, the other against the Ingauni who had broken their alliance But the resistance of the Ligurians was slow to weaken. In 181 Aemilius Paullus, the future victor of Pydna, reduced the Ingauni to allegiance; the consuls of 180 defeated the Apuani and trans-

[1] Not the Via Flaminia from Rome to Ariminum (of which the Via Aemilia was a continuation) built by the consul of 223 On the development of Cisalpine Gaul see U. Ewins, *Papers Br. Sch Rome*, 1952

[2] Livy's account (XXXV, 3, 11, 21, XXXVI, 38) of Thermus' exploits is confused and untrustworthy

ported 40,000 of them to near Beneventum in Samnium. In the vacant territory the Romans established a Latin colony at Luca[1] (*c.* 178) and in 177 Luna received 2,000 Roman citizens

But the Ligurians were far from pacified. A violent revolt occurred near Mutina and campaigning continued till 175 Thereafter fighting was sporadic and Roman generals found an easy way to win a triumph. Though ambition and cruelty sometimes went hand in hand, the Senate with the zealous Cato at its elbow often checked unlawful activity; for instance, in 172 Popillius Laenas was forced to release prisoners whom he had taken in his campaign against the Statielli Later the Romans in securing a road to Massilia and Spain came into contact with the more westerly Ligurian tribes Victories were reported from the Maritime Alps in 166, 158 and 155 B.C In 154 the Oxybian Ligurians raided the Massiliote ports at Antipolis (Antibes) and Nicea (Nice) and assaulted a Roman embassy which had been sent at the request of Massilia. Punishment was quickly meted out by the consul Opimius and part of their territory was given to Massilia. Thus the land route to Spain was secured and a few years later Genoa was linked with the northern plains by the construction of the Via Postumia to Cremona and Aquileia

As a result of these Ligurian and Gallic campaigns the Romans obtained, either by direct possession or through their Latin colonies, about half of the 18,000 square miles south of the Po Although they planted only two citizen colonies, Mutina and Parma (and Dertona about 120), in this district, individual settlers were encouraged to migrate northwards, by the granting of plots of land to applicants (e g. in 173, to citizens 10 *iugera*, to allies 3 by viritane assignation) [2] The success of this movement can be traced by the rapid extension of local centres for trade and administration (*fora* and *conciliabula*) and by the growth of the tribe Pollia in which many such colonists were enrolled. And with the colonists there came order, prosperity and civilization. The land was reclaimed and improved; in addition to main roads many branch roads were constructed, these served also as embankments against flood and alongside them ran ditches which helped to drain the land. Nor did the migration stop south of the

[1] Denied by E T Salmon, *Class Quart*, 1933, p 30 ff, but see A H. McDonald, *Cambr Hist Journ*, 1939, p 124

[2] Traces of the division of land into plots have been found in North Italy On centuriation as revealed by air-photography, see J Bradford, *Ancient Landscapes* (1957), esp p 157 ff, 261 ff

Po. Roman and Italian farmers gradually bought up a large part of the land to the north and thrust the Celtic tribes steadily towards the foothills of the Alps The way was thus gradually prepared for the inclusion of Cisalpine Gaul within the sphere of Roman administration, with all that it has meant to later history.

The natural frontier in north-east Italy was the arc of the Cornic and Julian Alps terminating in the Istrian peninsula. This district, which had been subdued before the Hannibalic War, had been lost during that upheaval, but the Romans, whose flank was protected by the friendly Veneti, postponed reasserting their authority until after they had dealt with the Po valley and Liguria. Warnings, however, were sent to the raiding tribesmen from the mountains, and in 181 a Latin colony was founded at Aquileia as a permanent bulwark on this frontier Three thousand colonists, mostly veteran soldiers, were sent out, in 169 another 1,500 families followed. Exceptionally large allotments, from 50 to 140 *iugera*, were granted in order to attract better-class farmers who would run their estates with hired or slave labour and would thus be free to act as a garrison if necessary. When peace was secured Aquileia developed into the most important commercial city in the north, thanks to its nodal position But its foundation stimulated the angered Istri to further raids, so that an expedition was launched against them under Manlius Vulso in 178.

Manlius advanced from Aquileia over the Timavus and took up a position in the enemy's country; his two legions camped separately, while 3,000 Gallic allies formed a third camp.[1] When the Istrians swept aside his outposts and stormed his camp, the troops fled in a panic to the Roman fleet which was stationed nearby on the coast. Manlius at length steadied his men and then retrieved the day by carrying out a converging attack on the Istrians from his other two camps. After wintering at Aquileia, Manlius advanced before his successor arrived into the Istrian peninsula and won a victory perhaps on the Quieto. While he was besieging the survivors who had rallied in the south at Nesactium near Pola, Claudius Pulcher arrived with a new army to take over the siege, which he soon completed After he had stormed two other towns, resistance was stamped out and Istria was reduced as far as the Arsia

[1] On the topography, see Veith, *Atlas*, col. 49, 50, and De Sanctis, IV, 1, p 431.

After the war with Perseus and Genthius the Romans had secured the Dalmatian coast as far north as the Narenta. It only remained to reduce the strip from there to Arsia to turn the Adriatic into a Roman lake. When the Dalmatae, the chief tribe of this coastal strip, began to harry certain neighbouring tribes and Greek colonists, the Senate intervened. A Roman embassy was insulted and the consul C. Marcius Figulus was sent to Dalmatia (156) After an initial defeat, he ravaged the country and besieged the capital, Delminium. But, like Manlius at Nesactium, he was not allowed to complete the task, which fell to the lot of his successor P. Scipio Nasica. Meanwhile L. Cornelius Lentulus had advanced in the north from Aquileia into Pannonia, perhaps to Siscia (156) As this demonstration was not followed up, there was still a small gap left between the Roman possessions on the Adriatic coast—from Arsia to the Titius, which was not dealt with till 129. But with this trifling exception Rome had now extended her authority from the Ligurian tribes near Marseilles, round the sweep of the Alps to Istria and thence down the western coast of the Balkan peninsula.

Sardinia and Corsica had remained at peace for twenty years after the Hannibalic War—a period marked by the governorship of Cato who banished all moneylenders and reduced the exactions made on behalf of the Roman governor (198) But during Rome's preoccupation with the Ligurians the two islands revolted, perhaps in conjunction with the mainlanders (181). Corsica soon submitted, but the Sardinians held out longer, until brought to heel by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, who doubled their tribute (177–176) Occasional fighting flared up again in Corsica until its final reduction in 163, and even then brigandage occasionally lifted its head in the interior.

§ 2. CATO AND GRACCHUS IN SPAIN

The Romans had not fought the Hannibalic War to win Spain, but once having stepped into the shoes of Carthage, they intended to keep the spoils of victory. They had won only a small, but the most valuable, part of the whole Peninsula the lower Ebro valley, the east coast and the Baetis valley They then had to decide whether to disregard or to conquer the highland tribes of the interior, who had remained untouched by the Carthaginians apart from Hannibal's lightning campaign, though the Romans ended by conquering them, they did not necessarily

start with that intention. The desire for law and order on the frontiers and the need for further conquests to protect previous ones partly explains the long series of wars waged in Spain. But the rich resources of the land excited Rome's cupidity at a time of exhaustion when she had to rally her strength to meet the demands of the Eastern wars. So she began to exploit her new province, which naturally evoked increasing discontent among, and ultimate conflict with, the natives of the interior. These wars which continued till 133 B.C. were waged by both sides with much cruelty and treachery, albeit often with great courage, and brought to the surface many of the baser elements of the Roman character [1]

Scipio Africanus had conquered Spain, not as a regular magistrate, but merely as a *privatus* on whom the People had conferred proconsular *imperium*. His successors were nominated in a similar way (205–198). But Rome soon adapted her machinery of government and from 197 B.C. the annual number of praetors was raised from four to six; two were sent to Spain with proconsular rank, with twelve lictors in place of the six granted to their colleagues. Each administered one of the two independent provinces (Hispania Citerior and Ulterior) into which Spain was now divided in order to surmount the difficulty of maintaining communications throughout the land. Nearer Spain comprised the valley of the Ebro and the east coast to a point south of Cartagena; in the northern part the natives were unused to foreign rule. Further Spain consisted of the far richer Baetis valley south of the Sierra Morena, where the inhabitants had long been accustomed to a foreign yoke.

In general Rome took over the reins of government from Carthage, and the Spaniards who had at first welcomed the Romans as protectors soon found that they had merely exchanged masters. Special treaties were granted only to larger communities and to certain Phoenician and Greek towns as Gades and Emporiae. The colony of Italica, founded by Scipio Africanus, retained its Roman citizenship and in 171 a Latin colony was founded at Carteia. Communes and towns were encouraged at the expense of larger tribal units, while native chiefs were no doubt con-

[1] The account of these wars, which belong to the Great Age of the Conquests, exceeds the strict chronological limit of this volume (146) The Lusitanian War lasted from 154 to 138, the First Celtiberian from 181 to 179, the Second from 153 to 151 and the Third (or Numantine War) from 143 to 133, Polybius treats the last two as one twenty-years' war, 153–133.

trolled The Romans levied auxiliaries and imposed tribute in the form of a fixed tax (*stipendium*), not a tithe; this was paid partly in natural products, such as corn, but mostly in bullion or in coined money; to this end the natives were encouraged to mint silver and copper on a Roman monetary standard. But it was the extortion of the Roman governors, rather than the tribute itself, which galled the natives most and which opened a shameful page in the history of Roman provincial administration. As the Spaniards themselves in the sixteenth century fell on the riches of Mexico and Peru, so with like avarice and cruelty the Romans exploited their new Eldorado. Scipio Aemilianus at Numantia is reported to have levied 40,000 auxiliaries, while in ten years (206–197) 130,000 lb. of silver and 4,000 lb of gold were transported to Rome. The result of this continued maladministration was that in 171 the first court to try cases of extortion (*repetundae*) was set up and in 149 it was established on a permanent basis.[1]

As a protest against Roman policy a vast insurrection swept through Spain in 197, starting in the south among the Turdetani; it included the Phoenician cities of Malaca and Sexi, which doubtless had suffered from Roman governors since even Rome's ally, Gades, had to endure a Roman *praefectus*. The revolt spread rapidly over the central highlands to the north, where a praetor Tuditanus was defeated In 196 Rome was too busy in Greece and Cisalpine Gaul to reinforce the Spanish praetors who nevertheless won a success in Turdetania and probably brought the Phoenician coast towns to heel. In the following year it was decided to raise the legions in Spain to four (about 50,000 men, excluding native allies), by despatching a consular army under Cato. Though welcomed by the Greek settlement at Emporiae, he had to face a grave situation: in the north only the Ilergetes remained loyal He took care to support his army from the land, remarking to the army contractors that 'war feeds itself,' and then advanced against the enemy whom he defeated in battle. Consequently the rebellion in the north subsided enough to allow the praetor at Tarraco to join his colleague in the south where together they checked the less warlike Turdetani. When this tribe was strengthened by 10,000 Celtiberian mercenaries Cato

[1] On Roman Spain see A Schulten, *Cambr Anc Hist*, VIII, p 306 ff, C. H V Sutherland, *The Romans in Spain* (1939) The ancient sources are collected in *Fontes Hispaniae Antiquae* by A Schulten, P Bosch Gimpera and L Pericot. vol II, 237–154 B C, vol. III, 154–72 B C

himself marched south. Here he tried to buy over the Celtiberians and achieved little: a signal failure considering the size of his army Marching back through the highlands he unsuccessfully attacked Segontia and Numantia, although he was not technically at war with the Celtiberians.[1] This campaign thus destroyed all hope of peace and ushered in the Celtiberian wars which lasted intermittently till 133; but perhaps open war was better than a state of peace under cover of which the Celtiberians could ravage Roman territory by serving other tribes as mercenaries. Returning down the Ebro, Cato pacified the restless mountain tribes of Catalonia and after reorganizing the working of the mines there he led his army back to Rome to receive a triumph. His campaign benefited the treasury, but it did not crush the spirit of revolt; indeed the interest which attaches to his personality has led to the magnifying of his exploit. Valuable geographical knowledge of the Celtiberian theatre of war may have been gained, but what might not a Hannibal or a Scipio have accomplished with Cato's forces?

The war continued and even spread to the Lusitani (in South Portugal), who were defeated by Scipio Nasica near Ilipa in 194. Then the Romans advanced from the south against the central highlands of Old Castile, subjugating the Oretani and Carpetani and capturing Toledo (193–192). Indecisive hostilities dragged on: for instance, Aemilius Paullus, who was defeated by the Lusitani in the Saltus Castulonensis in 190, retrieved the situation the next year In 186 the Senate supplemented the inadequate forces by raising the number of legions in Spain to four and maintained this strength till 179. Although the Roman praetors defeated the Lusitani, who were aided by the Celtiberi, in Carpetania in 185, they were reluctant to risk penetrating into the heart of the little-known districts of Lusitania and Celtiberia, notwithstanding their 40,000–50,000 men

In 181 the Lusones, a Celtiberian tribe, tried to migrate into Carpetania. Their southward advance was checked at Aebura by Fulvius Flaccus, who after severely trouncing them in battle marched northwards, captured their capital, Contrebia, and reduced the district which the Romans called Celtiberia Citerior (i e. south and east of the plateau of Almazan and the Sierra del Moncayo) The following year he started to attack Celtiberia Ul-

[1] Roman camps dating to this campaign have been found near Emporiae, Segontia (at Aguilar and Alpanesque) and near Numantia (at Renieblas I), see Appendix No 12.

terior, but was recalled by the arrival of his successor, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus; while returning to the coast he was assailed in the Saltus Manlianus (Jalon valley) but turned the tables by winning a fresh victory. Meanwhile Gracchus advanced up the Ebro and snatched Caravis (north-west of Saragossa) from the clutches of the Celtiberians, against whom he planned a converging attack. His colleague, Postumius, assailed the Vaccaei in the west and then advanced along the upper Douro towards Celtiberia, while Gracchus himself penetrated up the Jalon valley from the east. After a victory near Contrebia Gracchus made a treaty with the southern Celtiberians, by which they furnished auxiliaries and tribute, while in Further Celtiberia the warlike Arevaci concluded a favourable alliance Like the elder Scipio and Hasdrubal, but unlike so many other generals, Gracchus sought to win over the natives by sympathy rather than by force; and his name was long honoured in Spain for fair dealing and wise moderation. He even made some attempt to Romanize the conquered country by founding Gracchuris on the Upper Ebro, later another town, Corduba, was established in southern Spain as a centre of Roman civilization (168 or 151) The First Celtiberian War (181–179) had resulted in the subjugation of the southern tribes and alliance with the northern. Comparative peace reigned for twenty-five years, so that Rome could devote herself to the Istri (178–177), the Sardinians (177–176) and above all to Perseus (172–168).

§ 3. THE CELTIBERIAN AND LUSITANIAN WARS

For many years Roman governors administered and plundered Spain, and the provincials appealed, often with success, to Rome for justice. But in 154 war again broke out among the Lusitani and raged till 138. Meantime the Celtiberians made a bid for independence in 153 but were crushed by 151; this short Second Celtiberian War will be described before the longer struggle with Lusitania The interest of these wars derives from the emergence of a national hero, whose brilliant guerrilla warfare recalls another great national leader, Owain Glyndwr, from the heroic resistance of the Celtiberians, from the demoralizing effect which they exercised on the Roman character, and finally from their link with the present, for many of the camps which were built during them have been uncovered this century.

Stimulated by the rebellion of the Lusitanians, the Belli in 153 refused to stop fortifying their town of Segeda in the upper

Jalon valley, and encouraged the neighbouring tribes in Nearer Celtiberia to revolt.[1] The Senate assigned four legions to Spain and sent the consul Q. Fulvius Nobilior, son of the victor of the Aetolians, against the Celtiberians.[2] When he advanced up the Jalon valley, the Belli abandoned Segeda and took refuge with the Arevaci, thus spreading the disturbance into Further Celtiberia. Nobilior left a supply depôt at Ocilis and advanced to Almazan, twenty miles south of Numantia, where his summer camp still survives.[3] But while his army threaded its way through the defile to Numantia it was attacked by the Arevaci, 6,000 legionaries fell near Monte de Matamala on August 23rd, the day of the Vulcanalia. The Roman cavalry, however, succeeded in driving back the victors to Numantia. Nobilior followed and camped on a mountain named Gran Atalaya near Renieblas, some four miles east of Numantia, where he commanded the approaches to the Ebro. Communications with his base at Ocilis would be difficult; after his recent defeat he evidently mistrusted the route thither and preferred to rely on the Ebro valley. In the summer he failed to storm Numantia, notwithstanding the use of elephants, and the neighbouring Uxama (Osma), so that he was forced to encamp for the winter (153–152) at Gran Atalaya amid great cold and hardship, his impressive winter camp still exists (Camp III)

In 152 he was succeeded by M. Claudius Marcellus, who reduced Ocilis and the revolted Jalon valley By the offer of favourable terms many tribes, including the Arevaci, were induced to send embassies to Rome. But the Senate, now accustomed to the obsequious compliments of the Greeks, was in no mood to listen to tribesmen who spoke as free men conscious of their rights; Scipio Africanus, with his courteous sympathy towards the Spaniards, was long dead and Rome had drunk too deep from the cup of military power and domination After negotiations had broken down Marcellus encamped on a hill (Castillejo), just north

[1] A bronze tablet, referring to a treaty between ten Celtiberian towns, belongs either to this period or later (*c* 98 B C) see Schulten, *Hermes*, 1915, p. 247. On the site of Segeda see Schulten, *Arch Anzeiger*, 1933, p. 547

[2] In order that the consul might start his campaign early, the beginning of the civil year was altered from 15th March to 1st January Modern Europe thus owes the beginning of its year to the Celtiberian War.

[3] On this and the other existing camps mentioned below, see Appendix No 12

of Numantia, where later Scipio Aemilianus camped.[1] He then made peace with the Numantines in return for a very large sum of money, the terms were probably the same as those formerly imposed by Gracchus. When the new consul L Licinius Lucullus arrived in 151 and found peace established, he savagely turned against the unoffending Vaccaei He took the town of Cauca by treachery, but his brutality merely stiffened the resistance of Intercatia and Pallantia which he assailed in vain. He then withdrew to Further Spain to help the equally unscrupulous Galba against the Lusitanians. For seven years peace reigned in Celtiberia.

Meanwhile in 154 the Lusitanians had raided Roman territory, defeated two praetors and stirred the Vettones to arms. The following year they discomfited Mummius, the future destroyer of Corinth, and sent the captured Roman standards as an incentive to the Celtiberians, next, they attacked the Conii, raided Baetica and perhaps crossed to North Africa, but soon afterwards Mummius and his successor turned the tables on them Consequently they made a treaty only to break it the next year and to defeat Sulpicius Galba in a signal victory (151). Galba was reinforced by the arrival of Lucullus, but he found treachery more expedient than arms. After inducing the Lusitanians to submit, he disarmed, separated and finally butchered them This cold-blooded atrocity was even more treacherous than Lucullus' treatment of the Vaccaei, who had received no formal pledges from Rome when they surrendered. Rome's name was dishonoured, such cruelty had never before stained her annals. On his return Galba was brought to trial, but though Cato, now aged eighty-five, supported the prosecution, a wise use of his ill-gotten gains and the tears of his little children obtained his acquittal. Rome truly was falling from her ancient greatness, as the ruins of Corinth, Carthage and Numantia were soon to testify.

Among the survivors of Galba's massacre was a shepherd named Viriathus [2] He persuaded some 10,000 Lusitanians, who had been cut off by the praetor Vetilius, to fight for their liberty instead of surrendering Under his leadership they broke away and for eight years he withstood the arms of Rome. First he

[1] Traces of Marcellus' camp have been found under the later ones

[2] On the war with Viriathus, see Schulten, *Neue Jahrbucher*, 1917, p 1 ff, and Kromayer, *Atlas*, col 56 Little was known of details, topographical and strategical, until Schulten's researches revealed the main outline

adopted guerrilla tactics without any definite fortress for a base; in a narrow pass of the Sierra Ronda he trapped and defeated the praetor Vetilius who followed him south from Urso (147) [1] He then established himself nearer home in a strong position in Carpetania on the Hill of Venus (Sierra S. Vincente; forty miles north-west of Toledo). From here he long dominated the surrounding district, striking northwards to Segovia, and eastwards to Segobriga; finally he won a number of towns near Corduba in the south (146–141) The Roman forces continued to meet with defeat, even after 145 when a consular army of two legions was sent out. In 141/0 Fabius Maximus Servilianus was surrounded, but Viriathus unexpectedly accepted a treaty and allowed the Roman army to withdraw. Though the terms were ratified at Rome, Servilianus' successor, Servilius Caepio, took upon himself to renew hostilities. The last phase of the war opened, in which Viriathus was forced back on the defensive. Caepio advanced into Lusitania from the south[2] and after a defeat suborned three of Viriathus' friends to cut his throat as he lay sleeping in full armour in his tent (139) This terminated the war, although Caepio's successor, D. Junius Brutus, penetrated further north In 138 he subdued Portugal up to the Douro and the next year while his fleet advanced along the coast he reached Galice and defeated the wild Callaici beyond the Oblivio (Minho).[3] He fortified Olisipo (Lisbon) and settled the veterans of Viriathus at a place named Valentia (Valença do Minho?). His treatment of the natives was marked by a greater moderation than many of his predecessors had displayed

So fell Viriathus, a great national leader and hero, by a fate similar to that of Sertorius whom he much resembles His courage, his skill in guerrilla warfare, his inspiring and magnetic personality, all alike command respect But like many leaders from the elder Scipios to Wellington, he underestimated the volatility of the Spanish temperament. He failed to discipline his men adequately, to obtain the co-operation of the Celtiberians and to weld the various tribes into a nation.

[1] In the valley of the Guadiaro, some twenty-five miles south of Ronda.

[2] A Castra Servilia has been found north of Caceres.

[3] One of his camps, the *Cava de Viriato*, has been found at Viseu in Portugal by Schulten. see *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, Feb 1928, *Arch Anz*, 1933, p. 531 ff

§ 4. THE NUMANTINE WAR

Encouraged by the initial success of Viriathus the Celtiberians had again broken into rebellion in 143. This Third Celtiberian, or Numantine, War was centred around Numantia, which was situated on a hill at the junction of two rivers which run through heavily-forested valleys. It had been founded on the site of earlier settlements by the Iberians who penetrated the Celtic highlands about 300 B C. The Iberian element was responsible for the town wall with an inner ring of houses, while the centre was laid out in accordance with Greek principles. The population gradually spread beyond the walls and when the town was attacked in 153 the larger settlement would be protected by a palisade.[1] Though their civilization was somewhat backward and their pottery coarse, the Numantines had magnificent weapons of iron. Through scarcity of corn they continually raided the valleys of the Ebro and Jalon; they derived supplies from the Vaccaei and found pasturage among the Arevaci.

At the beginning of the war Numantia remained inviolate. Q Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus reduced the tribes of the Jalon valley in Nearer Celtiberia (143), and then advanced against the Vaccaei in the north-west in order to cut off the Numantines' source of supplies (142) He was succeeded by an inefficient soldier, Q. Pompeius, who encamped on the hill Castillejo at Numantia, but although he commanded 30,000 men he failed to storm Numantia with its 8,000 defenders.[2] Thereupon he advanced to annoy the walls of Termantia on the Douro, but in vain. Returning to Numantia, he attempted a blockade and even essayed to flood the eastern plain (140). But at the approach of winter his troops suffered from dysentery and intense cold, so that he was ready to induce the Numantines to accept terms. On the arrival of his successor, Popillius Laenas, in 139, Pompeius repudiated the terms, which had not yet been ratified by the Senate, but he carefully kept the money he had demanded for arranging the treaty; though later he was court-martialled at

[1] Schulten believes that the town wall was partially destroyed when the inhabitants spread beyond it, so that the attacks of Nobilior in 153 and of Scipio in 134 were against an unwalled town But the archaeological evidence has recently been interpreted differently, with the suggestion that the town wall was not destroyed See R G. Collingwood and Miss M. I Munro, *Journ Rom Stud*, 1931, p 156.

[2] Traces of his camp survive see Appendix No. 12

Rome he escaped the consequences of his treachery. Popillius campaigned against the Lusones, but his attack on Numantia miscarried (139–138). The year 137 was marked by disaster and further disgrace. The commander Mancinus was cut off in the pass of Tartajo near Nobilior's former camp at Renieblas while attempting to withdraw from Numantia to the Ebro. He surrendered with 20,000 men, and the young Tiberius Gracchus, who was trusted for his father's sake, undertook responsibility for the fulfilment of the terms. The Senate disgracefully refused to accept the conditions and with shameful hypocrisy made a scapegoat of Mancinus by sending him back to Numantia, naked and with his hands bound behind him. The Numantines with dignity refused the offering. They had lost the chance of a signal victory over their enemies through treachery. Rome's name was again dishonoured, and one more incident could take its place alongside those for which Lucullus, Galba and Pompeius were responsible. Mancinus' successors left Numantia alone and were content to plunder the Vaccaei. So the war dragged on, until the people again elected to the consulship (before the legal interval had elapsed) the recent conqueror of Carthage, Scipio Aemilianus, son of Aemilius Paullus the victor of Pydna and adopted grandson of Scipio Africanus the Elder (135).

Instead of regular reinforcements Scipio took to Spain a number of volunteers and a corps of five hundred friends and dependants as a kind of private bodyguard to protect him while he redisciplined the army This cohort, devoted to the person of its general, gave him personal protection and was in essence the prototype of the later imperial Praetorian Guard. Scipio's first task was to restore efficiency among the demoralized troops in Spain. Camp-followers, women and soothsayers were sent packing; the men were vigorously dragooned and made to use the spade as well as the sword. But such an army, though redisciplined, could not take Numantia by storm, so that Scipio determined to reduce it by blockade and starvation. But first he cut off its source of supplies. Marching up the Ebro to Deobriga he turned westwards against the Vaccaei and reduced Pallantia and Cauca. Then he approached Numantia from the west along the Douro, scouring the fields as he went (autumn 134).

Under protection of a palisade he built seven camps around the town and linked them together with a strong wall, set with towers, so that Numantia was completely invested. The two chief camps were at Castillejo in the north where he had his head-

quarters, and at Peña Redonda in the south; each held a legion, while the other camps were manned by Italian and Iberian allies. Scipio's forces numbered some 20,000 Italians and 40,000 Iberians. Although the besieged were not more than 4,000, they held out with heroic and tragic courage for eight months, resorting in their desperation even to cannibalism. All attempts to break through Scipio's iron ring failed, though finally a chief and four companions slipped out on a cloudy night and even got their horses over the wall by a folding scaling-bridge. But in vain. They could not rouse the countryside to arms again. Scipio refused to accept any terms short of unconditional surrender. Finally famine did its work and the heroic Numantines capitulated. Without consulting the Senate Scipio burnt the town to the ground, as a red layer of burnt material still bears tragic witness (August 133). Many famous men saw the smoke and flames of Numantia rising to the sky: Scipio's brother-in-law, Gaius Gracchus, a young cavalryman, Gaius Marius, the poet Lucilius, the young Numidian prince Jugurtha, two military tribunes Asellio and P Rutilius Rufus, who both wrote histories of the war; and perhaps Scipio's friend, the historian Polybius.

The fall of Numantia established beyond question the dominion of Rome in Spain The story is a painful one and Rome's methods of diplomacy had deteriorated But this declension from her pristine standards of honesty resulted in part from contact with more barbarous races than those encountered in Italy or the East Differences of custom may often have led to misunderstanding. The Spaniards when forced to come to terms did not always intend to keep them, and so Rome learnt to meet treachery by treachery and to fight with Spanish weapons. Further, the Senate was jealous of its power and reserved the right to revise arrangements made by its generals, so that treaties made in good faith in Spain might not always be ratified at Rome. The Senate may have underestimated the difficulty of campaigning in Spain and good generals may have fought shy of the province, but Rome's chief mistake was her failure to understand the Spanish character. The successes of Scipio Africanus Major, the elder Gracchus and Sertorius show that more could have been accomplished by sympathy and moderation than by brute force. Yet Rome gave Spain something, although at the point of the sword, which she could not give herself: out of the blood and tears of conquest a new race painfully raised itself on the first steps of civilized life. By lifting the conquered to the

same level of culture as the conquerors Rome abolished the need for opposition and laid the foundations of that great prosperity which Spain enjoyed under the Roman Empire.

§ 5. CARTHAGE AND MASINISSA

The terms imposed on Carthage after Zama had put an end to her independent political life, but within the prescribed limits she could still develop her territory and foster her commerce. She was hampered less by external circumstances than by internal moral weakness. Her oligarchical government was selfish and corrupt. Though she paid her annual indemnity to Rome, notwithstanding the loss of her Spanish mines, it was the lower classes that bore the burden. The exploitation by a vicious oligarchy of a state whose treasury was nearly empty could not continue indefinitely at last the people called on Hannibal to cleanse the administration. Elected Sufete in 196,[1] he at once struck at the power of the oligarchs. He skilfully manoeuvred an official appeal to the People by getting at variance with the Senate. In the Popular Assembly he vigorously attacked the Council of One Hundred and Four Judges and passed a law which made membership subject to annual election by the People, with the proviso that no Judge should hold office for two consecutive years At one blow the tyrannical control of the oligarchs was undermined. Hannibal followed up this triumph by a masterly reorganization of the public revenues and by encouraging commerce and agriculture. So happy were his reforms that by 191 Carthage could offer to pay off the rest of her war-indemnity in a lump sum, whereas the instalment of 199 had been paid in such poor silver that the Roman quaestors had rejected it.

But Hannibal's very success caused his downfall. Though supported by the people, he could hope for little mercy from the disgruntled oligarchs, who setting party before state appealed to Rome on the pretext that Hannibal was intriguing with Antiochus. A stir was caused in political circles. Cato had just entered office (195) and the anti-Barcid faction had unwittingly provided him with powder and shot to attack his enemy, Scipio Africanus. It would be argued that Scipio's generous peace-terms had enabled Hannibal to overthrow the nobility of Carthage and to seize the helm himself: with the East so unsettled, what

[1] The date, whether 197, 196, or 195, is debated, but 196 is probably correct. See Groag, *Hannibal als Politiker*, p 114, n. 4.

might this not mean? Scipio himself maintained that it was beneath the dignity of the Roman People to meddle with the party politics of Carthage or to treat as a common criminal the man whom they had defeated in open war. This was the wiser, as well as the more generous, policy, for there is no evidence, beyond the accusations of his political opponents, that Hannibal had any far-reaching designs. As it was, Scipio's rivals won the day and succeeded in driving Hannibal into the arms of Antiochus, thereby creating the very situation they were trying to avoid. They sent three commissioners to Carthage, nominally to arrange a frontier question between Masinissa and Carthage, but actually to complain to the Carthaginian Senate that Hannibal was intriguing with Antiochus Hannibal perceived their real purpose and fled by night from the city, ultimately reaching the court of Antiochus, that he sought asylum beyond the reach of Rome does not prove that he had previously been intriguing with the king. The Punic government then humbled itself and formally exiled its greatest citizen

After sacrificing Hannibal to Punic jealousy and Roman revenge, the Carthaginian government would long keep the anti-Roman party under its heel, indeed Hannibal himself had aimed at avoiding giving any cause of complaint to Rome He received no encouragement from Carthage when plotting with Antiochus. With continued humility Carthage sent large quantities of corn to support the Roman armies in Greece and Asia, and as Rome's ally, promptly gave military and naval assistance when required. True, in 174 and 171 B C Masinissa accused Carthage of plotting with Perseus, but the suspicions were unfounded. During the first half of the second century Rome and Carthage lived, if not in harmony, at least in unbroken peace. Roman policy was non-aggressive, while trade and the coming and going of embassies taught the two peoples to know each other better The final breakdown was caused not by Carthage, but by the ambitious Masinissa.

Masinissa, who was thirty-seven years old at Zama, preserved his vigour into a ripe old age. at eighty-eight he still commanded his army in battle, mounting his horse unaided and riding bare-backed. But he had other outstanding qualities besides physical vigour. Fearless and unscrupulous, diplomatic and masterful, he conceived the tremendous ideal of welding the native tribes of North Africa into a nation. He successfully developed agriculture and commerce, and encouraged the spread of Punic civilization [1]

[1] See Polybius' tribute (XXXVI, 16)

His fame soon exceeded the confines of Africa; he cultivated relations with the Greek world, and at Delos at least three statues were erected in his honour. Throughout he remained the faithful ally of Rome, aiding her with supplies and troops in her Eastern and Spanish wars. But his territorial aggressions soon caused friction with Carthage. After Zama he had been rewarded with the Numidian empire of the defeated Syphax and with any territory which either he or his ancestors had held. With this exception Carthage had retained her possessions inside the Phoenician Trenches and her control of Emporia. Obviously difficulties would arise in interpreting Masinissa's claims within the Trenches, and these would be increased by the fact that Carthage was forbidden to wage war on any ally of Rome in Africa. Masinissa gradually but systematically proceeded to occupy Emporia, other maritime colonies of Carthage, and much territory within the Trenches. Whenever he rattled the sabre, Carthage always declined the challenge and merely appealed to the Romans, who sent out boundary commissions, but these always decided in the king's favour or else left the question unsettled (e.g. in 193, 182, 174 and 172 B.C.). Finally Carthage became restive and after a series of razzias Masinissa occupied a district in the Great Plains called Tusca (perhaps the modern Dougga). Again Carthage appealed to the Roman Senate, with the usual result that a commission headed by Cato left the question undecided (probably in 153). But not all the Senate was willing to follow the revengeful advice of Cato who now urged the destruction of Carthage. The next year another commission was despatched under Scipio Nasica who forced Masinissa to withdraw a little way.

In Carthage party strife was rife and the democrats succeeded in exiling the leaders of the faction which desired to come to an agreement with Masinissa (151–150). When the king tried to insist on the reinstatement of these exiles, the patience of the Carthaginians broke down and they declared war, unmindful of the restrictions of the Zama treaty. A fierce engagement gave a slight victory to the Numidians, so that the Carthaginians were ready to negotiate for terms through the good offices of Scipio Aemilianus, who had just arrived from Spain in order to obtain some elephants. Negotiations, however, broke down, and Masinissa managed to cut off his enemy's supplies. Starvation and disease at length forced the Carthaginians to capitulate, they agreed to cede the debated territory and to pay 5,000 talents in fifty years. But as the survivors marched out they were treacher-

ously attacked by the king's son, Gulussa, few escaped to Carthage The attempt to check Masinissa's advance had thus proved abortive; it had merely established the king in more territory and had roused the anger of Rome [1]

§ 6. DELENDA EST CARTHAGO

The African question had long evoked much thought at Rome, until out of ugly suspicions and rumours of war there gradually crystallized two opposing policies. As is well known, whenever Cato was asked his opinion in the Senate he used with untiring importunity to add: 'I am also of the opinion that Carthage should cease to exist ' He is also said to have emphasized the dangerous proximity of Carthage by dramatically displaying in the House a ripe fig which he declared had been gathered at Carthage only three days before. But while the old man, obsessed with this one idea, was inciting the war-mongers, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, a noble of considerable weight who had twice been consul, supported the Carthaginian cause, traditionally on the ground that fear of a strong political rival would be a salutary discipline for Rome, but his motives are more likely to be found in a different political outlook combined with a more generous spirit Neither party immediately gathered enough strength to win a political victory, and the scales remained balanced: in 152 Cato could arbitrate against Carthaginian interests, while the next year Nasica forced Masinissa to draw in his horns. But suddenly the Carthaginians threw themselves into the scales—on the wrong side By attacking Masinissa they had given their foes in Rome the pretext they were seeking. And amid the cries of '*Punica fides*' which rang so pleasantly in Cato's ears, the more generous voice of Nasica was drowned.

The cause of the Third Punic War was, as Appian rightly states, the infringement of the Zama treaty by Carthage, when she attacked Masinissa. Livy, following the patriotic efforts of Roman annalists to justify their city, declares that Carthage had prepared for war against Rome since 154 and that the Senate was very long-suffering. But if Roman ambassadors or spies saw

[1] The boundary between the future province of Africa and Numidia, called the *fossa regia*, followed the same course as the frontier of Carthage at the beginning of the Third Punic War The discovery of boundary stones has shown that Carthage only retained the north-east corner of Tunisia and a narrow coastal strip on the east.

hoards of munitions in Carthage, these were being prepared to settle accounts with Masinissa, not with Rome. There were, however, causes more deep seated than the juridical case which Rome used as a mere pretext. Some have supposed that economic factors were at work; but the view that commercial jealousy affected Rome's policy and that the Senate was influenced by vested interests has not met with much favour.[1] Political motives, however, were more potent. During his visit to Africa, Cato had been deeply impressed by the apparent prosperity of Carthage, he feared a possible revival of Rome's old enemy, especially when by paying the last instalment of the war-indemnity in 151 the Carthaginians were seemingly less dependent on their conqueror. But the need for precautions against a Punic *revanche* were reinforced by misgivings about the growing strength of Masinissa, who having encircled Carthage might next covet the city itself. Suppose that the new Numidian kingdom, which had already upset the balance of power in Africa, should absorb Carthage, and that Masinissa, no longer content to play the rôle of watch-dog, should begin to growl at his master. Fear and hatred increased at Rome and men only awaited the opportunity

Nor had this been long delayed By attacking Masinissa the Carthaginians gave the war-party in Rome a pretext. Learning that troops were being levied in Italy they hastily condemned their military leaders to death, and then sent to Rome to complain of Masinissa and to shift the blame on to the shoulders of the condemned leaders At this a Senator bluntly asked why they had not condemned the officers at the beginning of the war. On asking how they could atone, the Carthaginians were told that they must satisfy the Roman People, but the nature of this satisfaction was not defined, so that while Carthage debated Rome completed her preparations Early in 149 Utica deserted Carthage and surrendered unconditionally to Rome War was declared on Carthage, and a force of perhaps 80,000 men crossed to Utica. M' Manilius, a well-known orator, commanded the land forces, while his philosophically-minded colleague, L. Marcius Censorinus, was in charge of the fleet. Among the military tribunes was P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, who three years later destroyed Carthage. Meanwhile when five deputies arrived in Rome to announce that the Carthaginians had decided that their only hope of safety lay in unconditional surrender, they found

[1] The view of Mommsen effectively rejected by Kahrstedt (*Gesch d. Karth*, III, p 616 ff) and Frank (*Roman Imperialism*, p 234). Cf p 308

that war had been declared and that the consuls had already sailed.

By this formal act of surrender (*deditio*) Carthage had atoned for her breach of the Zama treaty and thus deprived the war-party in Rome of any excuse for prosecuting hostilities. But at the same time she had put herself completely at the mercy of the Romans: she had given them a blank cheque and if they cared to insert 'Delenda est Carthago,' she could hardly complain. But it was the calculating and almost diabolic manner in which the Roman diplomats played their cards that roused the passion of the Carthaginians and the disgust of a large part of the civilized world. For in the Senate the Punic ambassadors were told that they would be allowed to retain their freedom, laws, territory and other property, both public and private, provided that they surrendered three hundred noble hostages and obeyed 'such commands as should be imposed on them by the consuls.' It was significant, as a certain Mago pointed out at Carthage, that no reference was made to the city, but it was too late to retract, and the hostages were duly handed over. Still keeping their real mission secret the consuls demanded the surrender of all arms and weapons; 200,000 panoplies and about 2,000 catapults were obediently given up, though the Carthaginians ventured to point out that they could not protect themselves against their erstwhile general Hasdrubal who had escaped execution and had collected 20,000 troops. The grim reply was that Rome would provide. Next, thirty leading citizens were ordered to go to Rome to hear the Senate's final orders. At long last the consuls announced the Senate's decision: the inhabitants must evacuate Carthage, which would be destroyed; they could settle where they liked provided that it was ten miles from the sea.

The Romans had skilfully attained their object, whether Carthage submitted or not. For if she refused she would thereby break the agreement made at the moment of her *deditio* and thus give them the legitimate excuse to proceed by force of arms. That Rome was technically correct is probable; she had skilfully used two pretexts, the infringement of the Zama treaty and of the act of *deditio*, to enforce her will. True, there might be room for more than one interpretation, the Romans regarding the act of *deditio* as a unilateral agreement, the Carthaginians as a bilateral. But nothing except the plea of expediency can excuse the deceit with which Rome first obtained hostages, then disarmed the city and only finally announced her real intentions.

The shrewd historian Polybius, who was indirectly involved, shows clearly by his conduct that he regarded the surrender of Carthage as the end of the war; but he misjudged either the intention of the Senate or the fury of the Semite [1]

§ 7. THE FALL OF CARTHAGE

Carthage with magnificent, if blind, resolve refused to submit. When an eloquent appeal for mercy, voiced by Banno, had been sternly refused, all the pent-up passions of hate and fear and despair were let loose in the city Amid scenes of wild confusion the gates were closed and the walls manned The slaves were freed and two generals elected· the exiled Hasdrubal was prevailed upon to forget the past, while the defence of the city was entrusted to another Hasdrubal, a grandson of Masinissa. A request for a month's truce was rejected by the Romans Within the city all toiled night and day, the very temples being used as workshops for the manufacture of fresh arms. The walls were strengthened, supplies were received from Hasdrubal who controlled the open country, and though most coastal cities rebelled like Utica, the subject Libyans remained loyal For some time the consuls waited patiently for the unarmed city to surrender. Meanwhile Masinissa caused slight anxiety. It was a grandson of his that was organizing the defence of Carthage, and the king himself, who saw the fruit of his ambitions now snatched from his grasp, was somewhat cold when asked for assistance; when later he proffered it, he was told abruptly that the Romans would let him know when they needed help.

At length Manilius and Censorinus moved against the city with their army and navy (summer 149) But they found that they had a harder nut to crack than they had anticipated. The walls of Carthage were well-nigh impregnable and her natural position very strong.[2] The city lay on the southern half of a peninsula which projects from the west into the Gulf of Tunis; its northern flank is protected by steep hills. South of these hills were the suburbs of the city, called Megara, then the Byrsa hill

[1] Polybius, XXXVI, 11 On the pretexts used by Rome see Ch. Saumagne, *Revue Historique*, 1931, CLXVII, pp 225–53, and CLXVIII, pp 1–42 On Roman policy see F E Adcock, *Cambr Hist Journ*, 1946

[2] For the topography of Carthage, see D B Harden, *Greece and Rome*, IX, p. 1 ff., C. Picard, *Carthage* (1951), B H Warmington, *Carthage* (1960), 114 ff

on which lay the citadel, next the lower ground with the market place and harbours, and finally beyond the southern walls a sandy spit of land which formed a bar across the inland lake of Tunis The isthmus connecting the peninsula with the mainland was narrow, and across it ran the triple fortifications of the western wall of the city which was forty-five feet high and thirty-three broad. On the north of this isthmus Manilius encamped in order to cut off reinforcements from the interior, while Censorinus was stationed with the fleet on its southern shore by the lake of Tunis After a vain assault from this isthmus, a regular blockade was instituted, but in the summer the unhealthiness of the stagnant lake forced Censorinus to move across the sand-bar to the sea, where his fleet was damaged by the Carthaginians. After he had returned to Rome to hold the elections, the enemy attacked by night the camp of his isolated colleague, Manilius, and the situation was only retrieved by the skill of Scipio.

Scipio again displayed conspicuous ability when during the winter Manilius led two unsuccessful expeditions against the Carthaginian forces near Nepheris, some twenty miles south-east of Tunis. He was once again in the limelight when the aged Masinissa, now on the point of death, asked that the grandson of his friend Africanus should arrange the future of his kingdom; Scipio decided to divide Numidia between the king's three sons and thereby averted the danger which a united Numidia had presented. Trusting in his increasing fame and popularity, Scipio then returned to Rome to seek office, while the consul of 148, L Calpurnius Piso, with the admiral L Hostilius Mancinus arrived in Africa to take over the command. Warned by their predecessors' failures against Hasdrubal and Carthage, they attacked the towns which still remained loyal to Carthage, but they achieved little. Consequently the Carthaginians regained confidence they were in touch with the Mauri in the west and with the pretender Andriscus in Macedonia (p. 279), while Masinissa's sons were no longer sending help to the Romans Further, Mancinus had got into difficulties. Having landed on the coast north of Carthage, near Sidi bou Said, he had penetrated into the suburb Megara, but was cut off in a perilous position. His urgent dispatches to Utica for help arrived only just in time Scipio, who had that very evening returned to Africa, succeeded in rescuing him the next day.

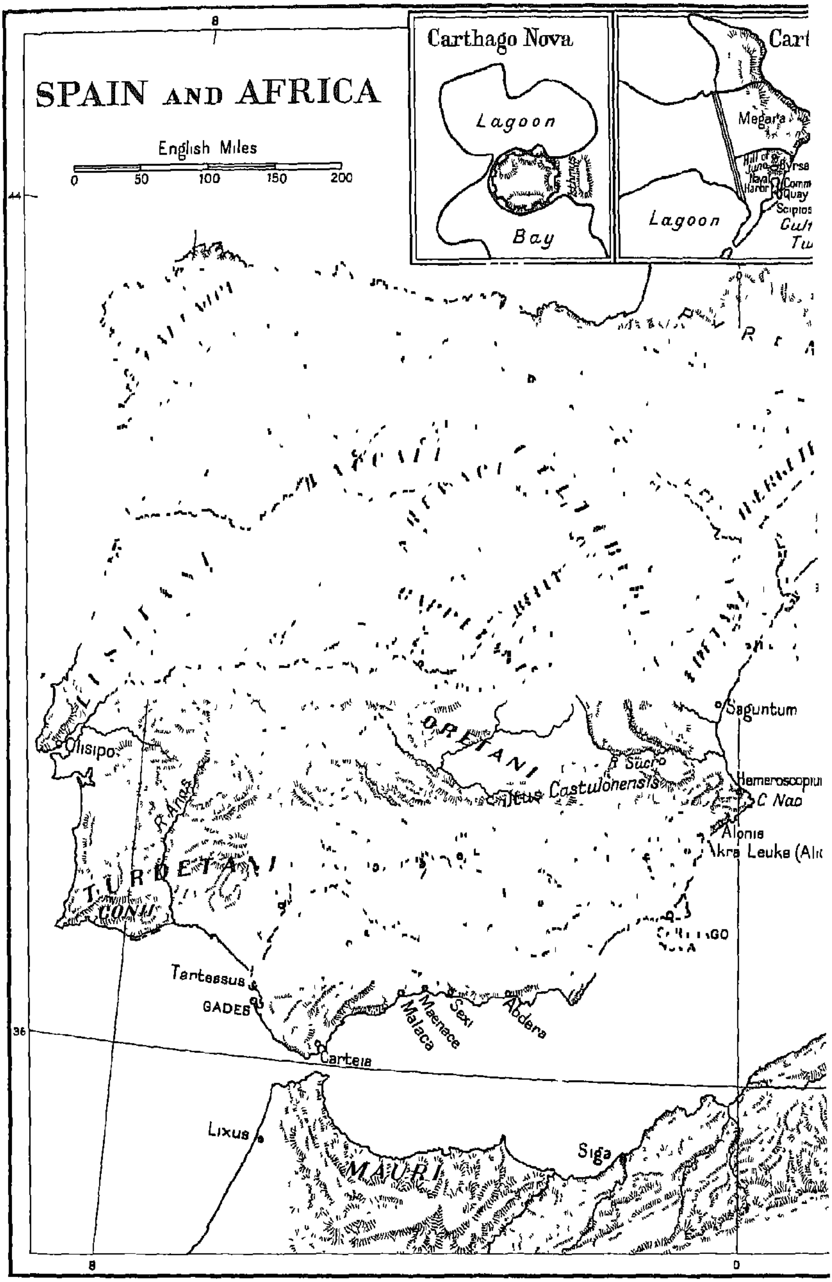
In Rome there was such dissatisfaction with the conduct of the war that when Scipio intended to stand for the curule

aedileship, he was nominated and elected consul by the People on account of his military record. The opposition of the consul in charge was swept aside by a tribune and when Scipio's colleague, C. Livius Drusus, demanded that the provinces should be allocated by lot, another tribune intervened. As at the election of his adoptive grandfather, the constitution had to give place to the will of the People; like the Spartans after Leuctra they said: 'Let the laws sleep to-day.' And even old Cato went so far as to quote Homer and praise a Scipio by bluntly admitting that Aemilianus was 'the only sage among the flitting shades' Among the companions who accompanied the new consul to Africa were the historian Polybius and the younger Laelius, whose father had accompanied the elder Africanus.

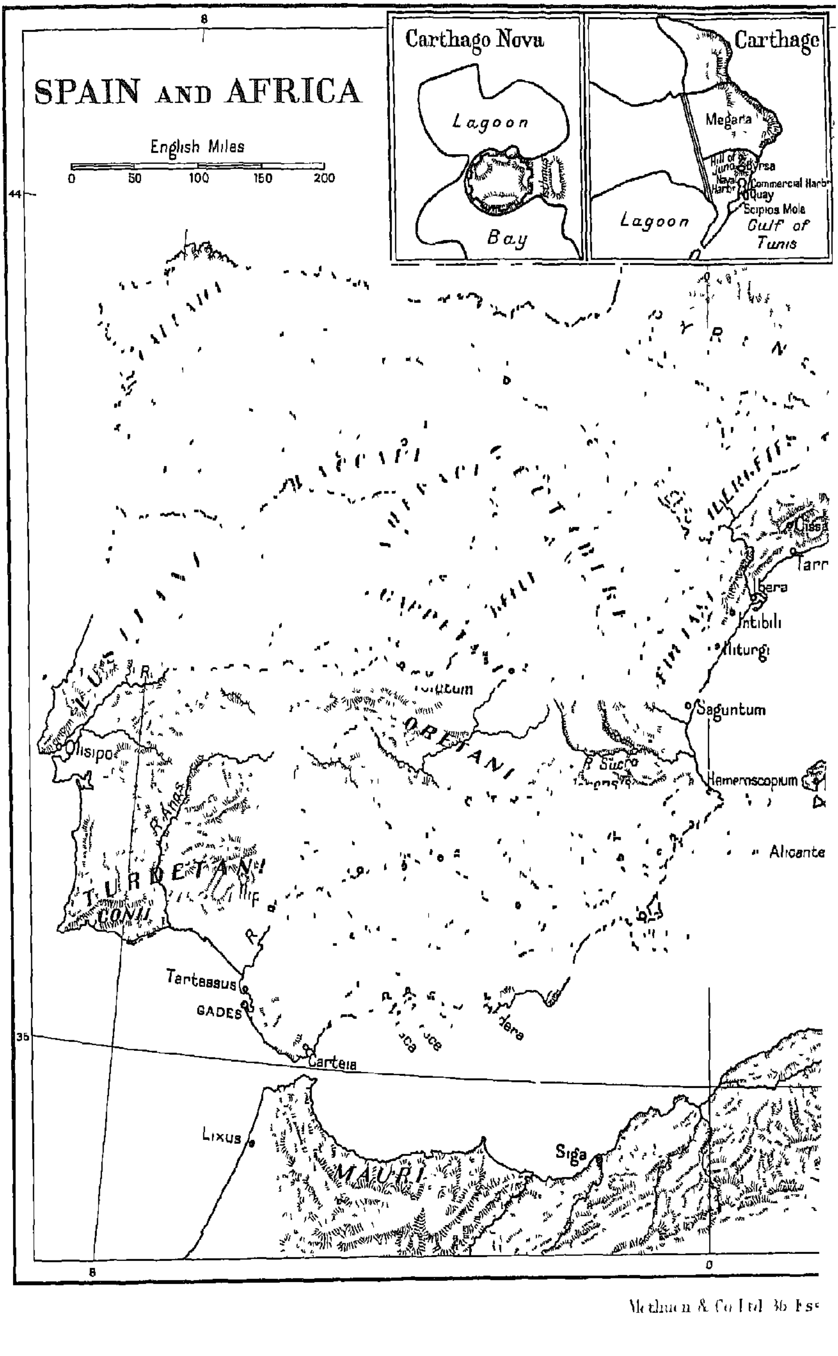
On his arrival in Africa, which was not a moment too soon to rescue Mancinus, Scipio at once determined to starve out the beleaguered city by an unbroken blockade. But while he was busy re-establishing the lax discipline of his army, Hasdrubal, who had been recalled, had taken up a strong position on the isthmus before the western wall of the city. Scipio encamped opposite; then in order to win control of the isthmus, and thus to cut off Carthage from the mainland, he made a night attack on the north-west corner of the walls. Some 4,000 men penetrated into Megara; this caused such a panic that Hasdrubal hastily fled from his advanced post into the city (spring 147) Scipio, his immediate object thus achieved, extricated his men from the suburb, where they were finding the ground very difficult, and then constructed a double line of earthworks right across the isthmus, close to the city wall. Hasdrubal's only reply was to mutilate his Roman prisoners and throw them from the walls.

Carthage was now entirely cut off from supplies by land, but occasionally a ship succeeded in running the blockade by sea. To complete his cordon Scipio established his fleet and many soldiers on the sand-bar south of the city; from here he began to construct a mole out to sea across the entrance of the Punic harbour.[1] When the Carthaginians saw this work progressing they feverishly built fifty warships from old material and cut a new channel from the inner harbour eastwards to the sea The high walls around the arsenal screened their actions, so that the Romans were astounded to see this new fleet put to sea. The Punic commanders, however, foolishly waited to test its quality instead of taking the Romans by surprise. Three days later an

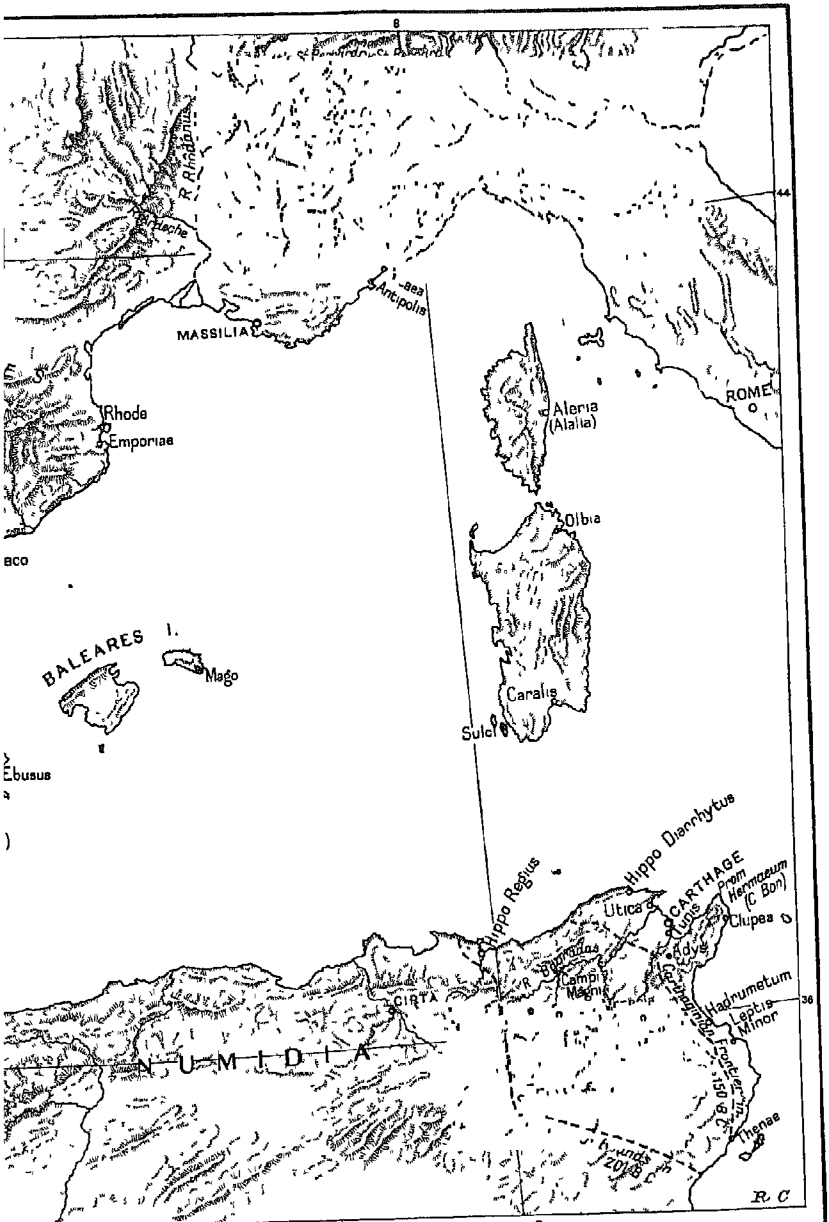
[1] See further note on p 308.



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engagement was fought off the harbour, the Romans finally prevailed, while the enemy either tried to re-enter the narrow entrance of their harbour or else were driven on to the quay and destroyed. After a desperate fight Scipio established himself on the quay where he fortified a position commanding the harbours. Carthage was now completely invested. Her last hope was thwarted during the winter when Scipio defeated a small force at Nepheris and captured the town. The Libyan tribes hastened to surrender to Rome. The final agony of Carthage was at hand.

In the spring of 146 Scipio gave orders for the final assault. While Hasdrubal fired the southern part of the harbour where he expected the attack, Laelius succeeded in piercing the wall further north on the seaward side of the inner harbour. Hence he advanced to the market-place, while the defenders fled to the Byrsa hill. For six days and nights the Romans fought their way step by step up the hill-side amid the houses which they burned and destroyed one after another. On the seventh day the citadel surrendered and 50,000 men and women came forth to slavery. A final stand was made in the temple of Esmun by 900 Roman deserters, together with Hasdrubal's wife, who, unlike her husband, disdained surrender and perished amid the flames of the temple. For ten more days the fires of Carthage burned, the ruins were razed; a plough was drawn over the site, salt was sown in the furrows; a solemn curse was pronounced against its future re-birth, Carthage had been destroyed.

The cities which had remained loyal to Carthage were destroyed; those, like Utica, which had embraced the cause of Rome were declared free and received territorial concessions. The rest of the land which Carthage had controlled at the beginning of the war was made into the new Roman province of Africa, the boundaries of which were marked out by a vast fosse. His work done, Scipio Aemilianus returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph and to follow the example of his grandfather by adopting the name of Africanus (Minor).

The fall of Carthage evoked varied comments in the Greek world. Some men commended the Romans for their statesmanlike policy in removing a perpetual menace; others believed that they had been corrupted by lust for power. Some contrasted the earlier civilized methods of Roman policy with their present stratagems and deceits, others again denied that they were guilty of treachery or injustice. But few can read the account of the fall of Carthage given by Appian, who followed Polybius closely

without a feeling that Rome also had fallen from her pristine greatness. Rome's conduct may have been juridically correct, but she was forgetting those moral qualities which had made her great. Even the order to abandon the city of Carthage might have been anticipated, for others such as the people of Falerii and Ligurian and Spanish tribes had been moved from their homes; and as Rome itself was more than ten miles from its port, the agriculturally-minded Senators would be less prepared to consider that the future they proposed for Carthage was unduly severe. It was rather the callous and calculating way in which the order was enforced, together with the nervous bullying which had originally goaded Carthage into retaliating against Masinissa, that casts a shadow over Rome's good name. The horrors of the siege excite pity, but they are not unparalleled in the history of the ancient world. Scipio might weep over the burning city, but his thoughts were rather brooding over the mutability of human affairs and the possible fate of his own city as he quoted the lines of Homer:

> 'That day shall be when holy Troy shall fall
> And Priam, lord of spears, and Priam's folk.'

And though, in another poet's vision, Hannibal had arisen to avenge Dido, the fall of Carthage was not avenged and Scipio's fatalistic fears were not realized until centuries later the Vandal brought the Imperial City to her knees, and then the flourishing *Carthago rediviva* of the Empire followed her imperial mistress under the spear of the barbarian [1]

[1] On Roman policy towards Carthage see further A E. Astin (*Latomus*, 1956, 159 ff.), who argues for a *rapprochement* between Cato and Aemilianus, E Badian (*Foreign Clientelae*, 130 ff) who emphasizes Roman fear of Carthaginian strength (in contrast to Kahrstedt's view of Carthaginian weakness with the consequent temptation to Masinissa), H. H Scullard (*J.R S.*, 1960) on Aemilianus' policy, W Hoffmann (*Historia*, 1960, 309 ff), especially on the growth of *metus Punicus* and on Nasica's position. On the topography of the siege and the position of the harbours and Scipio's mole, see now J Baradez, *Karthago*, IX, 1958 (publ 1960), p. 45 ff (with striking and important air-photographs which reveal under-water constructions).

CHAPTER XV

ROMAN POLICY AND THE GOVERNMENT

THE real government of Rome during the second century was the Senate, the instrument of the nobility, whose power rested on custom and not on law. We must first consider what policy this governing authority pursued in home affairs, towards an increasing number of capitalists and freedmen, and towards the old Confederacy; and secondly, its foreign policy and provincial administration. Then we must examine the basis of the power of this Senatorial oligarchy, its control of all branches of public life, the cliques into which it was divided, and the tendencies which these represented.

§ 1. HOME POLICY

By the Lex Claudia of 218 (p. 169) Senators were forbidden to own ships other than small ones to transport the produce of their estates. A sharp distinction was drawn between land and trade, between the governing and commercial classes A Senator could get round the law by allowing his freedmen to trade for him or by loans on bottomry, but in the main the distinction remained real. During the strain of the Hannibalic War the government, which relied largely on private enterprise for supplies, had to excuse from military service three companies of nineteen men who supplied the Spanish army on credit (215). Two of the contractors scuttled their ships, which had been filled with rubbish, and demanded compensation from the state which had undertaken responsibility for sea-risks. Despite the Senate's desire to maintain unity at home, two tribunes brought a capital charge against them; during their trial their fellow-contractors rioted and used violence. The war thus helped to make the commercial classes conscious of their unity and importance.

The capitalists were known as Equites.[1] This term strictly refers to two classes of people: either young nobles, members of the eighteen equestrian centuries, who ceased to be effective cavalry and became an honorary corps, or members of ignoble (non-official) families whose incomes were equivalent to those of the Equites, but who were not enrolled in the equestrian

[1] See H. Hill, *The Roman Middle Class* (1952).

centuries. In the third century the censors had drawn up a list, supplementary to the eighteen centuries, of those whose property warranted cavalry service at their own expense; probably in the second century this *census* was fixed by law. It was these men who were then commonly called Equites. With the conquest of the Mediterranean world they gained an extended field for their activities. Many of them formed joint-stock companies of limited liability, and to such corporations the censors usually let contracts for the performance of public works and the collection of certain taxes. The Equites were also permitted to collect the tithes and the grazing-tax on public lands in Italy, together with harbour-dues They took over the operation of the Spanish mines about 178 and of the Macedonian mines in 158. Though the military supplies and equipment for the Eastern wars were primarily the responsibility of the regular magistrates, these must often have had recourse to the co-operation of traders. Thus by helping the state to exploit its extensive real estate, by contracting for public works, by collecting certain taxes, by money-lending, banking, and trading, a body of rich and intelligent men was created, who had a large following of supporters, either smaller traders or Senators who borrowed from them or speculated with their help [1] By serving as military tribunes or *praefecti sociorum*, they could get their feet on the lowest rung of an official career, but they seldom succeeded in climbing to the top. Since public life was virtually closed to them, they gradually formed a separate class in society, the *ordo equester*. How they became politically self-conscious is a story that belongs to the revolutionary age of the Gracchi, but before then they had become an important factor in Roman life.

The policy of the Senate towards this new class was to use it commercially, instead of creating an adequate Civil Service, but to disregard its political claims. This naturally occasioned a certain friction and jealousy between the classes. In Cato's censorship of 184 his letting of state contracts was so severe that the leading contractors complained to the Senate and got their contracts cancelled In 169 a real quarrel broke out between the Senate and Knights. The censors refused to accept tenders from contractors, who had been employed by the previous censors, on the ground of their exorbitant profits The cause of the excluded publicans was taken up by a tribune. When one of the censors tried to intervene at a meeting, both were accused of

[1] Polybius, VI, 17, gives a description of their activity about 150 B C.

high treason (*perduellio*) and only just escaped condemnation through the exertions of the nobles and the popularity of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. It is noteworthy that the censors, backed by the Senate, succeeded in defying the power of the tribune, but the incident also shows the important part now played by the capitalist class in Roman life; as the Senate usurped more judicial power the breach between Senator and Knight widened until C. Gracchus precipitated a political crisis.

Secondly, the government had to define a policy towards freedmen. The conquest of the Mediterranean was flooding the slave-markets and consequently there was an increase in the number of freedmen who with their children swelled the mass of clients After the liberal attempt of Appius Claudius had failed, those who possessed no land, whether rich or poor, had been placed in the four Urban Tribes (304), but between the First and Second Punic Wars, perhaps when the Comitia Centuriata was reformed, all freedmen were confined to the Urban Tribes, irrespective of whether they possessed land But the Hannibalic War had emphasized their importance so that in 189 Q. Terentius Culleo carried a liberal measure enrolling sons of freedmen, *libertini*, in the Rustic Tribes. At the same time (or in 179) freedmen with land valued at more than 30,000 sesterces (*c.* £300), that is, those whose *census* was equal to that of the first or second class of the centuries, could also be enrolled in the Rustic Tribes; in 179 those who had sons and land in a Rustic Tribe received the same privilege. But in 169 the censors provided that those freedmen who had not 30,000 sesterces were in future to be confined to one urban tribe (the Esquilina).[1] In sum, this policy to liberated slaves was very generous compared with that of other ancient states, for they became so numerous that, had their votes not been limited, they might have outvoted the citizens living outside Rome. But the infusion of this element into the state threatened the old standards of morality and it must have embittered those Latins who in vain tried to gain or retain Roman citizenship

The Italian confederacy had been tested in the fire of the Hannibalic War and it emerged changed The old feeling of unity and equality was shattered Rome held whip and reins alike. Those allies that had revolted were not treated with undue harshness In 210 Capua had felt the strength of Rome's hand, but her punishment was not unjust, the original owners were

[1] The details are somewhat obscure. See De Sanctis, IV, 1, p. 557 ff.

generally allowed to remain as tenants on their land which had been annexed by Rome Further south the Romans had confiscated more land from the rebels, especially from Bruttium, Thurii and Tarentum, perhaps some 4000 square miles, which they could dispose of as they liked, by founding colonies or by viritane assignments. Two small Latin colonies were settled at Copia (193) and Vibo (Hipponium; 192), but as the Latin towns could supply few colonists, the founding of Latin colonies would mainly redound to Rome's advantage. But the shortage of men was widespread and there was more attractive land than the devastated south nearer Rome; so the censors rented out large estates of 500 *iugera* to any Roman, Latin or ally who had the means to undertake the venture. In this way southern Italy recovered something of its old prosperity, but the growth of large ranches where cattle, sheep and horses were reared mainly by slave labour soon seriously affected the economic life of Italy.[1]

Latin colonies were still founded for some time and Latins were even allowed to share in the citizen colonies to make up the numbers, for example, at Buxentum in 194, but when colonists from Ferentinum claimed that participation in a citizen colony automatically granted Roman citizenship, the Senate refused the claim. Roman franchise was becoming more valuable, and a quick method of winning it had been for a Latin to participate in a Roman colony instead of settling in Rome long enough to be enrolled by the new censors in the ordinary way. The Romans also were becoming unwilling to surrender their citizenship by going to Latin colonies. At first they were attracted by the grant of larger allotments than the 5–10 *iugera* of Roman colonies: at Copia commoners received 20 *iugera*, Knights 40; at Bononia 50 and 70 respectively, at Aquileia 50 and 140. After 178 B.C., however, no more Latin colonies were founded, partly because Rome felt she could not afford to lose more citizens by settlement in Latin colonies and partly because later the military need declined. When in 173 Boian land was distributed *viritim*, 10 *iugera* were given to citizens but only three to allies. Indeed very few Roman colonies were settled in Italy after this date When the *tributum* was discontinued in 167 the Senate became more dependent on its revenue from rents from *ager publicus* and was less willing to grant land for colonies of any sort. But the burst of colonization after the Hannibalic War had been useful. The citizen colonies formed military centres which strengthened the confederation;

[1] On colonial and agrarian policy see G Tibiletti, *Athenaeum*, 1950, p 183 ff

the Latin colonies became centres of agricultural development; and all hastened the unification of Italy [1]

Latin claims for Roman citizenship also caused friction. The Romans remembered how to be generous when in 188 they raised Arpinum, Formiae and Fundi from half to full citizenship and the Capuans to a probationary stage. The rest of the cities enjoying half-franchise may gradually have been promoted, but no effort was made to enfranchise the Italian allies. Complaints reached Rome from various Latin cities which could not fulfil their military obligations because so many of their citizens had settled in Rome [2] In 193 a consul tried to meet the difficulty by summoning contingents of allies in proportion to the number of men fit for service in each town, instead of in accordance with the old fixed quota. In 187 the Latins asked that those who had migrated to Rome should be repatriated. twelve thousand men were struck off the citizen roll and sent back to their own colonies. This alien act was for the benefit of the Latin communities and to the disadvantage of Rome, but it must have caused much discontent among the ejected and it infringed the *ius migrandi* When the Latin cities appealed again, a *lex Claudia*, passed in 177, was enforced by the censors of 173 who expelled more of those who had wrongly been registered at Rome.

The Latins and allies found other causes for complaint. The spoils of empire, the revenue from the tithes, harbour-dues and mines, and tribute of the provinces went into the Roman treasury and did not enrich the Latins. Similarly the bulk of the sum raised from the sale of war booty was paid by successful generals into the Roman treasury; at first the small donative given from the booty to the rank and file was shared by Roman and Latin alike, but after the Histrian War in 177 the Latins received only half as much as Romans. Though Italian merchants often followed

[1] Latin colonies. Copia (193), Vibo (192), Placentia and Cremona (190), Bononia (189), Aquileia (181), Luca (180) Citizen colonies Volturnum, Liternum, Puteoli, Salernum, Buxentum, Pyrgi, Sipontum, Tempsa, Croton (194), Potentia, Pisaurum, Auximum (184), Mutina, Parma, Saturnia (183), Graviscae (181), Luna (177) The larger size of citizen colonies founded from 183 B C. (p 283 f), perhaps led to the introduction of the duovirate or dual *praetura* (p 127) and hastened the assimilation of such colonies to *municipia*; cf A N Sherwin-White, *Rom Cit*, 81

[2] The law that members of Latin colonies founded after 266 must leave a son behind (p 125, n. 2) might be evaded by manumitting and adopting a slave Between 187 and 177 the restricted *ius migrandi* was probably applied to *all* Latin colonies

the flag it was the Roman governors that received the fruits, whether honest or corrupt, from the provinces. Further, by an enactment of a tribune, P. Porcius Laeca (199), Roman citizens in Italy and the provinces were safeguarded against the almost unlimited *imperium* of the governor by the right of appeal; the scourging of Roman citizens without appeal was forbidden by Marcus Porcius Cato (198 or 195), and Lucius Porcius Cato (?154) prohibited summary execution by military officers.[1] But over the Italians that served with the Romans and over the Italian traders and residents the governor still retained powers of life and death and the right to scourge

Direct interference by Rome in Italian affairs was small. For instance, in 193 a *lex Sempronia* virtually instructed the *praetor peregrinus* to apply Roman laws of usury to all Latins and Italians in their dealings with Roman citizens. This limitation of the *ius commercii* was quite fair in practice, but the measure emphasized the difference in political status between Romans and allies. A more striking instance of interference was the enquiry caused by the Bacchanalian conspiracy (pp. 400 f.). The spread of mystic cults from southern Italy led to the formation of secret associations for their celebration. The resultant immorality and disorder forced the Senate to stamp out the evil (186–181) The cult itself was legalized for individuals, but all secret associations were disbanded. It is noticeable that police measures were first taken in Rome itself and then conducted largely in *fora*, that is, citizen territory, and only in allied districts in the last resort In fact the Senate made itself responsible for public security in Italy, and thereby might technically infringe its treaties with the various cities, but it interfered as little as possible [2] More annoying was the later interference by Roman magistrates who, in touring the country, illegally imposed burdens on cities. In 173 Postumius demanded free entertainment when passing through Praeneste It was symptomatic that a Roman magistrate should apply to an honoured allied city in Italy treatment which had been reserved for subjects; also that the Praenestines dared not refuse. The abuse increased The story of how the chief magistrate of Sidicinum, an allied city, was scourged because he was slow in clearing a public bath for a Roman magistrate's wife is well known.[3]

[1] On the *leges Porciae*, see Bloch-Carcopino, *La République romaine*, II, p 145, A. H. McDonald, *Journ. Rom Stud*, 1944, p. 19.

[2] Pol, VI, 13, 3.

[3] C Gracchus, *apud* Gell, X, 3, 2–5.

In sum, Rome's relations with her confederacy underwent a gradual change in the second century. During the first decade or so a certain generosity remained, which was later throttled by self-interest and aggressiveness As the franchise was coveted, so it was withheld. Latin colonies ceased, Latins received smaller assignments of land. The Empire was exploited for Rome rather than for Italy, and Roman magistrates became more overbearing. The distinction between the privileged Latins and the other Italians had broken down. The Latins realized that they were to be treated like the rest, and all found their condition sinking from alliance to dependence, if not to subjection. It was not until the smouldering discontent blazed forth in the Social War that Italy really became one.

§ 2 FOREIGN POLICY AND THE PROVINCES

The Hannibalic War forced the world to think in international terms 'Hitherto,' wrote Polybius, 'the world's history has been, so to speak, a series of disconnected transactions . . . but after this epoch history becomes a connected whole.' All civilized countries had to face the fact that the two halves of the Mediterranean were now linked by the central power in Italy. It was long before Rome finally reduced the whole Mediterranean world, but the battle of Zama sealed her primacy and by the year 146 she had six provinces—Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia, the two Spains, Macedonia and Africa, five of these had fallen to her as the result of wars with Carthage. She had ties of alliance or friendship with Numidia, Massilia, Illyria and the rest of Greece, the kingdoms of Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt; in reality these countries formed a Roman protectorate. A superficial glance at this great achievement might give the impression that the Romans had been driven on by a lust for conquest which would not be satisfied until it embraced the whole world; but that this was not so is clear from an examination of the circumstances in which they acquired their various dependencies. Indeed, for many years they tried not to annex territory and wished either to avoid foreign complications or else to exercise influence rather than rule abroad. The early growth of the Empire falls into two clear divisions the period from 241 to 197 and then after a gap of fifty years the period around the year 146. What then did this changing policy mean, why did Rome acquire an Empire and how did she adapt her machinery of government to meet it?

During the first period of annexation Rome had been dominated by fear of Carthage, and her four earliest provinces were annexed mainly with the object of excluding the Carthaginians from them. Although the Romans had not thought it wise to extend their confederacy to include these countries, from which they exacted some form of taxation in place of military service, they had not deliberately tried to build up an Empire The word *provincia* only meant the sphere of work allotted to any magistrate; Italy itself could form such a 'province,' as when it was assigned to a consul in 171 B.C. As the need to send magistrates abroad increased, the number of praetors was raised to four (*c.* 227) and then to six (197). After this the Romans were unwilling to extend the Empire and the reasons are not far to seek.

Annexation involved administrative, financial and military problems which strained the institutions of a city-state To govern an Empire a civil service of permanent officials must gradually supersede annual magistrates, and a citizen militia, commanded by officers who often had little military experience or aptitude, must give place to a professional army. The Hannibalic War had moulded the army in the direction of professionalism: the periods of service, the foreign theatres of war, the difficulty of control by the home government, the length of the generals' commands, had all increased. But it was followed by a reaction to the more amateur system of earlier days. Rather than create a standing army for provincial defence, or allow the provincials themselves to guard their own frontiers, the Romans preferred to allow foreign kings to protect their interests. But the problem of administration influenced Roman policy even more than that of imperial defence. The Romans were unwilling to create the necessary machinery beyond raising the number of praetors to six, two of whom served in Rome, the others in the four provinces. But though no more provinces were added, Rome had to fight, arbitrate and govern in the Hellenistic world. This required magistrates, and so the device of prolonging an annual magistracy, first adopted in the Samnite Wars and used frequently during the pressure of the Hannibalic War, was afterwards used more frequently, and when Macedonia and Africa were annexed the problem of provincial administration was solved by the extended use of the pro-magistracy. It became more usual for pro-magistrates to govern the provinces, until in Sulla's time it was the regular custom, if not a legal necessity.

It has been suggested that the Senate adopted an anti-expansionist policy in order to secure its exclusiveness at home.[1] To have increased the number of provinces would have meant increasing the number of magistrates and hence of admitting more *novi homines* into its ranks, while to create a new type of magistracy which did not carry with it the right to a seat in the Senate would have been equally injurious to the Senatorial nobility in the long run. When, however, the pro-magistracy became more common, the Senate was able to plan a second period of provincial annexation (146–121). Doubtless this desire to maintain its exclusiveness was a real factor in the policy of the Senate, which was especially jealous of provincial governors whom it found difficult to control. But if for other reasons annexation seemed desirable, the Senate might well have devised the method of *prorogatio imperii* fifty years earlier; the commands of the Scipios and Flamininus were striking examples in wartime of a method which could have been adapted to peace. The government had other objections, beside the peril to its own exclusiveness, against increasing the number of provinces. Early in the second century fear of Eastern complications forced the Senate to define a policy towards the Hellenistic world; it followed the line of defensive imperialism, but its opinion was divided. The more liberal outlook of a number of philhellenic nobles led to the establishing of 'friendship' and ultimately to the formation of a protectorate system. A reaction followed, led by Cato, who wished to interfere as little as possible in foreign affairs, thinking that foreign conquest was undermining Roman character. But both schools of thought were opposed to annexation. Thus many considerations militated against the formation of further provinces: the inadequacy of Republican institutions; the lack of permanent officials and a professional army; the Senate's dislike of increasing the number of magistrates and widening the basis of the nobility; its mistrust of distant commands; and the wish of some to protect but not to rule the Greek world, and of others to neglect it.

The protectorate system gradually broke down in Greece, and ties of friendship and temporary alliance soon hardened into permanent alliance which meant Roman leadership in external affairs. After 187 Roman policy deteriorated, but even after Pydna an attempt was made to patch up the old system The Romans tried to uphold a protectorate in Macedonia, as in

[1] F B Marsh, *The Founding of the Roman Empire*, ch I

Illyria, by deposing the king and breaking up national unity But their philhellenic policy was dead and their brutal treatment of Aetolia and Epirus revealed their temper. The punishment of Corinth showed clearly what a Roman protectorate meant when the Greeks still refused to set their own house in order In Spain, too, methods of policy deteriorated. Neither of the two departures from the protectorate system, the formation of the provinces of Macedonia and Africa, was caused by the desire to annex. In Macedonia where Roman patience was exhausted, annexation seemed the only method of securing peace, local conditions were changed as little as possible. The destruction of Carthage was caused by misplaced jealousy and fear of Masinissa. The creation of the province was a measure of self-protection, whether necessary or not. Only some 5,000 square miles were annexed, of which a large part was assigned to seven free cities which paid no taxes to Rome. Indeed, the Romans seemed desirous of maintaining a protectorate system wherever possible, as later, after the Jugurthine War. The policy of annexation was due less to the Senatorial nobility than to the military captains of the last century of the Republic. But protection meant in fact control. Equal alliance and friendship could not be maintained between two parties of such different weight. The kings of Asia Minor were virtually client kings. It has been seen that Rome was slow to intervene in the East and that the initiative was often taken by the Greeks themselves, but insensibly the Romans came to dominate their friends and allies as effectively as their subjects, and the fault belonged as much to the suicidal folly of the Greeks and to the deterioration and weakness of the East, as to Rome. But to measure the decline in Rome's policy it is only necessary to consider first the brave declaration of freedom to Greece in 196, and then the smouldering ashes of Corinth, Carthage and Numantia, or the crowd of princes and envoys that waited obsequiously in the lobby of the Senate House.

The change in Roman policy is sometimes attributed to the growth of a capitalist class in whose commercial interests Rhodes was humbled in 167 and Corinth and Carthage were sacked in 146. Little evidence can be found in support of such a proposition.[1] The stipulation in Rome's treaty with Ambracia in 189 requiring exemption from port-dues appears unusual; the clause in the

[1] See T. Frank, *Roman Imperialism*, ch xiv, and *Cambr Anc Hist*, VIII, p 348. On Italian trade, see J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens dans l'Orient hellénique*

constitution of the Macedonian Republics, restricting the exportation of timber and the importation of salt, was probably designed to protect Macedon; the request of Rhodes in 169 for permission to buy grain in Sicily may imply some control by the Senate over the Sicilian market, but even supposing such control was permanent, it was more probably exercised for political than commercial motives The Romans declared Delos a free port when handing it over to Athenian control; their motive, however, was probably political, to punish Rhodes, and the inscriptional evidence shows that, although Italian merchants benefited, Orientals benefited still more The destruction of Corinth aided Delos, but the Romans would hardly have undertaken its destruction to benefit Italian merchants so indirectly; and the motives which led to the overthrow of Carthage were probably political.[1] The Romans took few measures to aid their merchants and did not trouble to keep the seas free from pirates. Many Italians went to the provinces to seek their fortune in trade or business, partly because of agricultural depression in Italy; a capitalist class was created; and trade followed the flag. But there is little evidence to show that such classes were influential enough to mould Roman policy or to shape the political decisions of the Senate The Equites and the merchants of southern Italy reaped, but it was the Senate that sowed.

Roman policy, guided by political rather than commercial or economic motives, deteriorated partly because of an increasing tendency to exploit the provinces and theatres of war.[2] In theory the burden imposed on the provincials was not severe, as a general rule, instead of giving their lifeblood like the Italian allies, they merely paid some form of tax, either a tithe as in Sicily or a fixed tribute (*stipendium*) as in Spain, Africa and Macedon. Notwithstanding the Spanish mines, it is doubtful whether the revenue from Spain paid for the cost of occupation, and in such warlike provinces the task of administration must

[1] *Pace* Rostovtzeff, who believes that Carthage was destroyed to benefit Roman wine and olive growers (*Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p 492) But cf. T Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, p 115

[2] The general method of provincial administration has already been discussed in connection with the formation of the province of Sicily (ch. VIII, § 1), conditions varied in the different provinces, and it was a great merit of the Roman system to avoid imposing an unnatural uniformity. See especially M Cary, *A History of Rome*, ch. XVII, and G H Stevenson, *Cambr Anc. Hist*, IX, ch. X, and *Roman Provincial Administration* (1939).

often have seemed thankless. The annexation of Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica was advantageous since they were fairly peaceful and supplied the Roman market with corn. But while in theory the administration might be beneficial to Rome and fair to the provincials, in practice much depended on the character of the governor, who with the tax-collectors could fleece the provinces if he willed. It must be remembered that his position was unpaid, that he had had to bear the cost of reaching office and that, if a praetor, he was probably hoping to obtain the consulship on his return to Rome. Roman society was becoming more luxurious and a political career involved increasing expense. The Senate in theory discountenanced cruelty or oppression in the provinces, since disorders caused trouble and expense; but in fact the governor, far from its watchful eye, had to be allowed considerable rope—and he did not often hang himself. Further, it would increase his future electioneering prospects if he adopted a lenient attitude towards the Italian merchants and business men who invaded the provinces, and to whom, whether as individuals or as partners in, or agents of companies, the Roman government found it convenient to farm the collection of harbour-dues and the tax on pasturage. In the provinces that paid a fixed *stipendium*, which could have been collected direct by the governor's quaestor, *publicani* were still able to collect the secondary taxes and the revenues from public lands and mines, they could also do business for local governing bodies which were responsible for the collection of taxes. A governor would seldom wish to offend the agents of the great companies at Rome.

Thus, although the provincial system was theoretically fairly sound, it was open to abuse by unscrupulous governors The abuses increased in the years after 146 until they reached their climax in the governorship of a Verres, but that they were not unknown in the earlier part of the second century is clear from the appeal of the unhappy Spaniards in 171. Little was done to counter the disgrace until, by a *lex Calpurnia de repetundis* in 149, a permanent court was established to try cases of extortion. Jurors were empanelled by the praetor from the Senate and the Court was more expeditious than the cumbersome Tribal Assembly, yet as corrupt governors were judged by members of their order, the verdict might not always be unbiased. But there was a brighter side to the picture; extortion, at any rate during the earlier part of Rome's imperial career, was the exception rather than the rule, and most magistrates were men of honour. Poly-

bius wrote that 'if a single talent is entrusted to a Greek statesman, ten auditors, as many seals and twice as many witnesses are required for the security of the bond, yet even so faith is not observed; while a Roman official or diplomat who handles vast sums of money, keeps faith through the mere moral obligation of the oath he has sworn . . . amongst the Romans the corrupt official is as rare as the financier with clean hands among other peoples.'[1]

§ 3. THE SENATORIAL OLIGARCHY

In the classic description of the Roman constitution in his sixth book, Polybius concludes that it contained three fundamental principles, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, which were excellently mingled and balanced. the consuls represented regal power, the Senate aristocratic, and the People democratic [2] Such was the theoretical distribution of power, but in fact it was the Senate that drove the chariot of state and seldom did the magistrates or people try to kick over the traces. The Senate had come out of the Hannibalic War with flying colours and its functions widened with the extended scope of Roman policy The increasing complication of judicial affairs could have been met by establishing paid jurymen from the People, as at Athens, but instead the People allowed the Senate to appoint judicial commissions to deal with matters that concerned the safety of the State and to supply the jury when the first *quaestio perpetua* was established. The Senate's control of the chief military commands, of finance and foreign policy was unquestioned till the time of Tiberius Gracchus, any objections raised by the People, as when they refused to declare war on Philip in 200, were generally overruled. It also took over from the People the right to prorogue a magistrate's command and occasionally it dispensed with the use of sortition in assigning duties to magistrates The extent of its powers will be seen best by considering its relations with the People and with the magistrates.

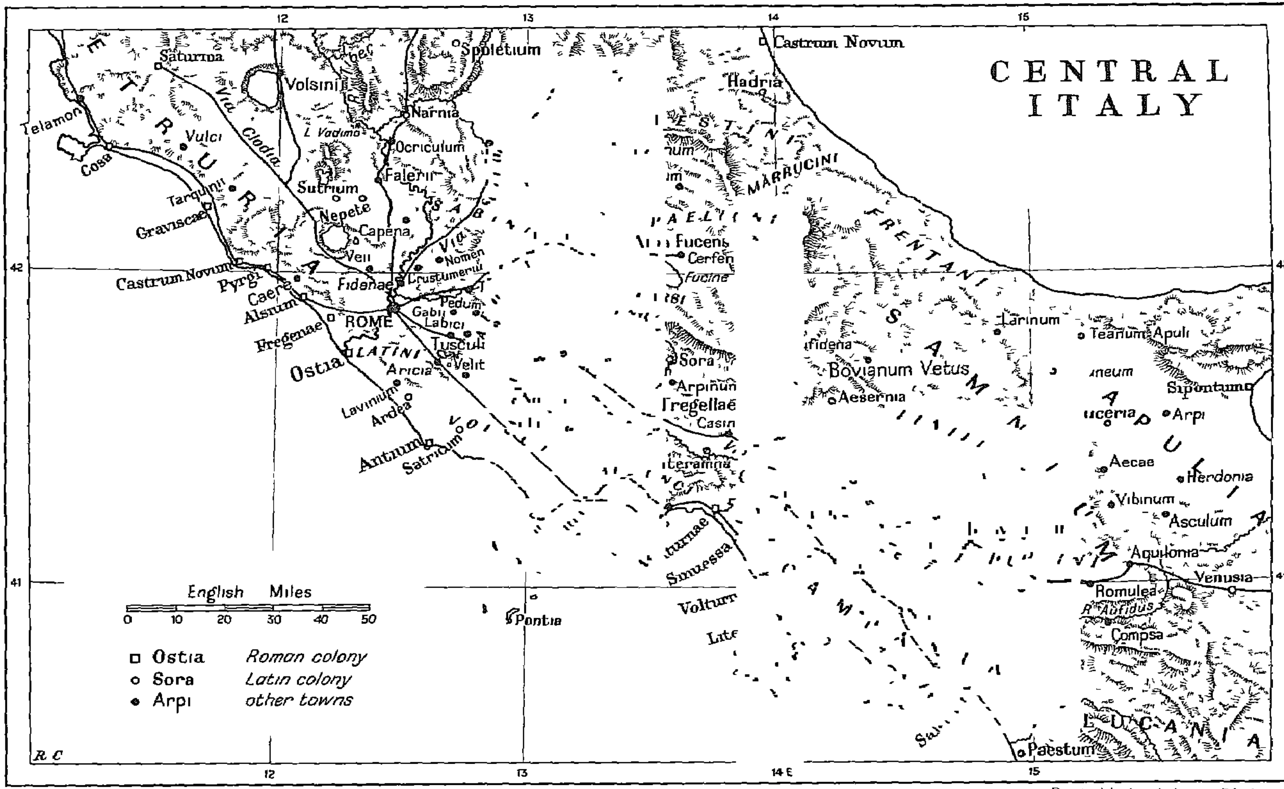
Between the Lex Hortensia of 287, which had asserted the sovereign authority of the Roman People, and the close of the Hannibalic War, the voice of the People was heard occasionally.

[1] Polybius, VI, 56, he also admits a deterioration of Roman character, XVIII, 35, XXXI, 25

[2] Polybius, VI, 11–18. Cf. the English Cabinet *vis-a-vis* the Crown, Lords and Commons

The democratic leaders of the new nobility may have urged the People to decide on the Mamertine alliance, while part of the Senate procrastinated, and the People stiffened up the terms imposed on Carthage after Aegates Insulae. The popular leader Flaminius enjoyed a striking career despite Senatorial hostility, and when the Hannibalic War broke out the People were inclined to question the leadership of the Senate and to elevate their own nominees to command the armies Flaminius, Minucius Rufus and Terentius Varro were not perhaps the military fools that the aristocratic tradition has depicted, but they were unfortunate. After their defeats the People acquiesced in the Senate's direction of the war and only once again expressed their will forcibly, this time more wisely, by electing Scipio Africanus to the Spanish command. The prestige which the Senate thus won by its conduct of the war remained unshaken in the next century The People were now willing to acquiesce, since their own representatives, the tribunes, could keep an eye on proceedings in the Senate. Also much of the legislation of the second century was carried through the Tribal Assembly by tribunes, this was due partly to the frequent absence of the consuls abroad, but it had the effect of keeping the People busy and giving them the impression that they were the main legislative body, whereas probably most of the measures had already been shaped in the Senate. Until the end of the Spanish wars little protest is heard from the People.

Beside encroaching on the judicial and indirectly on the legislative functions of the People, the Senate also won over their magistrates. The tribunes, who had originally been outside the Senate, were gradually absorbed into it and became an instrument of the Senatorial oligarchy, for among the ten there would normally be some partisans of the Senate. They gained the right, perhaps by the Hortensian law, of convoking the Senate, and they gradually became in effect magistrates of the *populus* and not merely of the *plebs*, the office being held between the quaestorship and praetorship, thus a tribune, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, intervened at the trial of the Scipios to help one of the old patrician families. One function of the tribune was that of public prosecutor. But the Senate, jealous of outstanding personalities, was often quite as interested as the People in calling magistrates to book, so that in the second century we find tribunes undertaking prosecutions in their own or Senatorial interests rather than on behalf of the People. As cliques developed within the



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Senate, members of one faction would use this method to attack their rivals, Cato, for instance, is said to have been prosecuted forty-four times and he probably returned blow for blow by using the services of tribunes Such prosecutions would often be dropped during the proceedings when once the political object had been attained, and generally some tribune could be found to veto his fellow Another symptom of the decline of the tribunate was the use made of it by ambitious young men, who, lacking other means of attracting notice, would attack prominent men for personal or party ends, and so gain notoriety and impress the electorate. Occasionally tribunes may have tried to oppose the will of the Senate, such an attempt may have led to the *Lex Aelia et Fufia* which gave magistrates the right to obstruct plebeian Assemblies by announcing unfavourable omens (*obnuntiatio*).[1] But in the main the tribunes had become tools of the Senate.

The war with Hannibal had two opposite results· it increased both the oligarchical power of the central administrative body, the Senate, and the dictatorial power of the executive magistrates The need for continuity of command led to the suspension of the rule that forbade re-election to the consulship within ten years. During the war Q. Fabius Maximus, already twice consul, held the office three times (215, 214, 209), M. Claudius Marcellus four times (215, 214, 210, 208) and Q. Fulvius Flaccus twice (212, 209); they also held pro-magistracies. Even more revolutionary was the career of Scipio Africanus who acted as proconsul in Spain for five years (210–206) and in Africa for three (204–201) and in the interval was consul (205), so that he was in command for ten consecutive years. Besides this threat to the annual magistracy, the principle of collegiality weakened; the complication of business involved a division of labour and when regular governorships were established in the provinces collegiality abroad had disappeared in fact and in law. Indeed, the power of the consuls had grown immensely: they exercised semi-independent control in distant lands, they commanded large armies, they had to take decisions which determined the fate of countries, they dictated terms to subjects and allies. At home the use of the overriding power of the dictatorship had lapsed, so that the way was open for the ambitious general to aim at personal rule. But the kingly position won by Scipio Africanus after the battle of Zama engendered rivalry at home and the jealous nobility found means

[1] The date is uncertain perhaps *c.* 150 B.C.

to check the over-popular or over-ambitious general and to reduce genius to the level of mediocrity.

There were many ways by which the influence of the magistrates could be checked. The use of lot in assigning provinces prevented an ambitious candidate from emphasizing to the electorate his suitability for a given appointment. There was a tendency to keep the consuls in Italy when possible and to use praetors and pro-praetors for duties abroad. True, the increase of provinces necessitated prorogation of command and a further move was taken in that direction by the *lex Baebia* which reduced the praetorships in alternate years from six to four, chiefly to allow praetors in Spain a longer command to avoid the waste of time caused by the long journey to and from Spain, this law was, however, quickly repealed. But prorogation did not become a danger because the Senate gradually took over from the People the right to decide the matter. Consequently, after 200 B.C. few commands were prolonged for more than one year, that of Flamininus (198–194) was exceptional. Similarly the method of investing *privati* with *imperium*, which had been applied to Scipio Africanus and to his successors in Spain, was discontinued when the number of praetors was raised in 197. But the Senate's strongest hold over the magistrates was gained by restricting re-election and establishing a fixed sequence of office. In the fourth century tenure of the consulship for two consecutive years and re-election to the same office within ten years had been forbidden, and before the Second Punic War it became necessary for a year to elapse between the tenure of the aedileship, praetorship and consulship. Though in war-time the rule had to be disregarded, a fixed order of office became customary. This was regulated by statute in 180, and a two-years' interval between offices probably was prescribed (*lex Villia Annalis*). Office must be held in the following order: quaestorship, aedileship, praetorship, consulship. The aedileship was not an essential stage, but was sought after as it gave the chance of winning popularity with the mob by a lavish display of public games. The minimum age limit for office was also fixed, and ten years' military service was a necessary qualification for the quaestorship; thus the consulship could not be reached before the age of thirty-four, or, if the aedileship had been held, of thirty-seven. Later the minimum age for the consulship was fixed at forty-two and re-election was forbidden (perhaps *c.* 150). Thus the Senate was able to curb undue ambition, and any danger to the

constitution arising from the practical abolition of collegiality and from the powers of provincial commanders was averted.[1]

The Senate, the stronghold of the nobility, controlled not only the magistrates and People but was itself controlled by an inner circle of nobles, the descendants of those who had held the consulship (or perhaps, in the third and early second centuries, any curule magistracy may have sufficed). Men outside this group might reach the quaestorship, but they seldom climbed much higher, when they succeeded in gaining a consulship they were acclaimed 'new men' (*novi homines*). The effective government was in the hands of some ten or twenty families. Of the 108 consuls between 200 and 146 B.C. only eight came from new families, and perhaps only four were strictly *novi homines*,[2] two of whom were helped by aristocratic friends, Cato by Valerius Flaccus, Glabrio by the Scipios. Sallust remarks that the nobility passed on the consulship from one to another[3] Of the 200 consuls, who held office from 234 to 134 B C., 159 were members of twenty-six families, 99 of ten families The old difference between Patrician and Plebeian had disappeared, and in 172 both consuls were plebeians for the first time, but a new exclusiveness had grown up. This was partly due no doubt to deliberate policy, but partly also to difficulties inherent in the nature of the Roman magistracy: a candidate must be wealthy and yet have no connection with trade, and it was difficult for him to attract the notice of the electorate if he was outside the charmed circle of noble families whose exploits were on all men's lips.

§ 4. THE RIVAL FAMILIES

Party politics in a modern sense were unknown at Rome. The electorate did not vote for party candidates who represented

[1] See A E Astin, *The Lex Annalis before Sulla* (1957)

[2] Cato (195), M' Acilius Glabrio (191), Cn Octavius (165) and L Mummius (146)

[3] 'Consulatum nobilitas inter se per manus tradebat' *Bell Jug*, 63, 6 It is instructive to compare the working of aristocracy in England It is very exceptional to find a commoner in the Cabinet in the 18th century, and in the 19th 'every Cabinet from Lord Grey's Reform Bill administration to that of Disraeli in 1874 was wholly, or almost wholly aristocratic There was this advance from the 18th century—that it was not necessary to be a peer in order to be a Cabinet Minister, but birth and connection were almost indispensable to Cabinet rank ' O. F. Christie, *The Transition from Aristocracy, 1832–1867*, p. 114.

definite policies, although exceptionally when an individual was known to favour a certain policy his chances of election might be affected by this, as for instance Scipio gained office partly on the strength of his strategic programme of invading Africa. In the main, however, men were elected as the result of the strength of their social backing, which derived from family, *gens*, friends and clients. But the nobility, which comprised the families of those candidates who had successfully reached the consulship, was not generally of one mind. Schisms and factions would naturally arise from political or personal causes, and the leading senatorial families would tend to fall into cliques. The extent to which an elaborate system of groupings and counter-groupings emerged has been differently estimated,[1] but it can hardly be denied that such groups formed the real, if unadvertised and unofficial, basis of Roman public life The subject cannot be traced in any detail here, but a few examples may be given

The five chief *gentes* at the beginning of the Hannibalic War were the Fabii, Claudii, Cornelii, Aemilii and Valerii Until Cannae a coalition of the Scipios (Cornelii) and Aemilii held sway, but then gave place to the Fabian faction By 212 the Claudii, supported by Fulvius Flaccus, had become more prominent, but the fortunes of the Scipios began to rise again when young Scipio succeeded Claudius Nero in Spain. The influence of the Scipios grew steadily, though challenged by Fabius and the 'Die Hards,' but while Scipio was in Africa a coalition of the Claudii, Fulvii, and Servilii jealously tried to undermine his position by political intrigue at Rome. His victory at Zama gave Scipio the most powerful position yet held by a Roman general, and men may have wondered whether this popular hero would challenge the Senatorial oligarchy and try to establish a tyranny by overthrowing his rivals at home.[2] He was, however, content to sink back into the life of a private citizen, but his personal influence was great. He was elected censor and made *princeps Senatus* in 199, and many relatives and friends held office during the first decade of the second century. There is no doubt that his sympathies were philhellenic. Not only had his ready adop-

[1] See esp. Munzer, *Römische Adelsparteien und Adelsfamilien*; W. Schur, *Scipio Africanus*, esp pp.105–41, H H. Scullard, *Roman Politics, 220–150 B C.* (1951)

[2] The idea that the people wished to make him perpetual consul and dictator is based on late and unreliable evidence Livy, XXXVIII, 56 Cf H H Scullard, *op cit.*, pp 83 ff , 282.

tion of Greek habits in Sicily annoyed Cato, but when in the East he visited Delphi and Delos where he dedicated gifts to Apollo and received the honour of proxeny [1] Apart from his personal interest in Greek culture, epigraphic evidence demonstrates that he supported a philhellenic policy. During the war with Antiochus he and his brother proclaimed freedom for the Greek cities in Asia, as Flamininus had for those in Greece. they would liberate all cities which had supported the Roman cause or which surrendered at once. In a letter recognizing the autonomy of the inhabitants of Heraclea-by-Latmus, the Scipios emphasized their goodwill towards all the Greeks and promised similar treatment to all who surrendered. The freedom granted was genuine, for a few years later Heraclea was allowed to carry on a war with Miletus without interference from Rome.[2]

Clearly Scipio Africanus supported the philhellenic policy of the Senate and the man who reduced Spain, Africa and Asia would realize the impossibility of putting the clock back and of trying to limit Rome's interests to Italy, as some of his contempories wished. Indeed it is probable that his was one of the first minds to wrestle with the problem of Rome's imperial mission. The terms he imposed on Rome's enemies together with his philhellenic tendencies give the clue to his policy: the Greeks were to be free, the barbarians to be crushed, the old monarchies were to be humbled, but not completely overthrown; client princes were to guard against their possible revival, in short, a balance of powers was to be established, all dependent on Rome, who was to allow free life to flourish under her protecting aegis. Hannibal and Antiochus could both bear witness that their conqueror's policy was moulded by the two thoughts that were later formulated by Virgil as 'parcere subiectis et debellare superbos'

The extent of the opposition which Scipio encountered is a matter of debate. An attempt to range the Roman nobility in

[1] Visit to Delphi in 190. see H Pomtow, *Klio*, 1921, p 153, and Hondius, *Supp Ep. Gr*, I, 144. Visit to Delos in 193 see Holleaux, *Hermes*, 1913, p 75; in 189, see Dittenberger, *Syll.*, II³, 617 Decrees of *proxenia* to the Scipios by Aptera in Crete in 189· see M. Guarducci, *Inscr. Cret*, II, Aptera 5A

[2] The Scipios sent a letter to Colophon Nova in 190 see M Holleaux, *Riv di Fil*, 1924, p 29 ff On the letter to Heraclea, see Dittenberger, *Syll.*, II³, 618, and De Sanctis, *Atti dell 'Acc. d. Scienze di Torino*, LVII, 1922, pp 242–9 On the treaty which terminated the war of Heraclea and Miletus in 180, see Ditt, *Syll.*, II³, 633.

two camps, a philhellenic group and a group opposed to Hellenism,[1] results in over-simplification, since it is far from certain that all the philhellenists were united. Scipio at first possibly helped Flamininus with the political object of weakening the Claudii and the national object of applying a more genuine philhellenic policy, but the situation was changed when his political opponents drove Hannibal to the Court of Antiochus. Military necessity, as he conceived it, led him to criticize Flamininus' scheme for the complete evacuation of Greece.[2] But while the philhellenists were quarrelling, the old conservative element of the Fabian group was championed by Cato. Born at Tusculum in 234 of good yeoman stock Cato spent the earlier years of his life, when not on military service, in working on his own estate like a Cincinnatus. His ability, combined with rugged honesty, simple living and dogged perseverance, soon attracted the notice of Valerius Flaccus who helped him to a political career in Rome He reached the quaestorship in 204, when his enmity towards Scipio was engendered, and the aedileship in 199, his praetorship in Sardinia in 198 was marked by the suppression of usury His upright character and oratorical ability won for him the consulship in 195, and all the conservatively-minded Romans who wished to restore the ancient simplicity of earlier days found a rock to cling to amid the surging seas of Hellenism. But though Cato might oppose the repeal of sumptuary laws and check magisterial abuses, his narrow nationalism was doomed to failure Notwithstanding his victories in Spain, he failed to break the influence of his opponents, and in 195 Africanus descended into the political arena and won a resounding victory for himself and family at the polls Led on by fear of Antiochus, a motive which may have contributed to Scipio's desire to seek office and to his successful candidature for the consulship of 194, he urged that Greece should be held as a barrier against the king This policy, which was not adopted, annoyed both Flamininus and Cato, though for different reasons In the elections for 192 Flamininus' brother Lucius defeated Africanus' cousin Nasica; this points to a desire to continue a policy of non-interference in Greece. But before the year was out Antiochus had landed in Greece; Flamin-

[1] R. M Haywood, *Studies in Scipio Africanus*

[2] Flamininus supported the old Hellenic ideal of the Greek city-state at the expense of the Hellenistic kingdoms, while Scipio's policy was based more broadly. Cf A. H. McDonald, *Journ Rom. Stud*, 1938, p 155 ff.

inus' diplomacy was good in its place and he was allowed to carry on in Greece, but the warnings of Africanus appeared to be coming true, so that his group again leapt into the saddle. The consuls for 191 were P. Scipio Nasica and Manius Acilius Glabrio, a *novus homo* and supporter of the Scipios. The year was marked by success· Acilius drove Antiochus from Greece; Livius, another supporter of the Scipionic group, defeated the king's navy; and Nasica crushed the Boii. Relying on this rising tide of popularity, Africanus could urge the necessity of pushing home the victory against Antiochus. He could not seek the consulship again without violating the constitution, but when his brother Lucius and his friend C. Laelius, another *novus homo*, were elected consuls for 190, he was associated with the Eastern command. The Scipionic group was at the height of its power. But while the fate of Asia was being decided on the plains of Magnesia, Cato and his fellows were securing the decline and fall of the victors.

In 190 Cato prevented Minucius Thermus, a supporter of the Scipios, from celebrating a triumph over the Ligurians The next year he introduced scandal as a political weapon in the elections for the censorship Glabrio, Scipio's friend and the most popular candidate, was accused of having misused some booty taken at Thermopylae. The prosecution was supported, or even instigated, by Cato, his fellow candidate, who had served on his staff. Proceedings were dropped as soon as Glabrio's reputation and election chances had been undermined, but Cato himself failed to win office despite, or because of, this effort. In the same year the Scipios were superseded, Asia being allotted to Manlius Vulso and Aetolia to Fulvius Nobilior. Neither lacked opponents and they were recalled later through the efforts of Aemilius Lepidus, the consul of 187, who censured Fulvius' conduct at Ambracia, while L. Aemilius Paullus blocked Vulso's demand for a triumph. If Lepidus and Paullus were supporters of the Scipios,[1] rather than agents of Cato,[2] the Scipionic group apparently had begun to revive Cato, however, decided to hunt bigger game

In 187 two tribunes, the Petillii, were instigated by Cato to demand in the Senate that L. Scipio should render an account of five hundred talents which he had received from Antiochus as pay for his troops.[3] Africanus, who knew the shaft was really

[1] See W Schur, *op. cit.*, p 91 ff

[2] So T Frank, *Cambr. Anc Hist*, VIII, p 371 on what evidence?

[3] On the vexed question of the 'Trials of the Scipios' see Mommsen,

aimed at himself, disdained reply and indignantly tore up the account-books in the Senate The question turned on whether the money formed part of the 'booty' at the general's own uncontrolled disposal or whether it was part of the war-indemnity approved by the Senate and Roman people to whom an account should be rendered. The attack was not directly an accusation of maladministration, nor was the Senate a court of law; a demand was merely made to put the matter in order When the Scipios maintained the correctness of their behaviour, the matter was dropped: the Senate thus supported Africanus against tribunician interference in financial affairs Nothing daunted, Cato took steps to enforce his demand elsewhere. Another tribune, Minucius Augurinus, formally accused Lucius Scipio of refusing to render an account, he imposed a fine and demanded surety which Lucius refused to pay, perhaps from pride. When Lucius was threatened with imprisonment if he persisted in his refusal, Africanus persuaded another tribune, Sempronius Gracchus, to veto proceedings, so that the matter fell through The question of Lucius' guilt hardly exists, it was a matter of definition. The next year he gave splendid games in an attempt to retrieve the falling popularity of his house In 184 an attack was launched against Africanus himself.[1] The accusation, made by a tribune, M. Naevius, was perhaps treasonable dealings with Antiochus (p 258). Africanus merely replied that it ill befitted the Roman People to listen to any accusations against one to whom the accusers owed it that they had the power of speech at all At this the People dispersed and the charge was not perhaps pressed home. But Africanus realized that his influence was gone, his brother failed to win the censorship, his own health was bad and neither his brother nor son were competent to take his place. So he withdrew to Liternum near Naples into political exile away from a country which had grown tired of its saviour. He died the next year, as did another who had devoted his life to his own country's service—Scipio's old foeman, the exiled Hannibal.

In 184 Cato and his patron L Valerius Flaccus were elected censors and the latter succeeded Scipio Africanus as *princeps Senatus*. The recent scandal of the Bacchanalia may have

Römische Forschungen, II, pp 417–510; P Fraccaro, *I Processi degli Scipioni* (1911), and *Athenaeum*, 1939, p. 3 ff (= *Opuscula*, I, 263 ff., 393 ff), H. H. Scullard, *Roman Politics, 220–150 B C*, p. 290 ff

[1] Others maintain that this occurred in 187 and merely formed an incident in the trial of Lucius, the evidence is inconclusive.

weakened the position of the liberal philhellenes, so that Cato was now able to lead a reaction. He tried to check luxury and he revised the list of the Senate and the muster-roll of the Knights with severity. If in his censorship he was too reactionary and accomplished little permanent reform, he at least drew attention to some of the evils of his day and tried to re-establish a greater sense of moral responsibility which was the necessary preliminary to any far-reaching reforms. But he was after all a *novus homo* and despite his influence Roman policy must have been largely shaped by a middle *bloc* of nobles, representing average senatorial opinion. This was led during the next few years by the Fulvii, perhaps in alliance with Aemilius Lepidus who was censor with Fulvius Nobilior in 179. By about 173, however, the influence of the Fulvii had declined and new leaders emerged from such families as the Postumii and Popillii, whose more aggressive policies and methods shocked some of the older patrician nobility. But after some stormy clashes and the national victory over Perseus, greater concord was established within the Senate and the fiercer quarrels of earlier days were forgotten Cato might continue to the end of his long life to attack his political opponents, but many of these tussles were fought more for social or personal than political causes. Not until the end of our period do we find a serious political clash when once again he crossed swords with a Scipio, the younger Nasica, who opposed his desire to destroy Carthage and who could remark sarcastically that thanks to the Senate's merciless policy there were no longer any nations which Rome need either fear or blush before.[1]

[1] On Cato see H. H. Scullard, *op cit.* (see Index), D Kienast, *Cato der Zensor* (1954), F. della Corte, *Catone Censore* (1949)

PART IV

ROMAN LIFE AND CULTURE

CHAPTER XVI

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

§ 1. AGRICULTURE

AGRICULTURE was the primary industry of the Roman people The peasant-farmer was the backbone of the state and Rome's conquest of Italy, which was won by the sword, was consolidated by the plough Later Romans identified the ideal citizen of early days with a Cincinnatus who was called from the plough to the dictatorship or a Manius Curius whom Samnite envoys found cooking his own meal of herbs. The early festivals of Rome, the predominance of the later rustic tribes over the urban tribes, and many personal names as Fabius (Beanman) and Lentulus (Lentilman), all testify to the pre-eminence of agricultural interests. Whether the earliest settlers on the Palatine were primarily given to pasturage or agriculture, it was the latter manner of livelihood that prevailed in historical times and was doubtless encouraged under the Etruscan domination It is unlikely that many farmers in Latium sank to a condition of serfdom or that the overthrow of the Etruscans seriously affected agricultural conditions. But even if the economic distress of the fifth century was not caused by an attempt of serfs to become free peasants and members of the plebeian class, the early political history of Rome was dominated by the land question [1] The need to create a military organization to preserve the state forced the nobles to make political and economic concessions to the lower classes The farmer-soldier extended the frontiers of his city and land-hunger was satisfied by founding new 'tribes' and fortress-colonies which spread the Roman system of peasant husbandry throughout Italy.

In early days agriculture was not regarded as a means by which the state could exploit the natural resources of Italy· it was a domestic matter under the direction of the paterfamilias who was responsible for the support of his family. The farmer

[1] Cf. chaps iii, § 2, and v, § 1

lived on his plot of land which he cultivated with the help of his sons and sometimes of clients or slaves Since such slaves were mainly Italian, they were regarded as humble dependents and part of the family, not as mere chattels. The arable land around the homestead was chiefly devoted to the production of spelt (*far*) for food and oats for fodder. The staple diet was a kind of porridge, prepared from ground meal, water and salt, together with garden vegetables, as beans, lentils, onions and garlic In the fifth century wheat and bread began to supersede the earlier porridge. Figs, grapes, apples, pears, nuts, milk and honey swelled the menu; little meat and practically no fish was eaten, though bacon was highly esteemed. A rough wine was produced and the cultivation of the olive was gradually introduced from South Italy Agricultural methods were primitive, governed by tradition and rule of thumb. The ox and ass supplied labour. Tools and appliances were simple the plough long remained unimproved. Irrigation and drainage, which had been fostered by the Etruscans, became less effective under private enterprise. In course of time the more skilful or fortunate farmers outstripped their neighbours and consequently a gradual inequality in the size of estates became apparent, so that the amount of land held by one man was limited by statute (p. 92)

Pasturage, though less important than agriculture, was widely practised. In early times the peasants could supplement the produce of their small allotments by grazing animals on common land. Some parts of Italy were more suited to pasturage than the production of corn, when the Romans gained control of the upland country, which provided good summer pastures, they could keep larger flocks and herds by changing the grazing ground according to season, as is done in Italy to-day. In time this led to the growth of large estates, for the small farmer would not find it worth while to send a few beasts to distant pasturage. But before the Punic Wars the farmer devoted his time chiefly to tilling the soil, apart from grazing a few animals on the wastes and commons near his farm

Rome's conquest of Italy involved the disappearance of earlier conditions with the advance of Roman peasant husbandry [1] The Greek cities of southern Italy had formed part of the capitalist system of the Hellenistic world, with Sicily and Sardinia they long remained one of the world's richest grain

[1] Cf Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, ch I

markets. They exported much grain to Greece, while Etruria and Carthaginian Sicily and Sardinia supplied the Punic cities of Africa, which concentrated on commerce and the production of wine, olive-oil, and fruit for the western markets. The Greeks of Italy and Sicily also produced wine and oil in competition with Greece itself and North Africa While metal industries flourished in Campania and Etruria, wool was produced particularly in Apulia. In central Italy, where there were few towns, conditions of life were more like those in Latium, though tribal grazing was perhaps more common than individual ownership of land and agriculture. In Etruria the conquering aristocracy had reduced many of the inhabitants to serfs, who worked on their large estates or in industry Further north were Celtic shepherds and peasants with pasturage predominating Rome's conquest involved fewer changes in the north than south. The Celts were driven back. Part of Etruria was colonized, part may have continued its old manner of life. Most Greek cities in the south, succumbing to the Samnite tribes and Roman colonization, became cities of peasants, few remained centres of the more progressive economic life of earlier times Thus Italy became mainly a nation of small farmers

Rome's conquest of the Mediterranean had greater economic repercussions on Italy itself than on the provinces where conditions remained much the same as before War and provincial administration filled the pockets of Senators and Equites, who often returned to Italy and looked around for safe investments Land attracted most of their capital, and it so happened that the state had much land of which to dispose The Hannibalic War had resulted in a great increase of Rome's *ager publicus*, while the land had been so devastated that it was difficult to attract the small farmer back to it. Apart from the foundation of a few colonies, the state was ready to lease out large allotments to any who had the capital and vision to undertake the venture. A slow revolution took place land now became an object of speculation to be exploited as a regular source of profit. The owner no longer lived as a farmer on his estate, but entrusted it to the management of a steward (*vilicus*). As the ravages of war in Italy had created a shortage of free men willing to settle on the land, and as foreign wars had flooded the Italian slave markets, servile labour soon began to oust free labour on the bigger estates Thus in many parts of Italy, especially in the south, peasant husbandry gave place to a capitalist system of large estates worked

by cheap labour and devoted to pasturage and stock-rearing or to the cultivation of the vine and olive. The absentee owners swelled the ranks of the aristocracy and the well-to-do bourgeoisie of Rome and the Italian cities

We have far more knowledge of agricultural conditions in the second, than in preceding centuries, thanks to the survival of Cato's book on Agriculture which gives a vivid picture of life in Italy.[1] He appears to advocate grazing as the most profitable use of land, at any rate in certain districts, the demand for horses and wool was increasing, while more mutton and beef was eaten. In discussing his preference in crops Cato, who was probably thinking chiefly of the district around Rome and parts of Campania, advocates viticulture, vegetable gardening and the raising of osiers for basket-weaving and vine-props (when the estate was near a town), olive plantations, meadow land for fodder, and lastly cereal culture There was a decreasing supply of olives from Greece and an increasing demand in Italy; their cultivation required little labour except at harvest-time when the resident slave labour of the estate would be supplemented with free workers operating under contract Further, much of the land of an olive plantation could still be used for grain or sheep-grazing. The low esteem in which Cato holds cereals is partly due to the restricted district which he was considering. Wheat from the Sicilian tithes in no way swamped the markets of Rome, but supplied a very small part of the needs of Italy. After Zama wheat was cheap, but during the wars of the second century army requirements prevented much provincial grain reaching the open market at Rome, so that cereal culture was helped rather than hindered by the foreign wars The effect on the home market of competition caused by the importation of foreign corn was very limited.[2] In the uplands pasturage spread at the expense of arable farming because it was more profitable, and cereal farming was left to the small farmer or to the tenants or serfs of the great landowners in certain districts.

Thus in many parts of Italy capitalist farming, on both a large and small scale, replaced peasant husbandry. Agricultural methods on the large estates differed little from the old, apart

[1] There are English translations by E Brehaut (1933) and in the Loeb Classical Library (1934). See also extracts and comments by T. Frank, *Economic Survey*, I, p 160 ff. Cf Horle, *Cato's Hausbücher* (1929)

[2] T. Frank, *Economic Survey*, I, p. 158 ff , H. Last, *Cambr Anc. Hist* , IX, p. 4.

from the introduction of servile labour, though some of the slaves would have knowledge of the more scientific estates of the East. Arable land was fertilized with manure and legumes, which in some years were ploughed under as cover crops or used in rotation with wheat. Apart from this it is uncertain whether attempts were yet made to relieve exhausted soil by rotation of crops, except that land might be allowed to stand fallow for a year as rough pasturage More important than any improvements in method, more important even than changes in production, was the increase of servile labour which drove numerous free workers off the land. Some might be absorbed by commercial enterprise abroad, but many drifted to the towns and the capital itself. Since no Industrial Revolution took place to engage their activity they soon became a useless mass of unemployed, until Tiberius Gracchus sought to give them a new start by raising the cry, 'Back to the land.'

§ 2. WARFARE[1]

The early Roman had to spend much time fighting in defence of the fields he tilled. Every property owner was expected to fight for his city, which had no professional army, only a citizen-militia, called up as need demanded The primitive organization, based on Thousands, soon proved inadequate for military purposes, and by the Servian reform the community was organized as an army and the Nation in Arms became the chief political assembly. The complex question of the development of the early army is discussed elsewhere (Appendix 4). Its basis was necessarily timocratic, because it would be arranged in classes according to the weapons which each man could provide for himself. Only the well-to-do could afford a full equipment of arms and armour, and only the rich could serve as cavalry It has been suggested that the earliest army consisted entirely of cavalry supported by a crowd of light-armed clients, the nobles rode to battle where they dismounted and fought like Homeric heroes.[2] In Greece Homeric warfare and the age of chivalry gave place to hoplite tactics and the phalanx, as later the knights of Charles

[1] Though some details of this section belong rather to the domain of Roman policy, it may perhaps be included in this chapter since soldiering tended more and more to become a manner of livelihood

[2] See Delbruck, *Geschichte der Kriegskunst*, I³, p. 259 ff , and M P. Nilsson, *Journ Rom Stud.*, XIX, 1929, p 1 ff Contrast Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung*, p. 256 ff.

the Bold of Burgundy went down before the Swiss pikemen, or the feudal barons collapsed when gunpowder was introduced. But there is little evidence to prove such a change at Rome True, the early cavalry was more like mounted infantry than cavalry proper, and played a more important rôle than later, but it may be supposed that the old Roman battle order was the phalanx, that is an infantry formation several files deep.

The phalanx was either evolved by the Romans themselves or introduced, or influenced, by the Etruscans who in turn received it from the Greeks. When the centuries were recruited from the tribes on a basis of wealth, the phalanx formed the *classis*; and when the full 'Servian' order was introduced, the phalanx was elaborated, the armour of the classes was distinguished and hoplite tactics were developed perhaps under Greek influence. The 'juniors' of the first three classes formed the heavy infantry of the line The light-armed men of the other two classes together with the cavalry formed a covering force and partly compensated for the lack of flexibility in the phalanx which depended on weight and push.

The entire levy, the legion, was the tactical unit, and the century had more administrative than military value. It is uncertain when the levy was divided into two groups or legions, whether at the fall of the monarchy or after the Gallic invasion.[1] As Rome's territory and population increased it was found necessary in the Second Samnite War to levy two consular armies of two legions each. The increase of the cavalry cannot be traced in detail. Three centuries were soon increased to six and later to eighteen. It is said that each cavalryman received a grant for the purchase of two horses (*aes equestre*) and for their upkeep (*aes hordearium*) This can scarcely apply to the early 'six centuries,' for it would be ridiculous to subsidize the rich before the infantry received pay; it probably refers to the period when the six centuries were insufficient and others had to be enrolled.[2] During the siege of Veii pay was introduced to enable the yeomen soldiers to keep the field throughout the year: the first step towards turning the citizen-militia into a professional army had been taken.

[1] Cf Appendix No 4.

[2] Livy, however, implies that *equites* mounted at their own expense (*equo privato*) were first included in the army at the siege of Veii. The eighteen centuries were called *equites equo publico* till the end of the Republic.

The introduction of pay meant that each man could now arm himself, and it was not necessary to place the wealthier men in the first line. Gradually experience, skill and age supplanted wealth and the census as the basis of military arrangement. The heavy infantry was drawn up in three lines, *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii*, though the light-armed troops were still recruited on a strict census basis from the two lowest classes. All three lines had practically the same armour; helmets, breast-plates, shields, greaves, javelins and swords. The front line despite its name did not consist of spearmen (*hastati*), and the second line (*principes*) had ceased to form the front of the battle array; the *triarii* were a third supporting line of veterans, with slightly lighter armour. This important reorganization was accompanied by a fundamental change in tactics: the phalanx gave place to the manipular system which endured till the last century of the Republic. The legion was divided into 30 maniples, each comprising 120 men Intervals were left between the maniples in each line, and the maniples of the second line covered the spaces of the first The object of the reform was to give greater elasticity than the mass-tactics of the phalanx The army was thus divided horizontally into three lines and vertically into maniples. A corresponding change was made in equipment, the most important introduction was the *pilum*, a javelin 6½ feet in length, half wood and half iron, which replaced the spear (*hasta*) in the two front lines. The date of these changes is disputed. Some assign them to the years after the Gallic invasion and to the wisdom of Camillus. Others, with greater probability, suppose that the flexible manipular formation was forced upon the Romans when operating in the rough hill-country of Samnium; also that the *pilum* derived from Samnium [1] Further, contact with the gaily dressed cavaliers of Campania and Samnium may have helped to transform the mounted infantry of Rome into real cavalry. But Roman cavalry was always weak, so that the the Romans depended more on their allies; and even Italian cavalry from the time of the Hannibalic War was supplemented by hiring foreign auxiliaries The allies sent forces to the Roman armies, the maximum levy of each state was fixed by its treaty,

[1] P Couissin (*Les armes romaines*) believes that the *pilum* developed from the *verutum* in the fifth century in central Italy under local (Etruscan?) influences, but was later affected by Gallic and Iberian javelins Schulten insists on its Iberian origin. That the manipular reform goes back to the Veientine war and Camillus is argued by Q F Maule and H. R W Smith, *Votive Religion at Caere* (1959)

though normally the whole contingent would not be called out. The allied troops served with the legions under Roman officers (*praefecti sociorum*)

Such in brief was the army that conquered Italy; but before it conquered the Mediterranean world it was reformed Manipular tactics had ousted the rigid phalanx, but the battle line was not sufficiently flexible; it still relied on mere push and weight and could not wheel or turn with any ease When faced by a mobile enemy, the Roman legions collapsed Cannae showed with tragic clearness the vulnerability of the legions which broke because they could not bend, and the inadequacy of Roman cavalry; once the wings had been swept clear of the covering cavalry the infantry was outflanked and surrounded before it could break through the enemy's centre This weakness was gradually rectified by the genius of Scipio Africanus, the first Roman general as such, who went to Spain, not as consul or praetor, but as an army commander with proconsular power, to campaign not for a year but until victory was won There he built up his New Model Army He threw over the close maintenance of the triple line and created lines which operated independently This more flexible weapon was used with increasing skill at Baecula, Ilipa and Campi Magni until it crushed Hannibal at Zama. Scipio also made the individual more effective when he had broken away from the compact mass by adequate training in arms drill. The Spanish sword with its well-tempered point was adopted, and the *pilum* may have been improved from Spanish models. Rome's lack of cavalry was counteracted by alliance with the native princes of Spain and Numidia But Scipio's greatest tactical contribution was that he made the units more self-reliant and thus led on to the next development of Roman tactics when the cohort became the unit

The Hannibalic War tended to professionalize the Roman army, but it was followed by a reaction to the more amateur methods of earlier days and many men were glad to return to civil life. Despite easier conditions of service and under some commanders a dangerously lax discipline, there was a marked reluctance for military service on the part of some. But others had gained an appetite for soldiering and did not wish to settle back on the land. The wars of conquest and long periods of service offered such men a profession, though a precarious one, as there was no standing army: forces were still raised from the propertied classes as need demanded and demobilized when

operations were over[1] Conditions of life are well illustrated by a speech which Livy puts into the mouth of a veteran volunteer in 171 B.C 'I am Spurius Ligustinus, and I come from the Sabine country. My father left me less than an acre of land and a small cottage in which I was born and bred; I live there now . . I have six sons and two daughters, both now married . . . I became a soldier in the consulship of P. Sulpicius and C. Aurelius (200 B C.) . . . I served in the ranks for two years against King Philip In the third year as a reward for bravery T. Quinctius Flamininus made me a junior centurion Discharged after Philip's defeat, I at once went to Spain as a volunteer with M Porcius (195) who thought me worthy of promotion to a higher rank among the centurions. A third time I again enlisted as a volunteer in the army which was sent against the Aetolians and King Antiochus, I was promoted by M' Acilius (191) . . We were brought back to Italy and then I served in two legions which were raised for a year. Then I served in Spain, once under Q. Fulvius Flaccus (181) and again under Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. Four times within a few years I have been first centurion of a legion; I have been rewarded thirty-two times for bravery by my generals; I have received six civic crowns. I have served in twenty-two annual campaigns, and I am over fifty years old' (Livy, XLII, 34).

During the Republic there was no standing navy; ships were built and fitted out as required. Before the First Punic War the navy was small and a few ships were supplied by the Italiot towns; but the war forced Rome to become a great sea power. In their amateur but successful manner the Romans put one or both of the consuls in command of the fleet. During part of the Hannibalic War the fleet sometimes formed the separate 'province' of a praetor, sometimes it was commanded by a consul or his deputy (*praefectus*). The oarsmen and sailors were supplied by the allies and maritime colonies, and after 217 by *libertini* also. The marine troops were usually drawn from the Roman proletariat, the sixth class, or occasionally from allies and Latins. Naval service was not popular. The standard vessel was the quinquereme, the trireme and quadrireme were also used, as well as lighter craft as the Illyrian *lembi*. As the admiral's flagship one of the great Hellenistic ships might be used. Although the

[1] The fact that between 200 and 168 B C there were normally 8 legions in being (some 42,000 citizens under arms) shows that the standing armies of the Empire were foreshadowed· see R E. Smith, *Service in the Post-Marian Army* (1958), ch 1

Roman navy played an important rôle in her conquest of the Mediterranean world, it did not adequately police the seas in times of peace, so that piracy became a real danger to Italian shipping.

§ 3 COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

The peasants who tilled their fields around Rome were long oblivious to the fact that they were sandwiched in between two commercial peoples, the Etruscans and the Greek colonists. From the eighth century Etruria enjoyed an active trade with Greece and with some centre whence wares of Egyptian and Assyrian style were shipped to Italy. Fine gold and silver work to adorn the princely tombs at Caere and Praeneste was brought from the East in exchange for the copper of Tuscany and the iron of Elba. Gradually an Etruscan school of artists arose who found their inspiration in the imported models; previously the early Italian copper-smiths had only produced simple geometric designs, but now native Etruscans manufactured works of art for the home market and export. In the seventh century Corinthian wares dominated the Etruscan markets (and indeed the whole western Mediterranean) and Corinthian influence was paramount in Etruscan art. Early in the sixth century Attic pottery reached Etruria and for the next hundred years Greek imports and influences so predominated that it is often impossible to distinguish Greek and Etruscan work, at any rate in the minor arts. Etruscan potters still manufactured *bucchero* ware, the black surface of which gives the appearance of metal; but Greek styles were increasingly popular, whether made by Etruscans or Greek settlers. The sixth century witnessed many other events of commercial importance the Greek colonization of Massilia, the rise of Carthage, the subsequent alliance of Etruria and Carthage against the Greeks, the downfall of Greek competition in the west, the growth of the Punic policy of a *mare clausum*, and the Etruscan domination of Latium which temporarily swept the Romans into a world of trade and industry.

Reference has already been made to the spread of Etruscan and Greek civilization in Latium (Ch. ii, § 3). Industry was doubtless stimulated in many cities, though it is not always possible to determine whether a given object is of native workmanship or imported. Praeneste, for instance, became an industrial centre; the gold fibula, which dates from about 600 and bears the earliest-known Latin inscription ('Manios made me for

Numasios'), points to a local metal industry, while in the sixth century mirrors were manufactured there under Etruscan influence. Commerce passed along a land route from Etruria to Praeneste, while Greek and Phoenician wares entered Latium through the port of Satricum, which was in close touch with Cumae by sea, Greek imports for Falerii and southern Etruria probably passed up the Tiber through Rome The temples of the seventh or sixth centuries at Velitrae, Ardea, and Satricum show clearly the development of industry and art in Latium. But the country's lack of mineral wealth clipped the wings of commerce, for there was little with which Latium could pay for foreign wares. The skill of local metal workers may have formed a source of wealth, while pasturage would produce some hides, wool and swine for export, and parts of Latium grew timber But it is unlikely that a surplus of grain could be grown for export or that trade became very flourishing except under Etruscan encouragement

The relation of Rome to Italian commerce is difficult to determine. As the Romans preferred incineration to inhumation no tombs survive with luxurious burial furniture, while continuous occupation of the site has lessened the chance of the undisturbed survival of gold or silver objects With the coming of the Etruscans the villagers of Rome became the citizens of a rich and powerful city, and to a limited extent they must have shared the wider life of their rulers. But Rome was not in the centre of the Etruscan picture, rather, she was on the southern edge of the Etruscanized Falerian culture Surviving pottery links her most closely with the Faliscans, but her architectural terra-cottas link her with other Latin cities (Satricum, Praeneste, Velitrae) and show her temples must have been as good as any. These temples imply the existence of many workmen and artists. At first some foreigners settled in the 'Tuscus vicus' between the Palatine and Capitol, but later native craftsmen learned to imitate the technical skill of the Etruscans in metal and clay. Tradition records the existence of eight labour guilds in the Regal Period. flute-blowers, goldsmiths, carpenters, dyers, leather-workers, tanners, bronze-smiths and potters.[1] The list is reasonable, as it excludes those activities which still remained domestic, such as the weaving of clothing and the baking of bread; further a clause in the Twelve Tables (VII, 27) refers to guilds of some kind, which confirms their early existence, even if the detailed trades are not

[1] Plutarch, *Numa*, XVII, 3 Cf F Tamborini, *Athenaeum*, 1930.

accepted. But it is far from certain that these workers manufactured more than was required in the home market by the soldiers, farmers and householders or by the luxurious court of their overlords. There is no evidence that such a margin was left for export as would attract much foreign trade. Some Greek vases were imported in the seventh century, and more in the later sixth, while local potters produced much on Faliscan or Etruscan models. But her geographical position enabled Rome to levy dues on goods moving between Etruria and Campania, and also to control the trade in salt which was collected at the flats near Ostia and sold to the hill tribes. The long-deferred recourse to minted money, and the complete indifference shown towards commercial interests in the first treaty with Carthage, suggest that the primary interest of early Rome was not commerce When Etruscan influence was withdrawn the Romans were not completely cut off from the Greek culture of Campania, but any earlier interest in trade declined, agriculture and warfare filled life. With the disappearance of court-life industry flagged: the Twelve Tables forbade extravagant funerals and Etruscan luxury gave place to the simpler native usages. Some workmen may have found their employment gone and have swelled the ranks of the discontented plebeians, but their number cannot have been large unless it is assumed that industry in the Regal Period had catered for other markets than the home market.

In the fifth century Roman interests were largely domestic The Esquiline tombs, which contain imported ware of the sixth and fourth centuries, show none belonging to the fifth But at the end of that century Rome swims into the ken of Greek historians, and is described by Heracleides of Pontus as 'a Greek city situated on the shore of the great sea ' In the course of the fourth century after the Gallic invasion Rome became a powerful city. The newly-built 'Servian' walls enclosed an area of about 1,060 acres, which was more than twice that of Capua and about five times that of Ardea; not all the enclosed area, however, may have been thickly populated. The construction itself of the wall involved much labour, as some five million cubic feet of cut stone must have been used. A few temples were built, but they were probably small.

At the same time military needs resulted in Rome's intrusion both north and south into areas where Greek influence predominated. In Campania pottery was manufactured on Attic models. Many Oscan towns issued money with Greek inscriptions, and the

paintings of the fourth century tombs at Paestum and Capua show the influence of Greek art. At Capua also Etruscan gold workers continued their trade. A successful pottery industry flourished at the Latin colony of Cales. At Praeneste a vigorous bronze industry is attested by the beautiful mirrors and boxes (*cistae*) engraved with scenes from Greek mythology and decorated with ornamental handles; perhaps the old Etruscan industry was in part carried on by Campanian-Greek workmen. In Etruria itself where activity slackened on the downfall of their Empire artistic effort and Greek influence were renewed in the fourth century. The wall paintings might be more sombre, but many bronze statues (e.g. the Mars of Todi) and sarcophagi of real artistic merit were produced. After the fall of Veii, pottery was manufactured at and exported from Falerii, where two old temples were redecorated in Hellenistic style, two new temples adorned Volsinii. A pair of Panathenaic amphoras, dated 336, attest the spread of Attic influence at Caere.

Indirect contact with Greek art through direct relations with Etruria and Campania may have stimulated emulation by the Romans, but the evidence suggests that it was not extensive A number of temples were built, especially after the great Samnite War. They were probably adorned with terra-cotta revetments and pediments like the contemporary Etruscan temples, and some were decorated with paintings, but the artists may have been imported.[1] The buildings of Rome can scarcely have been less imposing than those of many of the towns that she conquered. One of the most beautiful boxes of the Praenestine type (the Ficorini *cista*) was made at Rome and bears a Latin inscription· 'Novios Plautios med Romai fecid' ('Novius Plautus made me at Rome') But this is not sufficient evidence to suggest widespread industry. The local pottery was not notable enough to export: transport was too dear. Cheap black Campanian ware is found in the Esquiline graves. The legislation of Appius Claudius implies the existence of a fairly large free industrial class at Rome, but this may have merely supplied weapons for the army, agricultural implements for the farmers and domestic furniture for the householder. If warfare stimulated industry, colonization checked it by draining the population. And still the Romans remained uninterested in commerce.

[1] A military scene from a third (?) century tomb on the Esquiline depicts negotiations between Q Fabius and an enemy general, M. Fannius· perhaps an episode in the Samnite Wars.

When their treaty with Carthage was renewed in 348 they allowed the Carthaginians to extend the area of the *mare clausum* and left their own port open to foreign traders About the same time a small fortress was established at the Tiber's mouth at Ostia. The colony may have been designed to protect and facilitate commerce, but it equally well may have been a military post against sea-raiders from Antium.[1] The general inexperience of the Romans at sea before the First Punic War confirms the supposition that their main activities were directed landwards.

The Roman conquest of Italy secured for the citizens benefits which included *commercium*, but the conquest of the Mediterranean opened up vaster fields. The Romans, however, were content to step aside and leave commercial enterprise to the Greeks of southern Italy. The governing class did not seek fresh markets for the products of Italian industry. Provincial administration proved more profitable. Unfortunately we have little evidence of the progress of Roman industry in the third century. The wars with Carthage must have stimulated the production of arms and military equipment which were presumably supplied in the main by Rome and the municipal towns of central Italy. In Campania the production of pottery declined, but metal industries continued to prosper. In southern Italy Rome's conquest weakened local industry and Hannibal's invasion wrought untold damage. Tarentum never recovered its pristine prosperity. The towns of Etruria were more prosperous, though artistic inspiration declined. Mirrors, similar to those from Praeneste, were manufactured, and the increasing popularity of incineration encouraged the production of urns of alabaster, marble and travertine. In 205 Scipio received supplies of grain and timber from Caere, Volaterrae, Perusia and Clusium, cloth from Tarquinii, iron from Populonia and manufactured weapons from Arretium.

In the second century similar conditions prevailed. Romans of good family still left industry to the lower classes, but slave labour slowly tended to supplant free. Plautus refers to a large number of skilled workers: workers in gold, iron, wood and leather, makers of boxes, leather bottles, shoes, ropes and shields, dealers in wool and linen; carpenters, potters, dyers, fullers, millers, bakers, weavers. Cato's list of agricultural implements required for his olive orchard and vineyard is both long and instructive.[2] He also suggests the best shopping centres.[3] Rome

[1] On early Ostia see R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (1960), ch 8

[2] *De Agr*, X, XI. Cf Frank, *Econ Survey*, p 175 [3] Ch 135.

for clothing, jars and bowls, heavy ploughs, yokes, locks, keys and baskets; Cales and Minturnae for iron agricultural implements; Venafrum for spades, ropes and tiles; Suessa for wagons and threshing sledges, Capua for light ploughs, bronze utensils, ropes and baskets; Pompeii and Nola for mills and olive crushers, Nola for bronze utensils Pottery was still exported from Cales to central Italy, but the industry declined The so-called Megarian ware made in southern Umbria was sold chiefly locally and in southern Etruria The great slag heaps at Populonia near Elba indicate that an average of ten million tons of iron ore were treated each year during the last centuries of the Republic Some of the pig iron was forged on the spot and at Arretium, some was sent to Puteoli as the local timber supply decreased Copper, tin, and lead also were mined in Etruria, but after Cato had organized the Spanish mines, Etruscan mining and metal working declined, though farming flourished and the slave-worked plantation system spread in Etruria.[1] In general, the small shop system, which is revealed at Pompeii, prevailed. The shopkeeper generally made and sold his goods in the same small room.[2] Cattle, fish and vegetables were sold in separate *fora* in Rome, while special market days were held every eighth day A trader might hawk his wares around neighbouring towns, but the slowness and cost of transport precluded a far-flung trade in cheap goods An ox team covered little more than ten miles a day and it has been reckoned that to haul an olive mill for twenty-five miles would add a sixth to the original cost of the mill. River transport would be used where possible and the Roman roads which spread over Italy for military purposes served also commercial ends. Nevertheless trade in Italy, for the most part, remained local.

Overseas trade, especially with the East, increased in the second century, but it had little interest for Roman nobles or influence on Roman policy (pp. 318–19). For instance, the Romans allowed Gades to grow fat on the Atlantic trade of the Carthaginians instead of claiming the legacy for themselves; similarly no commercial treaty was struck with Masinissa. Ostia's heyday was after Gracchan times, though a Roman tariff station

[1] If a Senatorial decree which closed mining in Italy (Pliny, *N H*, 33, 78) belongs to this period, it did not apparently apply to the iron of Elba.

[2] Three different signatures are found on the pottery of *c* 200 B.C. which has recently been discovered in a deposit of 'throw-outs' from a kiln at Minturnae This suggests that the potter was not an individual, but a small syndicate or co-operative group see *Amer. Journ Archaeol.*, 1934, p 294

was set up at Puteoli in 199. The Roman naval transport service was responsible for the transhipment of large quantities of grain, and the cost of freightage precluded a vigorous trade in ordinary commodities as grain, oil and wine But the increasing demand for luxuries in Rome would promote trade and the Equites gradually became a Third Estate Yet the aristocracy retained its vested interests in land, and 'Labour' had no adequate political means of expressing its will

§ 4. CURRENCY AND FINANCE

The Greek cities of South Italy, as Tarentum, coined silver from the mid-sixth century, Cumae from *c.* 500 B.C , Naples and the Etruscans from *c.* 450, but the Romans were slow to develop a monetary system of their own The view that Roman coinage began about 340, when Capua issued the so-called Romano-Campanian series for Rome, has now been generally abandoned and the development of Rome's early coinage is set later.[1]

In early times values were estimated in terms of oxen and sheep, hence the word *pecunia* (money), derived from *pecus*. The Romans were content to barter or to use copper weighed in the balance (*aes rude*); about 430 B C. a law was passed by which for the collection of fines 100 pounds of bronze was equated with ten sheep or one ox. It was not until 289 that the office of triumvirs of the mint was established, probably for the purpose of casting the so-called *aes signatum*, bronze in bars weighing some six pounds each and bearing types on each side (such as a shield and sword, trident, anchor, elephant, sow, ox), only one of these that survive bears a legend, ROMANO Roman coinage really commenced about 269 with the issue of silver didrachmas, with corresponding token bronze, and cast Aes Grave, bronze *asses* with multiples and subdivisions. This bimetallic system, with the silver and token bronze for the cities and the heavy Aes Grave for the country-side, comprises four inter-related series which were issued from four mints (Rome itself, and perhaps Beneventum, Tarentum and the fourth in North Italy), and was designed to serve Roman interests throughout Italy; with it is probably connected the establishment of four *quaestores classici* who were appointed in 267 for purposes of administration

[1] See especially the pioneer work of H. Mattingly and E. S. G Robinson, *Proceedings Brit Academy*, XVII, 1933; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1938, p 1 ff , and H Mattingly, *Journ. Rom Stud* , 1945, p 65 ff

in Italy (p. 162). The coins of each mint had different types. at the Roman mint the silver didrachma showed Hercules and the she-wolf and twins; Aes Grave had a wheel as a constant reverse type, which illustrates Rome's interest in road construction. The First Punic War seems to have had little influence upon the coinage, but later, perhaps in 235 in the Roman mint, the types were altered and the legend ROMA replaced ROMANO: at Rome the silver *quadrigatus* (depicting young Janus and, on the reverse, Juppiter and Victory in a *quadriga*) appeared, while the Aes Grave substituted a ship's prow for the wheel and, on the *as*, Janus for Diana. The victoriate, displaying Juppiter and Victory with a trophy, which originated in Illyria, later represented a half-quadrigate.

The Second Punic War had more serious repercussions. The Italian mints, except perhaps Tarentum, gradually ceased to issue their separate types. At Rome under a *lex Flaminia minus solvendi* in 217 the Aes was reduced in weight, the *as* being 6 oz instead of 10, while the lower denominations were struck instead of cast these struck pieces of this first reduction were used for overstriking by the rebel cities of Capua, Calatia and Atella. The strain of the war necessitated a further reduction to a 3 oz. *as*, perhaps in 209 Gold was struck (*obv.* Young Janus, *rev.* Two soldiers striking a treaty) probably in 217 when Naples, Paestum and Syracuse sent gifts of gold to Rome, and again in 209 when after the defection of the Latin colonies 4000 lb of gold were taken out of the reserve. About 187 B.C. a new silver piece, the *denarius*, appeared and by *c.* 170 it had replaced the *quadrigatus* as Rome's standard silver coin. It displayed at first the head of Roma and, on the reverse, the Dioscuri on horseback, and it was marked X (i e. ten *asses*); its half and quarter (*quinarius* and *sestertius*) did not survive long. At the same time the *as* was reduced to about 2 oz. (the sextantial standard) and soon afterwards (*c.* 170) the Mars-eagle gold coinage appeared. The latter was the result of a gold-rush in Noricum which ceased when the Taurisci established a monopoly in some newly discovered mines. The founding of the Latin colony at Aquileia is perhaps not unconnected with this event.[1]

Roman coinage was issued sporadically to meet the requirements of war rather than of trade. Practical needs were met by practical solutions not by constructing economic theories. Hence

[1] On the early coinage see E. A Sydenham, *Rom Rep Coinage* (1952); R Thomsen, *Early Roman Coinage*, I (1957), H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*[2] (1960)

wartime difficulties forced the Senate partially to repudiate its debts by reforming the coinage instead of by establishing a permanent war debt to be funded and repaid over a long period. The financial policy of the state followed the lines of its political development. In Italy Roman colonies would naturally use Roman coins, while a number of independent Greek states and some Latin colonies issued coins in early times. But Roman coinage gradually predominated and after the Hannibalic War the Romans claimed a monopoly. In the provinces no uniform policy was enforced. In the west convenience generally led to the establishment of a Roman monopoly. A policy of enlightened self-interest was shown in Spain where beside Roman coinage native silver (*argentum Oscense*) was allowed to circulate in the second century, partly as a medium for the payment of tribute and partly to facilitate commerce within Spain. Carthage also issued money in the same century before its destruction. In the East where the Romans found a variety of issues existing they did not interfere with local coinage. Their wars there rather served to bring the money of the East to Rome. So great was the flow that many Eastern nations were forced to go off the silver standard, although Roman exactions may have been a contributory rather than the chief cause of this.

The late invention of Roman coinage attests the simplicity of the financial problems of early Rome. But her intrusion into the Mediterranean world and the strain of the Punic Wars forced the Roman treasury to shoulder heavier responsibilities Towards the end of the First Punic War when the treasury was exhausted and taxes could not be increased, the government followed the example of a Greek 'liturgy' or a modern war loan· a fleet was raised by public subscription, but with the understanding that the state would refund the money in event of victory. The main source of income was taxation. The usual *tributum simplex* was a one-mill tax (one-tenth of 1 per cent of property values), this might be increased in war time Other sources were rent from public land, an indemnity of 100 talents from Hiero, and profits from the sale of prisoners and booty. The cost of the war to the Roman treasury has been estimated at some 100 million denarii, about 24 million dollars.[1] The Hannibalic War strained the treasury still further. In 216 an acute shortage of money led to

[1] T Frank, *Econ Survey*, p 61 ff, who includes the grain received free by the allies, it is not certain, however, that the Roman treasury paid for their maintenance See Polybius, VI, 39.

the appointment of *triumviri mensarii* and a slight inflation by reducing the *as*. In 215 double *tributum* was levied, later this may have been still further increased. When cash was exhausted, credit alone remained; in the following winter the praetor called on war-profiteers to offer supplies for Spain by contract on indefinite credit, and three companies of nineteen men responded. In 214 crews were supplied by 'liturgy,' state building contracts were undertaken on undated promises to pay, slaves were bought on credit for military service, trust funds of widows and orphans were taken over by the state, many Knights and centurions refused their pay. To meet a fresh crisis in 210 the state borrowed the savings of the citizens: much jewellery, plate and precious metals were voluntarily contributed. In 209 the reserve sacred treasury was used, and when twelve of the Latin colonies refused to supply further troops or pay, the other eighteen offered more. After Metaurus had relieved the strain, the twelve defaulters were punished in 205–204 by the imposition of direct taxation, based on a census, in addition to their other obligations. From this taxation two-thirds of the voluntary contribution of 210 was repaid in 204 and 202; the third instalment was paid in land in 200 when the Macedonian War claimed financial support. Scipio's African expedition was largely financed by voluntary help. The treasury receipts during the war have been reckoned at 286 million denarii (citizen tribute, 65 million, tithes of Sicily and Sardinia, 24, port dues, etc., 10; booty, 65; sacred treasury, 5; loans, contributions, super-taxes, etc., 117). The corresponding expenses of 286 million are estimated at: army stipends, 180 million; food for allied troops, 36, land transport, 15; arms, 20, navy and transport, 35.[1] The average annual expense of the war was about 3½ million dollars, compared with one million per annum during the First Punic War.

During the first-half of the second century national wealth rapidly increased. Roman property which may have been worth some one thousand million denarii in 200 B.C. was doubled or trebled in value by 150 B.C., while the population had increased about 50 per cent.[2] War indemnities, booty, and the Spanish

[1] Tenney Frank, *Econ. Survey*, p. 76 ff., who adheres to the old monetary system. These figures are only claimed as rough estimates which may give some idea of the relative scale of the various financial operations. Compare also the previous footnote.

[2] See De Sanctis, III, 2, p. 623 ff., and Frank, *op. cit.*, pp. 125, 6. Land was worth perhaps 100 denarii an acre in 200 B.C.

mines formed new items of income. In 187 Manlius Vulso persuaded the Senate to repay all the outstanding *tributum* still owing from the Hannibalic War, this perhaps only included the super-tax over and above the *tributum simplex*. By repaying 25½ *tributa* the government finally liquidated its war debt This great clearance possibly was the occasion of the introduction of the denarius [1] In 167 citizen taxes were discontinued and ten years later the treasury had a balance of 25½ million denarii in its vaults Professor Tenney Frank has worked out the budget of the period as follows. Income, 610,600,000 denarii (war indemnities 152,100,000, booty and Spanish mines, 159,500,000, citizen tax, 60 million, rents from public land, 63; provincial tithes, 130; other vectigalia, 46) Expenses are reckoned at 555 million denarii (army stipend, 300 million, food for allies, 64; transport, 50; navy, 58½; public buildings, 20, super-tax repaid, 22½; other expenses, 40). These figures may well be 50 per cent too high or low, but at any rate they give a valuable idea of the scale of Roman finance for a period when the annual cost of government must have been between two and four million dollars and when 77 per cent of the national income was devoted to military costs

The evidence for the purchasing power of money is still more slender. It has been reckoned that in the second century a bushel of wheat cost 3 denarii (*c.* 2*s.* 6*d.*); olive oil, 10 denarii an amphora or about 2*d* a pint; ordinary wine, half the price of oil, beef about 3*d.* a pound; a complete suit, 100 denarii (*c.* £4), a lady's wardrobe 1000 denarii (£40), farm slaves, about 500 denarii (£20); a plough ox, 60–80 denarii (*c.* £3). Wages were low. A slave could be hired out at 5*d.* (½ denarius) a day; free labour may have earned 7*d.* or 8*d.* Thus a labourer who earned 300 denarii a year might be able to feed and clothe himself and his wife on two-thirds of his income, leaving the meagre balance for house-rent and extras. At the other end of the social scale the estate of Scipio Africanus may have been worth a million denarii (£40,000).[2]

§ 5 SLAVERY

The Etruscan chieftains who settled in Italy reduced many of the natives to serfdom and doubtless acquired alien slaves by trade and piracy. There is no definite evidence that serfdom sur-

[1] Cf H. Mattingly, *op cit*

[2] See T Frank, *op cit*, pp 188 ff, 208 ff

vived in Etruria in Roman times, but it still existed before the First Punic War when some serfs at Volsinii, who had been freed by their masters for military service, seized the government, and thus brought Roman punishment on their own heads, and were perhaps reduced to slavery. Whether in early days the Etruscans had introduced serfdom into Latium is uncertain. But in the difficult years that followed the fall of Etruscan power the plight of the small Roman farmer was wretched and some citizen debtors must have lost their freedom in the economic struggle. The extension of Roman power throughout Italy had two results: the condition of the Roman peasants improved, and the number of slaves, created by conquest, increased. But the slave was not yet regarded as a profit-making machine, though occasionally skilled workers might be used for profit. As he and his master generally belonged to the same or similar races, he was treated as a servant of the family and worked by his master's side in the fields. He shared in certain festivals and was allowed to keep his savings (*peculium*) with some hope of eventually buying his freedom. Emancipation was frequent and in 357 a law was passed imposing a 5 per cent tax on manumission. Since 4000 lb. of gold had accumulated in the treasury from this source by 209, an average of some 1350 slaves may have been freed each year. The political generosity of the Roman government towards this freedman class which partly took the place of the clients attached to the great houses is discussed elsewhere (p. 311); at the end of the third century Philip of Macedon, writing to the inhabitants of Larissa, called attention to the liberal policy of the Romans in granting full citizenship, including the right to hold office, to liberated slaves [1]

Before Rome's conquest of the Mediterranean world slavery was not such a grievous blot on her civilization as it became after her contact with Carthaginian, Hellenic and Oriental ideas The supply of slaves was maintained, partly by children born to slaves in the house (*vernae*; who were usually treated with particular kindness), but more especially by warfare. It has been reckoned that the First Punic War produced some 75,000 slaves whose sale brought the Roman treasury 15 million denarii. During the Hannibalic War the capture of Tarentum alone produced some 30,000 prisoners, while the war captives of the first half of the second century may have numbered 250,000. The demand was increasing, both for mere labour in the country and

[1] Dittenberger, *Syll*, II^3, 543.

for more educated slaves for domestic work in the town. After Cannae slaves had been freed for military service, while landowners called to the front would require slaves to run their farms in their absence. With the growth of the plantation system in the second century, slave labour largely supplanted free on the big estates, since free labourers were liable to be called away from agriculture to the army.

The increasing prevalence of slavery in the second century had a deteriorating effect both on Roman character and on the conditions of the slaves themselves Carthaginians, Spaniards, Greeks, Macedonians and Syrians poured into the slave-markets. As manumission was common many foreign freedmen or their descendants achieved full Roman citizenship; lower moral standards from the East crept into Italy and ultimately the Orontes flowed into the Tiber, though only the beginnings of the movement are visible in our period. The more educated slaves would be used in the towns, where they often alleviated their lot by pandering to the increasingly luxurious tastes of their masters, who were frequently less cultured than they were; others drove much free labour out of the manual trades In the country gangs of the more barbarous slaves worked the *latifundia* under the control of slave-bailiffs. They were often treated as mere beasts and sometimes worked in chains. Cato, who in his early days had toiled with his slaves, showed a revolting callousness, working them till they dropped or selling them when they became useless. He allowed them a blanket, a tunic and a pair of wooden shoes every second year. Still more wretched were those who worked in the mines of Spain or Macedon.[1] Such conditions led to insecurity in Italy: runaway slaves naturally turned to brigandage, and conspiracies became more common. Punic slaves in some Latin cities tried to rebel in 198; two years later a legion was required to suppress an outbreak in Etruria, others rioted in Apulia in connection with the Bacchanalian conspiracy (186–180); the serious revolts in Sicily, however, belong to a later period. This brutal and degrading system was a canker that gnawed at the healthy life of Italy; it remained for Stoicism and Christianity to remind men that a slave was a fellow human being.

[1] See the unpleasant picture drawn by Strabo, III, 147, and Diodorus, V, 36 In general see W. L Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (1955), J Vogt, *Struktur der antiken Sklavenkriege* (1957), P A. Brunt, *J R S.*, 1958, 164 ff., M. I Finley, *Slavery in Cl Antiquity* (1960)

§ 6. FAMILY LIFE

The Greek lived in a house, the Roman in a home. It was a Greek that said, 'The city trains the man'; a Roman probably would have said that a man was taught by his family and the state. From the earliest times the family formed the basis of Roman society and provided for each future citizen his grounding in education and morality in a community which knew not school or church. The paterfamilias held in his 'hand' (*manus*) the whole *familia*, which included wife, children, dependants and estate. Over them he exercised absolute and life-long power (*patria potestas*) including the right of life and death. This authority was in practice limited to private affairs, as a father could not control a son who was holding a magistracy, but it remained a reality: towards the end of the Republic a father slew his son for participating in Catiline's conspiracy. It was the father who decided after the birth of a child whether to rear or expose it, though in this he was restricted by religious prohibitions. But the very survival of the *patria potestas* shows that it can seldom have been abused: it was a healthy discipline, remote from Oriental despotism. As the head of each family must be a male, the father usually adopted a son if he had not one of his own. Children born to his sons or brothers were 'born to him' (*adgnati*, *agnati*), but the children of his daughters and sisters only 'shared in his birth' (*cognati*) and legally belonged to the families of their fathers or husbands.

Within the household the women, especially the materfamilias or matrona, who played such an important part in upholding the family, attained a dignified and influential position. Unlike the women of Greece the Roman lady pursued her daily occupation in the *atrium* or main room, not in Oriental seclusion. Her chief occupations were to bring up the children, to manage the household work, and to make wool for weaving the family clothes. She could attend religious festivals or banquets and had complete social liberty This practical freedom contrasts strangely with her theoretical dependence on her husband. Legally a woman had no personal existence and on marriage she merely passed from the protection of her father to the *manus* of her husband. But the emancipation of women was begun early; they were allowed by the Twelve Tables to hold property. There was also a development of the marriage ceremony. Beside the ancient

patrician rite of *confarreatio* which gave the husband complete authority over his wife, marriage by *coemptio* was recognized: this implied an equal partnership and the wife could say, 'Where you are master, I am mistress' ('Ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia.'). Marriage by *usus* was established by a year's uninterrupted cohabitation. By a law in the Twelve Tables a wife could avoid the legal control of her husband by passing three nights each year away from her husband's house. Finally there was free marriage, based on mutual consent, which gave the husband no authority over his wife. It was the payment of a dowry rather than a legal ceremony that marked the intended permanence of a union As marriage was more a personal affair than the concern of the state, divorce was also personal and easily obtained. And yet it was infrequent. Where affection failed, the conservative tendencies of a dignified aristocracy must often have tended to uphold the continuity of family life But even in an age of loosening family ties, the numerous sepulchral monuments of Imperial Rome attest the prevalence of happy married companionship. Still more must similar conditions have prevailed in the earlier and more austere days whose monuments have perished.[1]

Roman education was a family concern. In early days the object of training was to form character rather than to promote culture; to fit a child to become a good citizen Though religion was divorced from morality, the simple daily religious ceremonies of the household would often produce in a child a sense of responsibility and awe towards the unseen. But the greatest influences in the building of character and the enforcing of morality were the parents, home life and the *mos maiorum*. The ideal Roman was a *vir fortis et strenuus* The qualities to be evoked were *gravitas*, *continentia*, *industria*, *diligentia*, *constantia*, *benevolentia*, *pietas*, *simplicitas*, and above all *virtus*, manliness. The mother was responsible for the children's earliest training, and her influence was great The older boys constantly attended their father at his duties in home and state and received from him instructions in the three Rs, as well as in physical training. They were taught to respect the traditions of their family and of the state. Thus a dignified, patriotic and self-sacrificing character was formed, but often at the cost of a certain conservative narrowness and unadaptability The first school is said to have

[1] e.g C I L., I, 1007 'She loved her husband with her whole heart, she bare two sons . cheerful in converse, dignified in manner, she kept the house, she made wool ' Cf the formula S V Q. 'sine ulla querela '

been opened in Rome about 250 B.C.[1] From that period onwards Greek influences increased. Rhetoric and slavery began to get a strangle-hold on Roman life, despite the opposition of Cato, who wrote in large letters an account of the legends of early Rome for his son to learn and who studied Greek literature in order to teach his son and to save him learning from a slave. Family life remained uncorrupted and a source of Rome's greatness as long as men could say with Cato that 'a wife and a son are the holiest of holy things.'

§ 7. GREEK INFLUENCES

For centuries the Romans had no literature, philosophy or history, and the achievements of Hellenistic science were unknown. During the Regal Period they saw something of Greek art through contact with Etruria and Campania, but afterwards they relapsed into a parochial state. The conquest of southern Italy gave them a glimpse of the Greek world, and a Greek playwright, Andronicus, was taken from Tarentum to Rome where he translated the *Odyssey* and Greek plays. The First Punic War opened the floodgates of Greek culture. Roman soldiers campaigned for years in Sicily where they saw the luxurious court life of Hiero and the amenities of the Greek cities. They watched Greek plays in the theatres and picked up so much of the language that later their own writers, Naevius and Plautus, could venture to introduce Greek puns and colloquialisms in their plays for popular consumption. Duilius not only received the honour of a column and a laudatory rhetorical inscription in the Forum, but also was thenceforth escorted home at night through the streets of Rome with torches and music, as if returning from a revel in a Greek city In the Hannibalic War Roman soldiers crossed to Greece itself, while others campaigned again in Sicily. The nobility and to some extent the people were waking up to the glory that had been Greece A new world was swimming into their ken and they became self-conscious. They realized that they counted in a larger world, where they were still regarded as barbarians, and they hastened to imbibe some of the culture of their neighbours. Greek literature and thought captivated the imagination of many: Marcellus transported to Italy works of art from captured Syracuse, and Scipio Africanus excited the anger of the old-fashioned Fabius because of the enthusiasm with which he threw himself into the cultural pleasures offered by that

[1] See H. I. Marrou, *Hist of Education in Antiquity* (1958), p 229 ff.

city A group of philhellenic nobles was formed of whom the chief were Scipio and Flamininus.

But Greece displayed not only the greatness of her past but also the decadence of her present. In the second century more Roman soldiers and business men met the Greeks at home and familiarity bred contempt. The idealism of the early philhellenists appeared impracticable, Roman policy became more realistic, and Greek independence was finally extinguished. But Rome not only gave, whether freedom or peace, she also received. Throughout the century Greeks poured into Italy: statesmen, traders, craftsmen, artists, and above all teachers and slaves. Cato, who with narrow nationalism had withstood the liberal policy of the Scipios, now set himself to stem the tide that threatened to sweep away the simplicity of Roman life. Greek men of culture aroused his puritanical suspicions; the corruption of others was only too patent, and all were tarred with the same brush since they threatened to undermine the *mos maiorum* In every field a bitter struggle was waged between the nationalists and the Hellenists, each of whom saw only one side of Greek culture. But Cato fought a losing battle, despite his fulminations a younger generation of enthusiasts received the torch of Hellenism unquenched Around Scipio Aemilianus there gathered a number of friends, including the historian Polybius, Panaetius the Stoic philosopher, Laelius the 'Wise,' the dramatists Terence and Pacuvius and the satirist Lucilius. This 'Scipionic circle' formed a centre of the new enlightenment and a brilliant social coterie; amid great freedom of thought and discussion an attempt was made to blend the best elements of Greek and Roman life.

The direct influence of Greek culture on Roman literature and art, philosophy and religion is discussed elsewhere. It remains to refer to its less beneficent effect on society and life Not all the ills of the second century can be laid at the door of the Greeks, but most are due indirectly to Rome's conquest of the Hellenistic world and the lowering of her moral standards. Whether Greece was the cause or the first victim of Rome's corruption can scarcely be decided: the two cultures reacted on one another with some good results, such as peace for Greece and culture for Rome, but the last state of both nations was worse than the first.[1]

[1] G. Colin, *Rome et la Grèce*, p. 312 ff, assigns the cause primarily to Rome. At the moment when social inequalities, pride and ambition corrupted the Romans, Greece supplied all manner of evil examples

During the second century family life declined. The census statistics show an unhealthily small increase. Female and infant mortality was doubtless high. As early as 234 B C. complaints were heard that celibacy was increasing. The number of children in the great families declined, so that recourse was often had to adoption, to prevent their extinction. Divorce became more common. Girls married young, often at the age of twelve; old men sometimes married young girls, and it was not unknown for father and son to marry two sisters. The emancipation of women proceeded apace. Instead of reverting to the control of their own families on the death of their husbands, they had often persuaded their husbands to decree by will that they should be allowed to nominate their own guardians. An attempt was made to check their extravagance and to prevent their gaining control of large amounts of capital by passing a law (*lex Voconia*) in 169 forbidding a testator of the highest property class to make a woman his heir and limiting legacies to a sum less than that received by the heir. This attempt to secure a male succession and to preserve the large estates in the hands of the nobles was easily thwarted by the invention of legal fictions. An earlier bill, the *lex Furia Testamentaria*, probably of 183, had limited bequests to 1000 *asses* in cases where the legatee was outside a certain degree of affinity. This also could be obviated, as numerous bequests might exhaust the estate and leave the heir penniless.

Changes in family life inevitably affected education which remained a domestic matter, though Polybius censured the state for not assuming control. The father was often less able or willing to train his children to meet the needs of the day. Consequently Greek slaves were employed as tutors in large houses, as were private chaplains by noblemen in Elizabethan England; and the number of schools increased The influence of a slave on a growing boy was a poor substitute for a father's instruction in the *mos maiorum*, and character necessarily suffered. But the change was not entirely bad, for the curriculum was widened and the father often chose the teachers with great care Aemilius Paullus, the victor of Pydna, devoted especial care to the education of his children, and Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus, trained her sons, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, with a wise intermingling of Roman virtues and Greek enlightenment. Even Cato in his old age was forced to realize that the coming generation must be trained to meet a larger world than that

faced by their fathers Greek language, literature and thought were studied; public speaking was practised and rhetoric began to get its fatal hold on Roman life

Life became more luxurious as money poured in from foreign conquests and contact with the East awoke fresh needs It is easy to exaggerate the extent of this change in the first half of the second century. the pictures drawn by Plautus reflect Athens of the New Comedy period, not Rome; Roman conservatism acted as a brake and luxury remained rather primitive Though Cato could complain that Rome was the only city in the world where a jar of preserved fish cost more than a yoke of oxen, his strictures on Roman customs were doubtless exaggerated by his moralizing zeal. But changes were taking place The growth of town at the expense of country life involved a rise in the price of property and rents in the city. Domestic architecture was adapted to fresh needs and the *atrium* became a hall rather than the centre of the house. Works of art were collected to adorn the dwellings of the rich. Manlius Vulso brought back from Asia bronze couches, costly coverlets, tapestry and other fabrics, pedestal tables and silver salvers The Greek bathroom (*balneum*) began to supersede the old wash-room (*lavatrina*), and public baths existed at Capua during the Hannibalic War. Banquets became more luxurious, and cookery an art Baking became a trade instead of the housewife's task, and bakers' shops are heard of in 171. Ennius wrote on the *Art of Pleasant Eating* (ἡδυφαγητικά) and drunkenness increased. In vain Cato opposed the repeal of the Oppian law in 195, a war-time measure of 215 which had limited the amount of jewellery and plate that could be used by individuals. As censor in 184 he laid heavy taxes on luxuries, especially women's ornaments and dress, vehicles and slaves. In 181 a *lex Orchia* limited the number of guests that might be invited to entertainments, and in 161 a *lex Fannia* fixed the maximum expenditure on banquets at the Megalesian Games. The very frequency of such sumptuary legislation points to its ineffectiveness. The nobility indulged their wealth and leisure, but their luxury only seemed excessive in contrast with their earlier austerity. Two pictures of the wife and daughter of Scipio Africanus give us an intimate glimpse of social life. Aemilia, his wife 'used to display great magnificence, whenever she took part in the religious ceremonies of the women. For apart from the richness of her own dress and the decorations of her carriage, all the baskets, cups, and other utensils of the sacrifice were of gold

or silver and were borne in her train on such solemn occasions, while the number of maids and servants in attendance was correspondingly large.'[1] Of the *salon* of his daughter Cornelia, Plutarch writes, 'She had many friends, and kept a good table that she might show hospitality, for she always had Greeks and other literary men about her, and all the reigning kings interchanged gifts with her.'[2] Among these the King of Egypt in vain sought her hand and offered her the crown.

The urban mob, which was growing in Rome as slave labour drove free off the large plantations, had to be amused. There were six regular festivals; the duration and richness of these were increased. Horse and chariot races had formed the main item; scenic displays were staged in 364 and became regular features after 240 But in 186 Greek athletes and wild beasts were introduced into the Circus, though attempts to build a permanent theatre were fruitless and one which was commenced was pulled down in 154. Still more degrading was the introduction of gladiatorial contests in 264. These were private displays, staged in the Forum to adorn a funeral. For instance, at the funeral of Flamininus in 174 thirty-seven pairs of swordsmen fought. Though such displays were regarded as examples of courage, they soon had a brutalizing effect. Schools of gladiators were established, though no amphitheatres yet existed in Rome Terence's *Hecyra* could not hold an audience when rumours of gladiators were heard; and the Romans turned a concert given by some famous Greek artists into a coarse burlesque (167): they did not accept the best that Greece offered In the race for wealth and popularity the nobles lavished more and more on public games, and an aedile might well waste his fortune and have to recoup himself later when he served abroad. Italian allies and provincials sometimes made 'voluntary' contributions to amuse the mob at Rome.

Such were some of the symptoms of the changing spirit of Rome Below there was a deep spiritual unrest. Cato complained that the Greek spirit questioned everything and settled nothing Old landmarks were being overthrown. Nobler minds sought refuge in Greek culture and philosophy Others, recoiling from the formalism of the state religion, fled to the enthusiastic Eastern cults. Some made ambition, wealth and power the end of life; some turned to self-indulgence, with or without a Greek cloak of hedonistic theory. Though the sturdy common sense and conservatism of the Romans withstood many temptations, contact

[1] Polybius, XXXI, 26

[2] *C Gracchus*, 19

with the Greek spirit wrought one revolutionary change. In earlier days the individual had worked only to take his proper place in the community; few men of brilliance or creative genius emerged, the portraits of Rome's early heroes seem painted with the same brush. Ennius could truly write: 'Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque ' But later individuals arose, conscious of their own rights and potentialities. Scipio Africanus was one of the earliest leaders that did not quite conform to type; and it was the outstanding individual who at the head of a devoted army threatened and finally overthrew Republican Rome. But as yet the individual hesitated to hurl himself against the rock of the Senatorial oligarchy, which did not totter till many had dashed themselves to pieces against its strength.

§ 8. THE CITY

Our earliest glimpse of Rome reveals a picture similar to the sight beheld by Aeneas on his arrival at the seven hills, as portrayed in the eighth book of the *Aeneid*. Amid forest clearings there nestled primitive circular huts, with thatched roofs and walls often decorated with the Swastika. The shape of the huts perhaps descended from Neolithic times, while their arrangement and appearance can be seen in the remains of Villanovan settlements and the pottery ossuary urns found in them (p. 7 f). Their form is still retained in the straw *capanne* of the modern peasants of the Roman Campagna.[1] The main stages by which the early settlements coalesced into a city have been mentioned above It remains to refer to the two chief eras of the city's development the Etruscan and the later Hellenistic phases.

The Etruscans, who surrounded the City of the Four Regions with a *pomerium* and perhaps earthworks, may be claimed as the founders of the city, even if the 'Servian' wall is later, for they bestowed on it the gifts of their architecture and art. Wood and stone houses gradually took the place of primitive huts, and temples supplanted rude altars of sods If the high temple *podium* (or foundation), and the round tomb find their origin in primitive Latium, they were first built in masonry by the Etruscans. The greatest monument of Etruscan Rome was the Capitoline temple of which nothing remains except part of its impressive stone

[1] Photographs of these can be found in B Tilly's *Vergil's Latium* (1947), plates 2–4, which also gives pleasant sketches of early Latin settlements such as Ardea, Lavinium and Ostia

platform. The superstructure consisted of three *cellae*, which together formed a square, set within a spacious columned vestibule; it was Italic in type, since the earliest Etruscan temples were oblong like the Greek. The temple was built of wood covered with painted terra-cottas; on the summit of the pediment was a terra-cotta chariot of Juppiter, designed by Vulca of Veii, similar in style to the famous Apollo group at Veii.[1] Other temples of the Etruscan period were that of Saturn at the foot of the Capitol,[2] that of Ceres, Liber and Libera near the Circus Maximus, and that of Diana on the Aventine. Traces of early structures are found beneath the Comitium, the Regia and the house of the Vestals, while arches covering drains survive, e g at the Temple of Saturn. If the arch was an Etruscan contribution to Roman architecture, it was the Romans that developed its use. Greek influences, which reached Rome through Etruria and then from Grecian Italy direct, led to the introduction of Greek gods, such as the Dioscuri and Apollo, who were housed in new temples, and to certain modifications of the old Tuscan style. Two Greek artists were imported to redecorate the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera and later columns of *peperino* replaced the earlier wooden ones. Thus in the fifth century Etruscan influences gave place to Greek, but public building languished. The next stage in the city's history is marked by the invasion of the Gauls who sacked the town, though sparing many of the temples. The greater part had to be rebuilt and protected by a stone wall; so pressing was the danger that the houses were rebuilt with little thought to town-planning. Indeed in the fifth and fourth centuries the Romans were too busy fighting and building roads and colonies in Italy to give much thought to decorating their own city.

The next era of building was after contact with Sicily had awakened a desire for a new type of architecture. In the second century Rome began to assume a fresh appearance. New temples were built, some in the Tuscan style, others in a new Hellenistic manner with walls of tufa covered with bright stucco, like the buildings of the 'tufa' period at Pompeii. Basilicas and porticoes

[1] Remains of beautiful terra-cotta ornaments point to the high artistic quality as well as to the number of public buildings of the period see E D. Van Buren, *Figurative Terra-cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium.*

[2] It is also attributed to the very early years of the Republic An early piece of *cappellaccio* is visible under the surviving temple which is a reconstruction of the first century B C. Cf also p 363, n 3

arose to adorn the capital; the drainage system was improved and roads were paved with stone. Private houses, which formerly had been mean, were now built by the nobles to match at any rate the smaller atrium-houses of the 'tufa' period of Pompeii; and tenement houses, the forerunners of the blocks of 'sky-scrapers' of the Empire, were erected for poorer citizens. Some of this building was haphazard, but many of the newer districts were developed on a symmetrical plan, even though this could not be applied to Rome as a whole. At the very end of our period significant innovations were made. About 146 B C. two temples were built of Greek marble; a vein of limestone called travertine was discovered, and concrete was introduced or used more freely.

The appearance of the city in 146 B.C. may perhaps best be realized by taking an imaginary tour round it.[1] On the Janiculum west of the river, for ever made famous by the defence of another Roman Republic, there were no serious fortifications. The Tiber was bridged by the old wooden Pons Sublicius, south of the island, between bridge and island were the stone piers of the Pons Aemilius (179), but stone arches were not constructed till 142 On the island, which probably was connected with both banks by bridges, stood the temples of Aesculapius (291) and Faunus (194). The Pons Sublicius debouched into the Cattle Market (Forum Boarium) where the 'Servian' wall came down to the river. It is hardly necessary to follow the course of the wall as it was losing its importance since the Hannibalic War Through the Forum Boarium flowed an open drain, the Cloaca Maxima, running between the Capitol and Palatine from the Roman Forum where it drained the surrounding hills. In the market stood the old altar of Hercules Invictus and his round temple, decorated with frescoes by the poet Pacuvius;[2] also two temples attributed to Servius Tullius—Fortuna and Mater Matuta which contained a picture of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus' Sardinian campaign and a map of the island.[3] In front were two arches with gilded statues erected by L Stertinius in 196

In the valley which ran from the market south-eastwards

[1] For this section see especially Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, G. Lugli, *Roma antica* (1946)

[2] A round temple near Sta Maria in Cosmedin, which was destroyed in 1475, may be that of Hercules

[3] These may be the two sanctuaries recently discovered in the precincts of S. Omobono which belong to the regal period See Lugli, *op cit*, p 542 ff. and *Journ Rom Stud*, 1946, p. 3 f The so-called temple of Fortuna Virilis (a reconstruction of *c* 50 B C) may be that of Portumnus.

between the Palatine and Aventine was the Circus Maximus, the chief amusement place of the city. Founded by Tarquinius, it still remained a wooden construction, at the north end were painted *carceres*, the starting-point for the chariots, and down the centre ran a *spina* decorated with statues and equipped with *ova* to record the laps. Nearby was the temple of Juventas, vowed by Livius Salinator at Metaurus, and at the southern end the altar of Consus, an old Italic agricultural deity On the slopes of the Aventine stood the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera (496); its terra-cotta decorations by Greek artists were in a lighter style than the older Etrusco-Latin type. It was the headquarters of the plebeian aediles and contained their archives as well as copies of *senatus consulta* On the Aventine itself, a plebeian quarter, were two famous temples that of Juno Regina, dedicated by Camillus, who brought the wooden cult statue of the goddess from Veii (392), and that of Diana, ascribed to King Servius, which contained the bronze *stele* of the compact with the Latins and the *lex Icilia* of 456 [1] Over the hill ran the Clivus Publicus from the Forum Boarium, and the end of the Appian aqueduct; on the top was an open space, Armilustrium, where lay the traditional tomb of Titius Tatius At the foot of the western slope of the Aventine below the 'Servian' wall along the river ran the Porticus Aemilia (193), at its north end rose the Column of Minucius, erected by popular subscription to the *praefectus annonae* of 439. South of the portico was Emporium, a wharf and market for merchandise from Ostia; it was paved and enclosed in 174 On the Caelian Hill, east of the Aventine, there were few buildings of importance.

North-east of the Circus Maximus rose the Palatine with its fortifications[2] and many early buildings and sanctuaries, though few of them are known. Apart from archaic burials and cisterns, there were the greatly venerated Hut of Romulus and the Lupercal, a cave at the S.W. corner of the hill near the site of the fig tree where Romulus and Remus had been washed ashore, a

[1] Among other temples were· Mercury (495), Juppiter Libertas (dedicated by Ti. Sempronius in 238, his son placed there a picture of his victory at Beneventum in 214), Flora (240), Consus (built in 272 by L. Papirius Cursor whose portrait, as a triumphator, adorned the walls), Venus Obsequens (295, built from fines imposed on women convicted of adultery)

[2] Traces survive of the 'Servian' wall, or a contemporary but separate enceinte, on the N.W., and of a separate fort on the west and south sides (so-called 'wall of Romulus'). Cf also p 24, n 1

monument representing the wolf and twins was erected here by the Ogulnii in 296. From here an ancient stairway, Scalae Caci, led down to the Circus Maximus, perhaps serving as a short cut to the Clivus Victoriae, the ascent to the Palatine from the Velabrum on which stood the Temple of Victory (244) and a shrine of Victoria Virgo built by Cato (193). The picturesque ilex-covered ruins of the temple of Magna Mater (191), which contained the black stone from Pessinus, are the only remains of the early Palatine temples [1] Of the private houses on the Palatine reference is made to that of Cn. Octavius, consul of 165

North-east of the Palatine, on the Velia, the Sacred Way started on its track down through the Forum. Near where the arch of Titus now stands were the Temples of Juppiter Stator (294),[2] of Penates Dei,[3] and of Lares, indicating the approach to the heart of the Roman state. If in imagination we descend the Via Sacra we can see the monuments in the southern and northern halves of the Forum On the south were the precincts of Vesta in whose round temple the sacred fire of the state was ever kept burning by the Vestal Virgins whose house (Atrium Vestae) lay just to the south. Within the precinct were the Domus Publica, where the Pontifex Maximus lived, and the Regia, his headquarters, which contained a shrine of Mars.[4] Nearby is the Spring of Juturna where Castor and Pollux watered their horses after the battle of Lake Regillus and where they appeared also after Pydna. Their temple, dedicated in 484, was often used as a meeting place for the Senate; its remains, of the Augustan Age, form a landmark in the Forum [5] In front stood an equestrian statue of Tremulus, consul in 306, commemorating his victory over the Hernici. Here the main road to the Forum Boarium along the west of the Palatine started; it was called the Vicus Tuscus, perhaps after a settlement of Etruscan workmen, and

[1] There was a temple of Juppiter Victor (vowed at Sentinum in 295) and an altar erected to Aius Locutus by the Senate in 390 because the Romans had disregarded a warning voice concerning the Gauls

[2] Remains of Flavian period, east of Titus' arch.

[3] A wall of SS Cosma e Damiano probably belongs to the enclosure wall of the Augustan reconstruction

[4] The Temple of Vesta contained no statue of the goddess, the foundations of the existing temple, one of the best-known monuments of the Forum, are Augustan There are scarcely any remains of the Republican Atrium before 200 B C There are remains of the Republican Regia in its foundations traces of repairs of 148 and walls of *cappellaccio* It now is shown that the Via Sacra ran between the precincts of Vesta and the Regia

[5] There are traces of restorations of the third century B C

contained a statue of the Etruscan god Vortumnus. It was a busy quarter with an unsavoury reputation. To the west were the Old Shops, the centre of the bankers and moneylenders; behind them, on the site of the house of the elder Scipio Africanus the Basilica Sempronia was built in answer to the needs of a new age (170): a roofed hall with colonnades, in which much public business was transacted. Then, beyond the Vicus Jugarius, which also led to the Forum Boarium, stood the Temple of Saturn at the foot of the Capitol. Coeval with the Republic, it contained the state treasury; the treasury offices were in the Area Saturni nearby, until the Tabularium was built in 78. From the temple a portico ran up along the Clivus Capitolinus, the main paved approach to the Capitol [1]

Before climbing the Capitol, we must return to the Velia and the northern half of the Forum. Here were the New Shops, a business centre which had originally been let by the state to tenants, especially provision merchants and butchers; but these had been moved north to the Macellum before 310. Next were the Basilica Aemilia (179), where a water-clock was installed in 159,[2] a shrine of Cloacina, coeval with the Cloaca Maxima; and the Temple of Janus, the gates of which were only closed in peace time. Here the Argiletum led northwards to the Macellum, a central building surrounded by shops, which in 179 had absorbed the local fish and other markets, and to the slums of Subura. Nearby were a statue of Marsyas, perhaps brought from Apamea by Vulso in 188 because of the legendary connection of the town with the tomb of Aeneas; the praetor's judgment-seat (tribunal), transferred from the Comitium about 150; and the Lacus Curtius Next is the Comitium, the open assembly place of the Roman People bounded on the north by the Curia, on the west by the carcer and Basilica Porcia, and on the south by the Rostra; it was consecrated ground and the political centre of Rome till the second century [3] In front of it stood the Rostra, adorned with the beaks of the ships captured from Antium in 338, from which orators addressed the people, and the Graecostasis, an open platform used as a tribunal for foreign ambassadors, especially

[1] Portico and paving, 174 B C The original paving has been uncovered (cf *J R S*, 1946, p 3)

[2] There are some remains of the earliest period. A frieze of the Augustan (?) reconstruction depicts scenes from early Roman history. see, e.g. R Bloch, *Origins of Rome* (1960), plates 12–14.

[3] The level of beaten earth and burnt debris may correspond with the fire after the Gallic invasion

Greeks; on it was a small bronze shrine to Concordia, erected by Cn. Flavius (304). Here were the Tomb of Romulus[1] and the columns of Duilius with an archaic inscription celebrating his naval victory of 260. Other old monuments were the Fig Tree and statue of Navius, a puteal, and a statue of Horatius At the back of the Comitium stood the Curia Hostilia, the original Senate-house,[2] and nearby was the censors' office (Atrium Libertatis) Westwards lay the Basilica Porcia, erected by Cato in 184, in which the tribunes held court The column of Maenia recalled the victor of Antium. At the foot of the Capitol were the subterranean prison (carcer or Tullianum) which could only be entered by a hole in the roof;[3] the Volcanal, from which kings and magistrates addressed the people before the Rostra was built; the Temple of Concord, vowed by Camillus in 367; and the Porticus Deorum Consentium.[4] Hence the Clivus Capitolinus leads up to the Capitol; at its summit stood an arch erected by Scipio Africanus together with seven statues and two marble basins.

The Capitoline hill consisted of two peaks, the Area Capitolina and the Arx. The former was an open space around the temple of Juppiter Optimus Maximus; it was surrounded by a wall and portico (159). Within the area was Rome's most famous temple, gilt shields adorned the pediment (193), its walls and columns were covered with stucco (179) and later it received a mosaic floor and gilded ceiling (142). In front of the temple-steps was an altar on which sacrifices were offered at the beginning of the year and at triumphs A colossal statue of Juppiter, erected by Sp. Carvilius in 293, could be seen from the Alban Mount. There were statues of Hercules, Mars, the kings and heroes of the Republic, and so numerous were the trophies of victory that they were removed in 179 There were other temples, including that of Fides, built *c.* 250, which was often used by the Senate; on its walls were international agreements. Other state archives were kept in the Atrium Publicum, and the Curia Calabra afforded another assembly hall. On the Arx was the temple of

[1] Under the famous *lapis niger*, laid perhaps by Julius Caesar or later, there was found in 1899 an archaic inscribed cippus (*c* 500 B C), a conical tufa column (fifth century), and a square foundation which may well belong to a tomb (perhaps second half of the fourth century)

[2] On the side wall was a painting of Messala's victory of 263

[3] This lower chamber is generally supposed to be of high antiquity.

[4] The existing remains are Flavian.

Juno Moneta, which occupied the site of the house of Manlius Capitolinus (344). It contained the *libri lintei* and the mint which was perhaps established in 269. The sacred geese were kept nearby. At the north-east corner was an open grassy space with a thatched hut, the Auguraculum, where the public auspices were taken [1]

Below the Capitol outside the city wall and *pomerium* the Campus Martius stretched to the Tiber. It was used for pasturage and military exercises, but had been encroached on by a few individuals; the elder Scipio had a villa and garden there. The west side was marshy and contained an oak grove, Aesculetum, where the Assembly had met to pass the Hortensian laws, and a district called Tarentum where there were hot springs and an altar of Dis Pater and Proserpine. The south-eastern portion was named Prata Flaminia. Here was situated the Circus Flaminius, built in 221 for the plebeian games; it was also a market-place. There was an altar of Mars which dated to the Regal Period; a portico led from it to the nearest city gate (193). The Ovile was a large enclosed area divided into aisles in which the Comitia Centuriata met to vote. The Villa Publica (built in 435 and enlarged in 194) was used as the headquarters for state officers engaged in taking the census or levying troops, for generals desiring a triumph, and for lodging foreign ambassadors. Near the Circus Flaminius was the Temple of Bellona, vowed by Appius Claudius Caecus in 296, where the Senate often met to receive victorious generals; nearby was an assembly place for Senators (Senaculum) and the Columna Bellica, a boundary stone over which the fetial priest formally hurled a spear on declaration of war. There were many temples, including that of Apollo (431), from which later a portico ran to the river (179).[2] Between the Campus and the Forum Boarium was the Vegetable Market (Forum Holitorium) with temples to Spes, Juno Sospita

[1] Other monuments Temple of Concord (216), Columna Rostrata in honour of M. Aemilius Paullus, consul 255, destroyed in 172. Shrine of Veiovis (198–192), recently discovered (cf *J R.S.*, 1946, p. 5)

[2] Among other temples were Hercules Custos (*c.* 221), Hercules Musarum (187, containing Fasti, and statues brought by Nobilior from Ambracia), Juppiter Stator (beneath S. Maria in Campitelli, built by Metellus *c* 146). Shrine of Fons, built with booty from Corsica 231. The four temples recently uncovered in the Largo Argentina are not identified with certainty· Temple C is the most ancient, A belongs to the third century, B, a circular *podium* (*c* 200 B.C), with later (Sullan) rectangular porch, may be that of Hercules Custos.

and Janus; the remains of these have recently been exposed from the surrounding church of S Nicola in Carcere.[1]

Finally, reference may be made to some outlying monuments. On the Quirinal was the Temple of Semo Sancus (466) containing the shield bearing the treaty with Gabii, and bronze wheels from the destruction of Privernum in 329. Outside the Colline Gate were temples to Honos, Virtus (third century) and Venus Erucina (181). Within a grove on the Cispius stood the Temple of Juno Lucina (375) where gifts were offered for new-born children. On the Esquiline was a Temple of Tellus (268) which was sometimes used by the Senate, and here came the aqueduct bringing water from the Anio On the Appian Way outside the Porta Capena were temples of Tempestates (259) and Mars (388) where troops assembled on setting out for war. In 189 the Appian Way was paved to this point. Beyond the Servian wall was the family tomb of the Scipios who preferred inhumation to cremation It was hewn out of the rock and its passages have recently been cleared. Many famous members of the family were buried here, and it contained a statue of Ennius.

The crowds that thronged the buildings are of more interest than the city itself, but of these we catch only a few glimpses. Plautus in the *Curculio* gives a vivid description of the Forum: 'If you wish to meet a perjurer, go to the Comitium, for a liar and braggart, near the Temple of Venus Cloacina; for rich married wasters, the Basilica. There too will be harlots and men ready to haggle. Members of eating-clubs, you'll find in the fish market. In the lower Forum reputable and wealthy citizens walk about; in the middle, near the canal, the merely showy set. Above the Lacus Curtius are those impudent, talkative, spiteful fellows who boldly decry other people without reason and are themselves open to plenty of truthful criticism. Below the Old Shops those who lend and borrow at interest. Behind the Temple of Castor are those whom you would do ill to trust too readily. In the Tuscan street are men who sell their services; in the Velabrum bakers, butchers, soothsayers '

§ 9. LAW

The purpose of this section is to refer briefly to the principles and method of Roman law, not to the details of particular institu-

[1] Janus built by Duilius after Mylae. Spes (First Punic War) Juno (194) A temple of Pietas, vowed by Glabrio at Thermopylae (191) contained a gilded statue of Glabrio, the first of its kind in Rome

tions.[1] Roman law is a peculiar manifestation of the Roman spirit, and its history 'affords a unique example of the juristic method of legal development, of law not simply positive, but existing of right and co-ordinated and developed by reason . . . a consistent body of reasoned doctrine, essentially not created by the State, though sanctioned by its protection.'[2] In this one department of thought the Romans proved superior to the Greeks, despite the richness of Greek jurisprudence. Here Greece did not take Rome captive, but Rome merely accepted from her a few individual ideas. The Greeks 'enter into the legal history of Europe only by their contribution to the cosmopolitan jurisprudence of Rome.'[3]

Our chief concern is with private law. Of the two principal divisions of public law, the development of constitutional law has been treated in connection with Rome's political history, of criminal law, which was not scientifically handled by the Romans themselves till Hadrian's day, little need be said. In the Twelve Tables it was not distinguished from private law and though it was marked off when *iudicia privata* were assigned to a praetor (366), much of the field covered by modern criminal law (e.g. theft and assault) fell within the ambit of the civil law of delict. Crimes, as murder, treason, evasion of military service and certain religious offences, came within the jurisdiction of the magistrates (quaestors, aediles, tribunes) and the Assemblies of the people This procedure by which the accused, if a citizen, could appeal from a magistrate's sentence to the Comitia Centuriata[4] and could escape the death penalty by exile, long sufficed, but in the second century it was reinforced by the appointment of special '*ad hoc*' *quaestiones*. These served as precedents for the later *quaestiones perpetuae*, of which the first was established in 149 (p. 321).

We must now trace the development of Civil Law (*ius civile*), the legal customs of the Roman citizens. Early customary law, based in part on religious sanctions, changed very slowly in both its secular (*ius*) and religious (*fas*) aspects. It was interpreted by an exclusively patrician college of pontiffs, who advised the

[1] I am particulary indebted to H F Jolowicz, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*[2] (1952).

[2] F. de Zulueta, *The Legacy of Rome*, p. 175

[3] Zulueta, *op cit.*, p. 186.

[4] The function of this body resembled that of the English Crown rather than of the Court of Criminal Appeal.

king as a council on religious questions, while its individual members could give professional advice (*responsa*) on matters of private law (*ius*); their function was thus advisory, not judicial. The first breach in this monopoly was made by the publication of the Twelve Tables in reply to popular demand. This code, which marks the beginning of historical Roman law, remained the fundamental statute of the Republic. It is primarily secular and concerned with private law, and is a remarkable testimony to the legal genius of the Romans in that they detached law from religion at so early a date. A small community of peasant-proprietors had established a body of law which found its sanction, not in the authority of a divine or human lawgiver, but in a sense of justice and equity which was inherent in the peculiar genius of the Latin race.

This great achievement outlasted the national period during which Rome conquered Italy, but it naturally had to be adapted to fresh needs. The method of change, or the 'source of law,' which for English Common Law is statute (Act of Parliament) and Precedent (principles established by individual judges), among the Romans was statute, jurisprudence (or *interpretatio*), and magisterial edict. The original statutes of the Twelve Tables were modified, exceptionally by fresh legislation (as for example by the Lex Canuleia of 445), and constantly by interpretation, first by pontiffs and then by professional jurists The privileges of the pontiffs were gradually whittled down. Men would still have to consult them after the publication of the Twelve Tables in order to learn the correct legal formalities, but their decisions would now have to square with a public code. The next attack came from Cn. Flavius who in 304 published the correct forms of procedure, and four years later the College of Pontiffs was opened to plebeians (p. 99). The first plebeian Pontifex Maximus, T. Coruncanius (253), *primus profiteri coepit*, this apparently means that he admitted the public, or at any rate students, to his consultations. There thus grew up a class of men known as *iuris consulti*, or *iuris prudentes*, who interpreted the law to the changing needs of their age. These jurists were professional lawyers in a limited sense; they received no fees and were public men who shared in the administration of the state, e g Coruncanius who as consul took the field against Pyrrhus in 280, Publius and Sextus Aelius, the consuls of 210 and 198, and M'. Manilius who attacked Carthage in 149. They were in practice recruited from the *nobilitas* and they regarded jurisprudence as

part of the art of government, so that they developed Roman law to keep pace with the needs of the state. Their chief service was to give advice (*responsa*) either to individuals (cf. our 'opinions' of counsel) or to magistrates or judges (*iudices*) who were laymen more like our jurymen than judges Such opinions, though theoretically only persuasive, were in fact generally accepted as binding precedent by custom, though not by law, and so Roman law was modified and built up much like the 'judge-made' law of England. As an example of 'interpretation' and of the extraordinary adaptability of Roman institutions the development of the emancipation of children from their father's power may be cited. The Twelve Tables enacted that a son who had been sold by his father three times should be free from his control. This measure, which was designed to punish the misuse of *patria potestas*, was 'interpreted' to emancipate a son by a fictitious threefold sale. Further, it was extended to the emancipation of daughters who need be 'sold' only once, since the Twelve Tables demanded three sales for sons and did not mention daughters.

After some 250 years of development which was mainly juristic, fresh need stimulated new methods. The chief need was created by contact with foreigners and the method used was the magisterial edict. Theoretically the *ius civile* applied only to citizens, and foreigners had no rights or duties under it Commerce demanded that this condition should cease. After extending their rights to the Latins and concluding special treaties with Carthage, the Romans had appointed a special *praetor peregrinus* (*c.* 242) to deal with disputes in which foreigners were involved and to relieve the *praetor urbanus* of this duty. With the acquisition of provinces the sphere of foreign jurisdiction was immensely widened, the magistrate had to develop a method of his own, since the Roman *legis actio* procedure was not available, and to decide what law to apply, since the *ius civile* was designed only for citizens. To build up a code of 'private international law' would prove too cumbersome, and in practice the *praetor peregrinus* and the provincial governor issued edicts, stating what principles they would adopt. These would naturally be based mainly on Roman law, but Roman formalism was tempered by foreign, especially Greek ideas. Thus a system was created which was not the Roman *ius civile*; it governed all free men, irrespective of nationality. This led to the conception of *ius gentium*, or 'that part of the law which we apply both to ourselves and to

foreigners.' Later in the first century under the influence of Aristotle's division of law into 'man-made' (νομικόν) and 'natural' or 'common' (φυσικόν. κοινόν), and of Stoic ideas of 'life according to nature,' the *ius gentium* was identified with the law of Nature or a law common to all peoples. This creation of *ius gentium*, or commercial law, was a magnificent achievement by which Roman law was modernized. It was made possible by the praetorian edict.

As the English legal system comprises common law and equity, so beside the Roman *ius civile*, which was formed by statute and interpretation, there was created a counterpart to the earlier English equity: a system of magisterial law (*ius honorarium*) grew up from the edicts in which higher magistrates, especially praetors, proclaimed their orders and intentions. Though such edicts were valid only for the year, each magistrate would in practice take over the bulk of his predecessor's proclamation. Since the praetor could not legislate, his edicts were not statutes, but they were nevertheless an important source of law, he could not give a right but he could promise a remedy, and this in turn implies the existence of a right. According to Papinian the function of the *ius honorarium* was to 'aid, supplement or correct' the civil law. It is uncertain when the praetors attained this full right· indeed this is one of the most controversial questions of Republican law. For many years the early system of *legis actiones* and purely civil law prevailed until the *lex Aebutia* (*c.* 150) substituted for the stereotyped *legis actiones*, a formulary system of procedure by which cases were tried in a form of words which depended on the praetor. It would seem probable that this law was preceded by a period in which a praetor, who had public opinion behind him, could exercise some influence, but he was not legally given a free hand until the enactment of the *lex Aebutia* which marks the beginning of the great period of the praetorian edict. The *ius civile* was gradually amended by the *ius praetorium*. Thus the law of a city-state was adapted to meet the needs of an Empire, and Roman law became one of the chief civilizing forces in the history of mankind, and the basis of a large part of modern European law.[1]

[1] See further F Schulz, *Principles of Roman Law* (1936), *History of Roman Legal Science* (1946); G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, IV, ii, 2 (1957).

CHAPTER XVII

LITERATURE AND ART

§ 1. EARLY LATIN

IN early days a great variety of languages was spoken in Italy, but by the end of our period Latin predominated, though such dialects as Oscan survived till the first century A.D., while Greek was adopted by educated Romans as a second tongue Apart from Etruscan all these languages were Indo-European and thus akin to one another: in the north was Celtic and the Ligurian speech, which linguistically is intermediate between Celtic and Italic, on the Adriatic coast a group of 'Illyrian' dialects is found (Messapic, Venetic, Rhaetic and perhaps 'old Sabellic'); Greek was spoken in the cities of Magna Graecia, in central Italy the Italic dialects prevailed. These last fall into two main classes: Latin and Faliscan; and Umbro-Sabellian including Oscan and minor dialects Apart from affinities with Greek and Celtic which derive from a distant common Indo-European origin, the Latins borrowed much from their neighbours' speech in historical times, from Sabine, Oscan, Greek, Etruscan and even Celtic. Of the ten thousand Greek words which came into Latin use, a considerable number was introduced by the actual process of intercourse in speech. The Latins borrowed their alphabet from the Greeks by way of Etruria. But out of a tongue which was uncouth and heavy the Romans by borrowing and still more by adaptation wrought a language which became the medium for one of the noblest literatures; one that outlived the Roman Empire, and became the servant of learning and religion and the direct ancestor of a great portion of the languages of modern Europe

Few traces of early Latin survive. They include the inscription written alternatively up and down the Forum *stele* under the Lapis Niger (sixth century?), that written from right to left on the Praeneste fibula (*c* 600 B.C.?),[1] and that on the Duenos bowl (fourth century) found on the Quirinal which shows Greek influence.[2] Somewhat earlier than the Hannibalic War is a

[1] Manios med fhefhaked Numasioi = Manius me fecit Numerio.

[2] 'Duenos med feced' Feced is an unreduplicated form of fhefhaked An archaic dedication (*c* 500 B.C ?) to Castor and Pollux has recently been found at Lavinium, and another (fourth century?) nearby dedicated to 'Lar Aineias (the hero Aeneas?) see S. Weinstock, *Journ Rom Stud*, 1960, 112 ff

dedication from Tusculum: 'M. Fourio C.f. tribunos militare de praidad Maurte dedet '[1] To the same period belong the epitaphs in Saturnian verse of Scipio Barbatus, consul of 298, and his son, consul in 259.[2] It is uncertain to what extent certain literary remains have been corrupted and how far their archaic Latin is genuine. Examples are the fragments of the litany of the Salii, which was unintelligible in Horace's day, the hymn of the Arval Brethren which begins, 'Enos, Lases, iuvate' (nos, Lares, iuvate), and the Twelve Tables.

The beginning of Latin prose may be found in official documents such as the Twelve Tables, priestly Commentarii, Acta, Fasti and Annales, and early laws and treaties Speeches in the Senate and funeral orations stimulated the development of Roman oratory. Early poetry is represented by the hymns already mentioned, by didactic proverbs,[3] lullabies,[4] wedding or funeral songs, and by the words chanted by workers in the fields or women at the loom. Whether any real poetry was conceived is uncertain Varro records that at banquets boys used to sing lays celebrating the deeds of great men; Cato says that the banqueters themselves contributed songs. On such evidence Niebuhr proposed, and Macaulay popularized, the theory of the existence of an early popular ballad literature, from which Livy derived many details of the legends of early Rome. Though Rome produced no Homer to sing the Glory of Heroes (κλέα ἀνδρῶν), clearly songs were sung in early days, and the mead-hall of Caedmon's day had its Roman counterpart But such *carmina* probably had little influence upon later historiography.[5] The metre of these early songs and litanies was the native Saturnian, which Ennius despised as crude in contrast with his own Hellenic hexameters 'quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant.'[6] Popular drama originated in Fescennine verses, *satura*, and Atellan farce. Livy (VII, 2) describes how performances with musical accompaniment called *saturae* were enacted

[1] 'M Furius C.f. tribunus militaris de praeda Marti dedit '

[2] e.g. 'Honc oino ploirume consentiont R (omai)—(Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romae)—Duonoro optumo fuise viro—(Bonorum optimum fuisse virum)—Luciom Scipione—(Lucium Scipionem)

[3] e.g Hiberno pulvere, verno luto, | Grandia farra, camille, metes

[4] e g 'Lalla, lalla, lalla i aut dormi aut lacta '

[5] See A. Momigliano, *J R S.*, 1957, p. 104 ff.

[6] The stock line comes from Naevius: 'Dabunt malum Metelli Naevio poetae.' The question is still unsettled whether Saturnian verse is accen-

by Etruscans in Rome in 364 and replaced the earlier Fescennine banter; the 'satire' was in turn superseded by the more regular drama on Greek models introduced by Livius Andronicus. Fescennine verses were rough jests, improvised and sung at harvest and vintage festivals to avert the evil eye; they long survived at marriages and triumphs. These crude jests may have developed into dialogue, but they remained amateur efforts.[1] The dramatic nature of *satura* has been questioned by some who see in Livy's account a reflection of Aristotle's view of the origin of Greek comedy. With Ennius *satura lanx*, a mixed dish, became a literary miscellany, but it may have started its career on the stage. The *fabulae Atellanae* were Oscan farces, originating at Atella in Campania. When introduced into Rome, perhaps in the third century, they became popular and were acted by amateurs who did not suffer from that stigma which was later attached to professional actors at Rome.[2] The characters were stock figures: Maccus the Fool, Pappus the Dotard, Bucco the Glutton, Manduccus the Champer, and Dossennus (probably a glutton rather than a hunchback) From such crude beginnings did Latin literature spring.

§ 2. THE POETS

Horace considered that Roman literature began with Livius Andronicus, that is at the time when Rome had conquered Italy and was asserting her supremacy throughout the Mediterranean.[3]

tual, semi-quantitative, or quantitative If accentual, based on the minstrel's beat, the accent probably falls on the first, not on the second syllable (dabunt málum) so that we must reject the famous example, 'The queen was in her parlour, eating bread and honey', the verse may then have been affected later by Greek quantitative scansion

[1] The term originates from Fescennium in Etruria or from 'fascinum,' a phallic symbol to avert the evil eye.

[2] It is possible that this social stigma was a later phenomenon, and even then did not apply to all branches of acting alike There was, however, little to stimulate the acting profession in Rome, so that later dramatists often acted in their own plays By 200 B C only six days were set apart for dramatic performances. Drama had no religious associations in Rome as in Greece Atellan farces perhaps derived from the Dorian farces of Magna Grecia

[3] Hor *Ep* , II, i, 62, 'Ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.' Cf. the lines of Porcius Licinus (second half of second century B.C.).

Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu
Intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.

National victory stimulated artistic production. The Romans, suddenly brought face to face with the literature of Greece, became conscious of the crudeness of their own early efforts. True, they tended to regard literature rather as an extra than a fundamental part of life and were slow in losing the suspicion that thought delayed action. Further, the perfection of Greek literature in all *genres* might have deterred a less practical people. But when the Romans conceived a desire for literature they determined to get it quickly, starting with pure translation from the Greek and adapting their language to this end. Increasing contact with the Greek world stimulated their desire to accept the legacy of Greece and to shape it to their national needs.

Livius Andronicus (*c.* 284–204), though cavalierly dismissed by Cicero and Horace, was a great pioneer if not a great poet. He was a Greek from Tarentum who served in the household of Livius Salinator. Traditionally a slave freed by Salinator, he more probably gained citizenship through Salinator's patronage He taught Latin and Greek and translated the *Odyssey* into Latin Saturnians. In 240 he was chosen by the aediles to translate in varied metres a comedy and a tragedy for performance at the Ludi Romani that year. In 207 he was entrusted with the composition of a Processional Ode for a ceremony of purification of the state This success resulted in the establishment by the government of a club or Academy for literary men on the Aventine Livius might be called the father of epic and lyric poetry, of tragedy and comedy at Rome, if the outstanding genius of Ennius had not a greater claim. His translation of the *Odyssey* became a schoolbook, which the youthful Horace had occasion to connect with the cane of his master Orbilius; it must have opened up a wonderland of romance and adventure for boys who had been accustomed only to learning by heart the Twelve Tables It is easy to blame the translator for defective renderings and for falling far short of the noble hexameters of his original, it is less easy perhaps to envisage the greatness of his contribution. The titles of eight of his tragedies have survived; they point to the three great tragedians, especially Sophocles, as the source, and show a preference for stories from the Trojan cycle, which had interest for the Romans who had a natural concern about the background to the story of their own Trojan origin A Roman dramatist could not reproduce the Greek chorus (which indeed had gradually dropped out of Greek tragedy after Euripides' day) since he could not provide a trained chorus of

twelve singers and dancers; so Livius (and later Naevius) increased the number of monodies and thus made Roman tragedy more like modern opera than Greek tragedy had been. He acted in his own plays. His comedies are based on the New Comedy, not on Aristophanes. Examples of his rugged vividness may be taken from the *Aegisthus*:—

> Tum autem lascivom Nerei sumum pecus
> Ludens ad cantum classem lustratur (? choro),

> 'Then Nereus' wanton snub-nosed flock in fun
> Frolic to music choir-like round the fleet'

or from his *Andromeda*·—Confluges ubi conventu campum totum inumigant.' 'When the waters in their concourse congregate to flood the plain' (translated by J Wight Duff).

More has survived of the work of Naevius (*c.* 270–199), an Italian whose outspoken comments on the nobility, especially the Metelli, led to his imprisonment towards the end of the Hannibalic War. He wrote two plays in prison, retracting his remarks and so he was released, but later died in exile at Utica.[1]. His first plays were produced in 235. Titles of seven of his tragedies from Greek mythology survive. He first 'contaminated' plays by adopting features from two originals,[2] and he set a new fashion by writing historical plays (*fabulae praetextae*) an *Alimonia Romuli et Remi* and *Clastidium*, celebrating the exploits of Marcellus in 222 His comedies and epic poetry, however, achieved greater fame. We have the titles of thirty-four comedies, which were apparently amusing, mordant and outspoken. Some were based on Greek New Comedy (*palliatae*), others on native life (*togatae*)· from *The Girl from Tarentum* (*Tarentilla*) there survives a vivacious description of the wiles of a flirt Even more important was his epic in Saturnians, the *Bellum Punicum*, describing the first war in which Naevius himself fought, the earlier part recounts the legendary origin of Rome and Carthage by way of introduction. This work had considerable influence on Ennius

[1] This tradition has been questioned (again recently by H B. Mattingly, *Historia*, 1960, 414 ff.), but war-time censorship may have muzzled free speech to an unparalleled extent See T. Frank, *Amer J Phil*, 1927. The charge would be made under the restriction imposed by the Twelve Tables on offensive *carmina*. See A. Momigliano, *J R S*, 1942, p 120 ff.

[2] *Contaminatio* may mean adapting borrowed scenes (so W. Beare), rather than interweaving two plots

and Virgil. Naevius' style is sometimes rigorous, sometimes bald,[1] but his fondness for compound words (as *arquitenens*, *frundiferos*) shows that a poetic diction was being created. His genius was essentially Latin; 'full of Campanian (or as we should say "Castilian") pride,' he composed his epitaph which claimed that after his death men forgot to speak the Latin tongue at Rome. 'Obliteі sunt Romai loquier lingua Latina.' At any rate he had laid the foundation of the national epic

Q. Ennius (239–169), Rome's soldier-poet who more truly than Livius can claim the title of father of Latin poetry, was born in Calabria and was brought to Rome from military service in Sardinia by Cato in 204. There he taught and wrote, winning the friendship of Scipio and Fulvius, and ultimately attaining full citizenship. He spoke Greek, Messapic and Latin and showed great versatility of gifts. He took a large part in introducing Greek thought to Rome, in South Italy he had absorbed much of the thought of Pythagoreanism, Epicharmus, Euhemerus and Epicurus. It is a paradox of fate that this Hellenist should have been brought to Rome by Cato. His comedies were slight, but he adapted at least twenty Greek tragedies, especially plays of Euripides whose critical spirit thus spoke from the Roman stage; he perhaps re-introduced the chorus into tragedy. He excelled in presenting moving situations, such as Alcmaeon hounded by the Furies, Cassandra's sorrows, or the emotional farewell of captive Andromache:

'O pater, O patria, O Priami domus,
Saeptum altisono cardine templum.'

In his *Saturae* Ennius developed a new type of literature, a general commentary on life in the form of narrative, anecdote, fable or dialogue. To the *satura* may belong his *Euhemerus* and *Epicharmus*, his *Scipio* which honoured his patron Africanus, and perhaps his *Ambracia* which celebrated the exploits of Fulvius Nobilior. Ennius' greatest contribution was the eighteen books of his *Annals*, an epic account of Rome from earliest times down to 172 B C., written in hexameters. His description of the First Punic War was slight, as Naevius had already covered the ground in Saturnians Whether the mixing of epic poetry and

[1] Cf. his famous 'noble Duke of York' lines

Marcus Valerius consul
Partem exerciti in expeditionem
Ducit.

contemporary history was successful, Ennius provided Rome with a national epic which found its unity, not in its form, but in its conception of the grandeur of Rome's expanding greatness. The attempt by one who claimed to be the Roman Homer to adapt the Latin language to a Greek dactylic metre was bound to result in a certain roughness of form,[1] despite flashes of real beauty and impressive sonority: ingenio maximus, arte rudis. Many lines epitomize the spirit of early Rome 'qui vincit non est victor nisi victu' fatetur'; 'moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque'; Curio 'quem nemo ferro potuit superare neque auro'; and Fabius, 'unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem' The measure of Ennius' success is the measure of the debt that Lucretius, Virgil and other poets owed him[2] Later generations could with truth repeat the epitaph of such a poet.

'Nemo me dacrumis decoret nec funera fletu
Faxit Cur? Volito vivu' per ora virum.'

And Quintilian could say: 'Let us worship Ennius like groves hallowed by age, where the great old oaks are not so much beautiful as awe-inspiring.'

M. Pacuvius (*c.* 220–130), the nephew of Ennius, was a painter and writer. Beside *saturae* and a *praetexta*, named *Paullus*, he composed tragedies based on the Greek tragedians. His language was at times stilted and quaint, as in his description of dolphins as 'Nerei repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus,' but he had a vivid pen and was regarded in the Ciceronian age as Rome's tragic poet. The other claimant to this title was his junior L. Accius (170–*c* 86), after whom the writing of tragedy declined.

T. Maccius Plautus (*c.* 254–184) specialized in comedy. His early hardships in Rome, where at one time he worked as an actor or stage carpenter, at another in a flour mill, have been questioned, but his later popularity doubtless stabilized his position One hundred and thirty plays masqueraded under his name, until Varro drew up a canonical list of twenty-one, of which all survive, though one is in fragments. A few were written towards the close of the Hannibalic War, the majority in the second century. Plautus drew on Philemon, Diphilus, Menander

[1] e g. the famous tmesis 'Saxo cere comminuit brum' for 'Saxo cerebrum comminuit.'

[2] See Lucretius, I, 117.

'Ennius ut noster cecinit qui primus amoeno
detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam.'

and other writers of Greek New Comedy, but he did not reproduce them in detail. The New Comedy of Athens was a comedy of manners far removed from the vigorous Aristophanic caricature of individuals. A certain variety was displayed in this social satire, but the characters and plots tended to conform to type· the young lover, the confidential slave, the parasite, the courtesan, the pander and the braggart soldier To transport this immoral world on to the Roman stage would have shocked some and bored others, but Plautus wrote for his audience with great skill By retaining the Greek background he was able to convince his hearers that they were witnessing life in a foreign land, and many would enjoy a display of the weakness of human nature or the antics of an impudent Greek slave, if they thought it would not corrupt their own national life.[1] By imposing a Roman touch here and there Plautus interested his audience, who heard Roman characters generally referred to as 'barbarians,' but who also saw Roman military and legal customs prevailing in a Greek setting and heard Latin puns as well as occasional references to contemporary events Plautus cared naught for consistency, just as Shakespeare when following Plutarch did not hesitate to let Theseus appear in English court dress He played to his gallery still further by replacing the polish of his models with a coarse and boisterous Roman humour of a knock-about type the banging of doors, the beating of slaves, scenes of rioting, eating and drinking, or the elephantine tread of a man disguised as a bride would appeal more to a Roman than to a Greek playgoer. Finally, Plautus changed his models into something approaching a modern comic opera [2] Menander's plays were written mainly in iambic senarii which was spoken by the actor, but Plautus retained this metre only for about one quarter of each play; the rest was brisker, either delivered as a recitative accompanied by a flute or else pure lyrics which were sung. A Greek visiting a Roman theatre would have found the Plautine version of a play that he knew very different from the original

Of the plays themselves little can be said here. Apart from the *Amphitruo* (imitated by Molière and Dryden) which is a tragi-comedy influenced by South Italian humour rather than a

[1] Might not certain scenes get past the Lord Chamberlain more readily if laid in Paris than in London? 'Licet haec Athenis nobis,' Plaut., *Stich*, 448.

[2] The change may have been introduced by Livius and Naevius, but it was developed by Plautus

fabula palliata, they fall into various types as well as into 'plays pleasant and unpleasant.' Many are comedies of intrigue, others are character plays (as the *Miles Gloriosus*), some are based on cases of mistaken identity (e.g. the *Menaechmi*, imitated by Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*), others on the motive of recognition (ἀναγνώρισις); the *Captivi* is unique in containing no female characters. The appeal of Plautus lies primarily in his *vis comica* expressed in racy language. As in the New Comedy there was an underlying element of universal appeal, so Plautus strikes a semi-serious note at times, as in the treatment of his central theme of love. Though he lacks the lyrical sweetness of Aristophanes, he has something of the great master's joy in living; his exuberant fun is not far removed from the full-blooded energy of the Elizabethans. Here lies his wide appeal to which even Luther and St. Jerome responded

Among other composers of *palliatae* was Caecilius Statius (*c.* 219–168), an Insubrian war-captive who became the first Celtic author in Rome. In language he naturally fell short of the Latinity of Plautus or Terence, but his plots were considered first-class, either because he indulged in 'contamination' less than his contemporaries or perhaps because, like Terence later, he created an element of surprise by not disclosing the outline of the plot in his prologues. Better known through the survival of six plays, written between 166 and 160, is the younger poet whose work Caecilius encouraged· P. Terentius Afer (*c.* 195–159), an emancipated slave from Africa who became an intimate member of the Scipionic circle By Terence's day the attitude of Roman society to things Greek was changing, so that he found it possible to hellenize the *palliatae* still further. His plays are more homogeneous and lack the Roman element introduced by Plautus; the lyric parts are reduced in favour of spoken iambic parts; his interweaving of two plots is more skilful, so that Julius Caesar could call him 'Menander halved.' The society and morality which he depicts is the same as in Plautus, but the tone is more refined; there is less coarseness and less comedy. The plots tend towards monotony; the reader never laughs and sometimes forgets to smile But Terence shows a greater human interest and kindliness than his predecessor. His language is not an echo from the street, but from a cultured society His neatness of expression has enshrined many a famous thought, as 'fortes fortuna adiuvat,' 'modo liceat vivere, est spes,' 'quot homines, tot sententiae,' or 'homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto.' 'A lover of pure

Latin' (*puri sermonis amator*), Terence clothed Latin comedy most nearly in its original Attic grace But in doing this he nearly killed Graeco-Latin comedy: Plautus had made it popular by partial nationalization, but Terence destroyed any chance of it becoming a popular national growth. The refinement and charm of his language and the dexterity of his plots might appeal to the educated Hellenists, but the common people, for whom the plays were really staged at the Festivals, soon grew tired and found rope-dancers and gladiators more attractive than *The Mother-in-Law* (*Hecyra*).

This reaction against *palliatae* favoured the production of *togatae*. Titinius, a late rival of Plautus, solved the difficult problem of presenting the love story of Greek comedy in a Roman setting without offending Roman taste by choosing for his scene the free society of Italian village communities The recovery of his lost plays, such as *The Lady of the Dye Shop* or *The Dancing Girl of Ferentinum*, would throw a welcome light on social conditions of which we have little contemporary evidence.

§ 3. PROSE WRITERS

At Rome, as elsewhere, prose developed more slowly than poetry. It served law and government, legal and annalistic purposes, but it was long before history was written in Latin The first Roman historian, Fabius Pictor, wrote an account of Rome from its origins in Greek, partly because his own language had not become flexible and partly as propaganda to impress the Greek world with the growing importance of the Roman people. His example was followed by Cincius Alimentus, who had been captured by Hannibal, by the son of Scipio Africanus, by Albinus the consul of 151, and by Acilius Some of these works were later translated into Latin. Poetry might be left to freedmen, but those who had contributed to the making of Roman history naturally wished to leave some record of Rome's struggles.

The father of Latin prose was Cato the Censor He wrote a history in Latin, thereby setting an example which was followed by the annalists of the Gracchan era. This account of Rome's development from early times down to Cato's own time was called the *Origines*. It did not spare the censor's political opponents or minimize his own exploits, and it was written with an anti-aristocratic bias which suppressed the names of famous generals and ironically recorded that of Surus, the bravest Carthaginian

war-elephant.[1] Cato wrote other books, including an encyclopaedia which contained treatises on rhetoric, medicine and agriculture, and probably also on military affairs and law. His only surviving work is the *De agri cultura*, a practical manual of household economy and estate-management; its style, modernized by later copyists, was prosaic, terse and simple. Of his speeches about 150 were known to Cicero, the style is blunt, vigorous and vivid, and Cato followed the advice which he gave to his son 'rem tene, verba sequentur ' We hear of orators who preceded him: for instance, the stirring speech in which Appius Claudius denounced treating with Pyrrhus remained a Roman classic.[2] Reference is made to the funeral speeches delivered by Fabius Cunctator for his son and by Q. Caecilius Metellus for his father. Ennius hailed Cethegus, the consul of 204, as 'the very heart of persuasion' (*suadae medulla*), while the elder Scipio, Sempronius Gracchus and Aemilius Paullus had good reputations as orators. Sextus Aelius Paetus, consul of 198, composed a legal handbook named *Tripertita*, which contained the text of the Twelve Tables, their interpretation, and forms of law suits. The work was regarded as the 'cradle of the law' (*cunabula iuris*).

That early Roman prose was as formless as the English prose of Chaucer is shown by early inscriptions, the rambling Duilian inscription or a passage from Ennius' *Euhemerus* quoted by Lactantius. But the necessity of public debate in the Senate-house, Forum and law courts forced men to argue lucidly and to dignify their expressions in accord with the gravity of their themes. Cato might care little for the sound or rhythm of his words, but his earnestness to drive home his points must have shaped his words more keenly than a mere academic study of Greek rhetoric would have done. It was Roman public life, more than the inspiration of Greek models, that moulded the early prose into a language which under Cicero's genius became 'the prose of the human race '

§ 4. ART

The enthusiasm for Greek art in the nineteenth century obscured the existence of Roman art, which was regarded as a pale and debased reflection of its Hellenic prototype. Even after

[1] Cf H H. Scullard, *Class Rev* , 1953, p 140 ff

[2] Appius' other literary activities included the authorship of *Sayings* inspired by Pythagorean Doctrine, and a reform of Roman writing

Wickhoff's discovery that Roman art had a separate existence, it was usually identified with the art of the Empire. But this is no longer possible. The existence of the primitive Italic stock, on which Etruscan and Greek shoots were grafted, has been realized, though it is not always easy to see it distinctly through the luxuriant foreign growth. The Romans were not an artistic people in the same sense that the Athenians had been; their individualistic instincts might offend Greek aesthetic canons, but their realism was no less an expression of national character than was Greek idealism. The products of the Bronze Age and of Villanovans may not have reached a high standard of artistic perfection, but at least they contained the germs of a native art. This was fertilized by the Etruscans whose art had developed rapidly as a result of wider foreign contacts. But the evolution of Etruscan art was carried through on Italian soil and it is impossible to determine the share taken in this process by peoples of pure Italic stock. Even if Etruscan art is set at its lowest level as deriving its whole vitality from Greece [1] (and many would demur from so harsh a criticism), yet it cannot be denied that by fidelity to Ionic models it stimulated artistic production in many parts of Italy; and others would concede that the Italic background gave it something of value. It was through the Etruscans that Rome first came into contact with Greek art, but early in the fifth century she saw something of it first-hand. During the fifth and most of the fourth century Etruscan art was depressed, but it revived towards the end of the fourth. Rome's widening influence then brought her first into Campania, where a flourishing Osco-Samnite variety of Italic art had succeeded the earlier culture of Etruscans and Greeks, and secondly into Magna Graecia and Sicily. But though 'captive Greece overcame her savage conqueror and introduced the arts into rustic Latium' she did not entirely overwhelm native characteristics

Of the individual arts reference has been made to architecture elsewhere· to the development of temple and city architecture under the Etruscans at Rome, where the high Italic *podium* and round hut-like temples were not entirely superseded,[2] to the Greek style used for the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera; and to the victory of the Hellenic over the Tuscan style in the second

[1] S Casson in *C.A.H.*, IV, p 442 But see Randall-MacIver, *The Etruscans*, J. D Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting* (1947), P. J Riis, *Etruscan Art* (1953)

[2] The former survived, e.g in the Caesarian temple of Venus Genetrix, the latter in the Pantheon and Mausolea of Augustus and Hadrian

century when Greek basilicas and temples began to adorn the city. The appearance of early Roman statues, the *ars statuaria vetustissima* mentioned by Pliny, may be judged from the Etruscan Apollo of Veii which despite its Ionian inspiration and technique retains an Italic accentuation of force and violent effort. Besides gods whom the Etruscans anthropomorphized in statuary, men and women were modelled. The great merit of Roman portraiture under the Empire was not achieved in a day; indeed the origin of the portrait bust and the portrait statue goes back beyond the Etruscans to the 'canopic' urns of the Villanovans. These vases from Chiusi were roughly shaped into human busts. The Etruscan sarcophagi of the early period and of the third and second centuries and the peculiar ash-chests of Volterra afford numerous examples of vivid portraiture. There are many Italic portrait heads of terra-cotta, limestone and bronze, which are 'examples of naturalism untouched as yet by Greek idealism or by the Roman insistence upon detail.'[1] The famous bronze head of Brutus, the first consul, illustrates the Roman love of realism.[2] The production of such works was stimulated by the custom, which the noble houses practised, of preserving wax *imagines* of their ancestors in the halls of their houses These portrait galleries must have greatly influenced the development of Roman portraiture, which was marked by a pitiless realism, far remote from the idealistic strivings of the Greeks to portray a type [3] The carvings, no less than the figures, on Etruscan sarcophagi and ash-chests influenced Roman work which attempted in relief to grapple with the third dimension; where the Greeks had used a background as a mere screen, the Etrusco-Italic reliefs used it to emphasize the corporeity of the figures. The fondness for human everyday subjects and the beginnings of the fresco-like 'continuous' style go back to the pre-Roman period of Italic art. The achievement of native Roman art, freed from specifically Etruscan and Greek influences, is seen in an alabaster urn of the third or second century, now in the British Museum, depicting in relief an equestrian procession, perhaps the parade of Roman Knights which commemorated the battle of Lake Regillus.

Of the excellence of Etruscan metal work in general this is not

[1] See E. Strong, *Cambr Anc Hist*, IX, p 812.

[2] Possibly second century B C For a reproduction, see *Cambr Anc Hist*, Plates, vol IV, 46

[3] Surviving copies of masks cast directly from the dead person all date from the late Republic

the place to speak. How far it was imitated at Rome is uncertain, but we know that the Ficoroni *cista* was made there, and its engravings, though Greek in subject and manner, contain Latin details Many of the Praenestine mirrors and *cistae* depict scenes from Greek mythology, but others show homelier or comic episodes of Latin life, as a girl and youth playing draughts or the kitchen scene of the *cista* Tyszkiewicz.[1] Among the minor arts a series of engraved gems shows distinct Italic workmanship, differing from the Etruscan and Graeco-Roman gems.[2] The subjects are often religious and reproduce votive pictures set up in shrines or temples as thank-offerings.

The numerous references to painting in Plautus show that in his day this art was popular in Rome Pliny records seeing paintings in the Latin temple at Ardea which he declared to be older than Rome itself, while only its friable plaster prevented the emperor Claudius from removing a painting from a temple at Lanuvium. The appearance of these early paintings may be guessed from surviving Etruscan paintings which it is often difficult to distinguish from the different Italic groups. Our earliest Roman example is the military fresco from the Esquiline (? 3rd cent.), in draughtsmanship and arrangement it displays Hellenic influence, but its details are Italic.[3] It is akin to the work of the Osco-Samnite School of Campania, which is illustrated by the splendid Samnite Knight from Capua (*c.* 300), the gaily-caparisoned cavaliers with plumed helmets and cloaks returning home from war from Paestum, or the two gladiators, fighting to the last gasp, from Capua Painting became increasingly popular when in the third-century generals set up in temples mural pictures of themselves as triumphators or of their military exploits. Portable pictures of victories were carried in triumphal processions and were also used as political propaganda by electioneering candidates. The poet Pacuvius was famed as a painter, while Demetrius of Alexandria, who came to Rome in the second century, started a vogue in maps and geographical pictures, which may have encouraged the growth of a school of landscape painters; the demand for such work, however, probably did not become extensive until the first century Further, the claims of

[1] For reproductions see E Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, I, pp. 67, 68

[2] A specimen was found in 1780 in the sarcophagus and on the skeleton hand of Scipio Barbatus, consul of 298

[3] Another early example is found on the fresco on the façade on the Tomb of the Scipios *Cambr Anc Hist*, Plates, IV, p. 82

religion were answered by votive pictures from the humble, as well as by the self-advertising magnificence of the nobility. Naevius caustically refers to a certain Theodotus who painted with an ox's tail figures of dancing Lares on altars of the Compitalia; recent excavations at Delos have revealed examples of such rough but vigorous little sketches of the Lares. The poster advertisement for gladiatorial shows, which Horace's slaves admired, may have been used before the end of our period.[1] But it is difficult to determine whether all these efforts represent the influence of a distinctive Italic national school of painting or, as is perhaps more likely, merely reflect contemporary Hellenistic art.

Roman art owed much to Greece, but it was not purely imitative It was eclectic and adapted to its own genius what others might offer. Greek architects were primarily concerned with religious buildings, but the Romans devoted as much attention to secular In two branches indeed the Roman spirit was pre-eminent. in portraiture and later in historical monuments. Thus it is possible to trace, though dimly, the strivings of a practical, but not altogether unimaginative people to assimilate the glories of Greek art· that the waves of Hellenism did not entirely overwhelm the impulses of the native spirit testifies to a rugged independence that developed realistic tendencies which an idealistic Greek might have despised

[1] Cf. Horace, *Sat.*, II, 7, 96.

CHAPTER XVIII

ROMAN RELIGION

§ 1. THE RELIGION OF THE FAMILY[1]

DURING the centuries that separated the early beginnings of the peoples of Italy from the days of their supremacy in the Mediterranean their religious experience was naturally varied. From an animistic stage in which many traces of magic and taboo survived they passed to anthropomorphism and polytheism, and the state relieved the individual of many of his responsibilities to the unseen powers of the universe There was no prolonged period of national suffering, such as the Jewish Captivity, to break down the barriers of formalism which state ritual erected around real religious feeling, but gradually foreign ideas and rites overlaid the old Roman religion and men sought refuge from scepticism or an empty formalism in the more emotional and mystic beliefs of Greece and the Orient or in the nobler teaching of the later Greek philosophers.

Roman religion was so free from the baser forms of magic and taboo, that it is probable that these were deliberately excluded by the state. Yet some traces of earlier beliefs survived in historical times Totemism, which belongs to a tribal form of society in which family life is unknown, was naturally absent from a people whose life centred around the family. Like the Jews, the Roman authorities tried to eradicate magic as a social factor, but they could not prevent individuals from practising it except under those forms which were harmful to the community. For instance, a spell which aimed at transferring the fertility of the lands of a neighbour to a man's own fields was expressly forbidden in the Twelve Tables, which also banned anyone who 'chanted an evil charm.'[2] But individuals still continued to inscribe spells (*carmina*) and curses (*dirae*) on tablets (*tabellae defixionum*) for the undoing of their enemies, and Cato could advocate a process of sympathetic magic accompanied by a charm to cure a dislocated limb. Another form of harmless private

[1] This chapter is particularly indebted to the work of Warde Fowler and C Bailey.

[2] 'Qui fruges excantassit, qui malum carmen incantasset.' Pliny, *N H*, XXVIII, 17

magic was the survival of the use of amulets, particularly the *bulla* worn by children to avert such danger as the evil eye, and the little swinging figures (*oscilla*) which were hung up at certain festivals to protect the crops.[1] Magical practices also managed to survive here and there in public ceremonies, as, for instance, two forms of sympathetic magic designed originally to procure rain: at the *aquaelicium* a stone (*lapis manalis*) was carried in procession to form the centre of a 'rain-making' rite, and on the Ides of May straw puppets were thrown into the Tiber by the Vestal Virgins from the Pons Sublicius. A magical method of increasing fertility survived in the ceremonial whipping during the Lupercalia, well known from Shakespearean allusion, and 'telepathic' magic is seen in the reputed power of the Vestal Virgins to stop a runaway slave from leaving Rome by a spell. A belief also in taboo, that a mysterious power in certain objects made them dangerous or unclean, survived at Rome in some aspects, together with the corresponding need for purification or disinfection Though few traces are found of a blood taboo, many things were considered unclean or holy: new-born children, corpses, strangers, iron, certain places as shrines or spots struck by lightning, and certain days, particularly 36 in the year (*dies religiosi*). The unlucky priest of Juppiter (Flamen Dialis) was subjected to numerous taboos amongst others he might not touch a goat, horse, dog, raw meat, a corpse, beans, ivy, wheat, or leavened bread his nails and hair must not be cut with an iron knife, and he must have no knot on his person. But such primitive beliefs in taboo or magic were scarce in historical Rome.

Religion has been defined as 'the effective desire to be in right relations with the Power manifesting itself in the universe.'[2] This Power seemed to the early Romans to manifest itself in the form of impersonal 'spirits' (*numina*), which had local habitations, as springs, rivers, groves or trees.[3] Some dwelt in stones which, however, had probably been worshipped as sacred objects in days before an indwelling spirit was conceived for instance, boundary

[1] It is improbable that these figures were substitutes for an original human sacrifice, a rite from which the Romans were mainly free.

[2] See Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 8

[3] For recent discussions of *numen* as equivalent of the idea expressed in the Pacific by *mana* see H J Rose (*Anc Rom Rel*, ch. 1) and H. Wagenvoort (*Rom Dynamism*, ch 3) *Numen* is not identified with a deity until the Augustan Age (see F Pfister, Pauly-Wissowa, *s v.*, cf. S. Weinstock, *J.R S*, 1949, p. 167)

stones, the *lapis silex* in the shrine of Juppiter Feretrius, and the *lapis manalis* already mentioned. The *numina* gradually assumed functional as well as local aspects, and then received names in an adjectival form to denote their functions Later the spirit approached more nearly to a definite personality and the priests drew up 'forms of invocation' (*indigitamenta*) assigning minor spirits to all the trivial activities of human life.

Early religious practice was centred in the family, the economic unit of an agricultural people, and was associated with the house and fields, especially the boundaries Every important part of the house had its own spirit The spirit of fire, Vesta, dwelt in the hearth; each day during the chief meal part of a sacred salt cake was thrown into the fire from a small sacrificial dish. The store-cupboard (*penus*) has its guardian spirits, the Penates. The door was the seat of Janus, who when conceived in the image of man faced both ways. The door was particularly important, since evil spirits might enter the house through it hence a dead man was carried out of the house by night feet first, so that he might not find his way back The Genius of the head of the family was also worshipped. this conception was probably that of the procreative power of the family on which it depended for its continuance. The religion of the family was an attempt to maintain peace with these spirits, if the powers were duly propitiated there was nothing to fear from the divine members of the *familia* Apart from 'family prayers' at the beginning of the day and the offering to Vesta, ritual centred around birth, marriage and death. At the birth of a child three men struck the threshold with an axe, pestle and broom, agricultural implements, to keep out the wilder spirits of whom the chief was later named Silvanus. Many ceremonies accompanied marriage; for instance, a bride from another family might offend the household spirits and be dangerous as a stranger; so at the critical moment of entry she smeared the door posts with wolf's fat and oil and was carried over the threshold. It was necessary to perform certain rites exactly (*iusta facere*) to ensure that the dead did not 'walk.' Although perhaps even in palaeolithic times man was thought to survive death, and the neolithic folk had fairly definite ideas of a future state, the dead had little or no individuality [1] The great throng of the dead were identified with the Di Manes, the Kindly Gods, who were perhaps originally chthonic deities. At the festival of the Lemuria in May the head of the household could get rid of

[1] H. J Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*, ch ii

ghosts by clashing brass vessels and by spitting out black beans from his mouth, saying nine times, 'With these I redeem me and mine'; when the ghosts behind had gathered up the beans, he expelled them with the ninefold formula 'Manes exite paterni' In the later Parentalia the element of fear was diminished and graves were decorated by the living members of the family

The religion of the family, though centred in the house, was naturally extended to the fields. Boundary-stones not only had to be set up with due ceremony, but were the object of an annual festival, the Terminalia, in which they were garlanded by the farmers whose lands adjoined It was also necessary to beat the bounds in order to purify, protect and fertilize the fields. This was done at the Ambarvalia in May in a solemn procession which culminated in prayer and the sacrifice of a pig, sheep and bull (*suovetaurilia*). The spirits of the fields, Lares, were placated at the Compitalia at places where paths bounding farms met. This joyful ceremony was shared by the slaves, who had no part in the worship of the house; later they introduced the worship of the Lares into the house where it was adopted by the whole household.[1] Other festivals were celebrated by the *pagus* as a whole at seed-time and harvest.

It was long before these vague spirits were conceived in human form or as personal beings with human characteristics. This development was only finally achieved under foreign influence and through the establishment of state-cults of the various deities. But from the first some emerged above the rest. Apart from Janus and Vesta, Juppiter, the sky-god of the Indo-Europeans, transcended the limits of animism, as did Mars who originally was an agricultural deity as well as a war-god and thus manifested two kinds of *numen* With them is linked Quirinus, perhaps the war-god of the Quirinal settlement or the god who presided over the assembled citizens; later legend equated him with Romulus.[2]

[1] Some writers maintain that the Lares were the spirits of the dead and the Lar familiaris the spirit of the family ancestor, if so, this would be evidence of worship of the dead and ancestor worship. But see C Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome*, p 102 ff

[2] For a criticism of the ingenious theory of G Dumézil, that early Rome, as India, had three castes (priests, warriors and herdsmen) with their corresponding gods (Juppiter, Mars, Quirinus) see H J Rose, *J R S*, 1947, p 183 ff For recent work on Roman religion, see A K. Michels, *Cl Weekly*, 1955, p 25 ff., and H J Rose, *J R.S*, 1960, p 161 ff.

§ 2. THE RELIGION OF THE STATE

The religion of the family, though the expression of a group rather than of individuals, might have led to an advancement of man's knowledge of the Divine, had not a development taken place which tended to deaden its reality. That feeling of awe and anxiety towards the unknown which the Romans called *religio* had led men to evolve certain rites by which they maintained the *pax deorum*, a peace or covenant with their divine neighbours. As the city grew, the state stepped in and undertook this responsibility on behalf of the community. Traditionally in the reign of Numa a calendar was drawn up to fix a routine of festivals and to divide the days of the year into those on which it was religiously permissible to transact civil business and those on which it was not (*dies fasti et nefasti*). It reflects the transition of a rural people to the political and military life of the city state, but agricultural life is still its basis. But as the town dweller would gradually lose interest in the details of country festivals and as the calendar gradually got out of gear with the agricultural year, this fixed form of ritual, though saving the individual from anxiety, soon lost all religious meaning for the people of the city. Many survivals of magic, grossness and barbarism were doubtless excluded from the new state-cult, which required permanent officials to perform its ceremonies and to take charge of the *ius divinum*. In the Regal Period the king was the state-priest, the paterfamilias of the community; at the fall of the monarchy his ceremonial duties devolved chiefly upon the Pontifex Maximus and partly upon the Rex Sacrorum, who retained his title. Under the priest-king were the priesthoods. Of these the chief were the two great colleges of Augurs and Pontiffs Whatever their origin, the Pontiffs of the Republic took over the administration of the state-cults and the legal aspect of religion, and their leader, the Pontifex Maximus, was installed in the king's palace, the Regia. In addition there were individual priests, Flamines, attached to particular deities; the chief was the Flamen Dialis, the priest of Juppiter. And there were group-priests: the Fetiales, Luperci, Salii and the Vestal Virgins.

Some attempt was made to maintain the reality of the earlier practices which the state took over. For instance, the Compitalia or festival of the Lares was celebrated at cross-roads instead of where properties had adjoined. Other festivals were held outside the sacred boundary of the city, the *pomerium*, as the Terminalia

at the sixth milestone of the Via Laurentina, and the beating of the bounds, Ambarvalia, at the fifth milestone on the Via Campana; this latter rite gave rise to a ceremony of Amburbium, by which the boundaries of the city were purified. But many of the old festivals lost all meaning for the town dwellers and became mere ritual for the priests. The domestic deities, however, were more easily adapted. Janus, the spirit of the house door, was worshipped at the doorway of the state at a gateway in the Forum, which was only closed in peace-time; he soon became the god of beginnings and later gave his name to the first month of the year. Vesta became the hearth of the state on which the sacred fire must be kept alight; her round temple in the Forum reproduced the shape of the primitive huts of Latium, and hard by dwelt her priestesses, the Vestal Virgins. Her worship illustrates the reality and continuity of Roman religious feeling, no statue was ever placed in her temple

The object of Roman ritual was, as has been said, to maintain the *pax deorum*. The methods adopted were sacrifice, prayer, expiation, purification and vows. Sacrifice or the making of anything *sacrum*, the property of the deity, was designed partly to honour the deity and partly to expiate sin by means of offering and prayer; there appears little trace of sacramental sacrifice, whereby the worshipper enters into communion with the deity. The offering consisted of food, such as the salt meal given to Vesta. Blood offerings in early times appear confined to the ceremonies of lustration and *piaculum*, but in the state-cult were used in *sacrificium* The commonest victim was the pig, to which on important occasions the sheep and ox were added It was essential that both the priest, who in the days before the state-cult was the paterfamilias of the household, and the victim, should be acceptable. Minute details were laid down regarding the condition and behaviour of the victim, while it was being sacrificed pipers played lest any unlucky sound or word should mar the worship. The priests stood with veiled heads. After the slaughter, the victim's internal organs were examined in case of any defect. The idea behind the sacrifice is shown by the common formula which occurs in the accompanying prayer. 'macte esto.' The deity's strength is to be increased (? cf. the root of *magnus*, *magis*), so that his glory and goodwill towards the worshippers may also be increased This idea probably marks a stage between the earlier conception that the gods actually partook of the offering and the later view that the offering was merely an

honorary gift. The prayers, as seen in the *carmina* of the Arval Brothers or those preserved by Cato, mark a transition between magic and religion; in their repetitions and in the emphasis on the exact wording, they retain the outward characteristics of spells which bind the deity. But the substance of the prayer is petition rather than compulsion or bargaining The god may withhold the request, though, in fact, if he is invoked in the correct formulae, it would be thought unreasonable and contrary to his nature for him to do so. As an example the prayer of a Roman farmer in clearing a wood may be quoted: 'Be thou god or goddess to whom the wood is sacred, as it is right to make expiation by the offering of a pig because of the clearing of this sacred wood, for this cause that all may be rightly done . . I make pious prayer that thou wouldest be kind and gracious to me, my home, my household and my children; for which cause be thou enriched (*macte esto*) with the sacrifice of this pig for expiation.'[1] This prayer illustrates the expiatory type of sacrifice or *piaculum* which is atonement for an offence committed, and an act of compensation to the god, rather than a free-will offering like the ordinary *sacrificium*. Generally a blood offering was made. If any slip or omission occurred in the ritual of a sacrifice, it was necessary to renew the ceremony and to make a *piaculum* Characteristically the practical Roman often insured against any slip by a prior piacular sacrifice which was to atone in anticipation Thus when the Arval Brethren, who suffered from a taboo on iron, had to take an iron implement into their sacred grove, they offered a *piaculum* beforehand.

Purification (*lustratio*) was closely akin to, or indeed a form of, piacular sacrifice The object was to keep away hostile spirits by means of processional rites, which still survive in the ritual of the Roman church, though changed in form and meaning These processions, which culminated in acts of sacrifice and prayer, marched round the boundaries of the farm and village. For instance, the Lupercalia was in origin a lustration of the Palatine settlement. When the city was established it too must have its sacred boundary (*pomerium*) within which only the gods of the city might dwell. Little is known of the lustration of the boundaries of Rome in the festival of Amburbium, but full details are recorded in the inscriptions of Iguvium concerning the lustration of the citadel of this Umbrian town [2] Such a process of purifica-

[1] Cato, *de agr cult*, 139. Cf also 134 and 141

[2] The Iguvine Tables, the records of a religious Brotherhood, throw a

tion was extended from the boundary line of farm or city to the human beings within, to the whole people or the army together with its weapons. Even the trumpets were purified at the Tubilustrium in March It is not unlikely that triumphal arches and the custom of forcing a surrendered army under a ritual yoke of spears derive from the primitive desire to get rid of all dangerous contagion. But like many other ceremonies, the act of purification became formalized: the prayers were murmured and unheard by the people, and the lustration of the army developed into a political census Finally, the gods were approached by means of vows (*vota*). The legalistic language in which private vows are often couched cannot obscure the fact that they are prayers accompanied with the promise of an offering if they are heard: they are not legal transactions which bind both parties. Public vows, which were taken in the name of the state, were a later development and were, to some extent, a covenant in the name of the state. Other vows, such as to found temples or give games, and even the vow of the *ver sacrum* were acts of self-renunciation rather than contractual covenants.

Much of the state ritual was taken over from, and was an elaboration of, the rites of the orderly worship of the household But the general effect of the organization of religion by the state was to rob it of its real meaning and smother the spiritual possibilities inherent in an advanced animistic belief The simple ritual of the household and farm, which though without much direct influence on conduct yet engendered a sense of duty within the family and a sense of spiritual union between neighbours, survived long in country districts. But the individual citizen as such was relieved of all need to worry about the gods: the professional priesthoods deadened his religious and moral instinct. The formalism of Jewish worship was quickened by a burning monotheism and by the moral earnestness of the prophets. The early Romans had priests but no prophets The state religion may have helped to preserve family life by maintaining a sense of law and order, but it could not satisfy the cravings of the individual who, in times of stress, sought relief in foreign religious ideas.

wealth of light on early religious belief and practice. For a brief account of this ritual and its survival in the 'Elevation of the Ceri' at the modern Gubbio (Iguvium), see R. S Conway, *Ancient Italy and Modern Religion*, p 443 ff Cf *C A H*, VIII, pp 443 ff. On the survival of other ancient rites in Modern Italy, see T Ashby, *Some Italian Scenes and Festivals* See further J W Poultney, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium* (1959)

§ 3 FOREIGN CULTS

The development of spirits (*numina*) into gods (*dei*) was gradual. Its beginnings cannot be traced, but they go back in part to the Indo-European period before the Italian and Greek races separated. Some deities, as Juppiter, Mars and Juno are found in the worship of many Italian towns, others are more local. When the Romans came into contact with the cults of neighbouring towns, they tended to assimilate any new deities which might meet needs unanswered by their native deities.[1] For instance, Minerva, an Italian goddess of handicrafts, was imported to meet needs created by the growth of trade and industry in the regal period, Diana of Aricia was installed on the Aventine for political motives; Fortuna, originally perhaps an agricultural deity, from Praeneste or Antium, and Venus, originally the protectress of gardens, perhaps from Ardea. But not all the new deities were Italian in origin. Contact with Etruria and the Greeks brought many new gods into Latium and ultimately to Rome

The influence of the Etruscans on Roman religion was profound, yet transitory. They hastened the change of spirits into gods fashioned in the image of man, but they did not impose their own gloomy beliefs on the Roman people. Hitherto spirits had been worshipped at holy places, where an altar of turf might be erected—but not in temples made with hands. But from Etruria the Romans derived the idea of housing a deity in a temple and of providing him with a cult-statue When this was done the transition to anthropomorphism was complete The most famous of Rome's temples was that begun on the Capitol by Tarquinius and dedicated in the first year of the Republic to the Etruscan Triad, Tinia, Uni and Menvra. Of these deities, however, two were Italian, Juno and Minerva, while Tinia was identified with Juppiter. The temple was built by Etruscan workmen in Etruscan style, and it contained a terra-cotta cult-statue made by an Etruscan artist, but its Etruscan connections were soon forgotten and it became the abode of Juppiter Optimus

[1] The view of Wissowa that *di indigetes* meant the old indigenous gods and *di novensiles* the newcomers has been challenged by F. Altheim (*Hist. of Rom Relig.*, p. 106 ff), H Wagenvoort (*Roman Dynamism*, p 83 ff) and others, but little agreement has been reached about the meaning of these words

Maximus, the god who centralized the worship of the Roman people and became the presiding genius of the whole state But the Romans were slow to apply rigorously the ideas they adopted. Mars and Hercules had long to be content with altars in the Campus Martius and Forum Boarium; and cult-statues of native gods were few before the Hannibalic War.[1] But while anthropomorphism led to scepticism, the adoption of Etruscan methods of divination led to superstition This art was practised by the Romans before contact with Etruria: auspices were taken from the flight of birds and sometimes from the behaviour of lightning. But under Etruscan influence the Roman state elaborated augury, instituted a College of Augurs, and used Etruscan experts in divination from the entrails of animals. The darker side of Etruscan religion, its morbid preoccupation with death and its elaboration of the tortures of the damned, had little effect on Roman belief, but did unfortunately influence Roman conduct. The practice of slaughtering prisoners who were led in triumphal procession, and the institution of gladiatorial shows in 264 B.C., derived from a people who may well have introduced human sacrifice into Italy

Contact with Greek religious ideas, which came to Rome through Etruria and Latin towns and later by direct intercourse with the Greek cities of southern Italy, had a far greater influence on Roman religion If the Asiatic origin of the Etruscans be granted, they must long have been conversant with Greek ideas, with which, at any rate, they were familiar before their contact with Rome. From Latin cities also, which had been brought by trade into contact with Greek colonies, the Romans received anthropomorphic deities. Perhaps from Tibur came Hercules whose worship as a patron of commerce was conducted in Greek fashion with unveiled head at the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium, where his wide reputation might secure safety for all traders Traditionally in 499, the cult of Castor and Pollux was introduced from Tusculum and a temple was erected (cf. p 374 n) in the Forum; their association also was commercial. During the Regal Period Apollo was established in a precinct outside the Porta Capena, probably as a god of medicine to deal with a plague; in 431 a temple was built for him Apollo's connection with the oracle of the Sibyl at Cumae directed Rome's attention

[1] 'For more than 170 years the Romans worshipped their gods without images. Those who first made images of the gods, both removed fear from their states and added error ' Varro, *apud* Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, IV, 31

thither. The story of how Tarquin bought the Sibylline books is well-known; even if a permanent collection of oracles did not exist in Rome at so early a date, it is probable that the Romans sent to consult the oracle in times of stress, such as famine It was in obedience to the Sibyl's directions that a temple was built on the Aventine to Ceres, Liber and Libera the Romans thus adopted the cult of the Greek corn deities, Demeter, Dionysus and Kore, beside seeking corn from Cumae (p 54). By 367 there was probably a permanent collection of Sibylline oracles at Rome, under the care of *decemviri sacris faciundis*, who consulted them in times of difficulty to discover how to maintain the *pax deorum*. Their importance is that they led to the reception of new Greek deities, such as Mercury, Neptune and Aesculapius in their Latin names, and of the *Graecus ritus*. These new gods, however, had less religious significance than the new ceremonies of *lectisternia* and *supplicationes*. In 399, when a pestilence raged during the siege of Veii, the Sibylline books ordered that for eight days images of three pairs of gods should be exhibited on couches before tables spread with food and drink. Here was novelty indeed. No appeal was made to the old *numina* but to Greek gods; the whole population was to share in the ceremony, and the eight days were kept as holidays. Doubtless the ceremony was partly an attempt to divert the attention of the people from their hardships, but it was also an appeal to the emotional expression of religious feeling. Five *lectisternia* were decreed in the fourth century. Connected with them was the *supplicatio* in which the whole people went garlanded in procession around the temples of the city and there prostrated themselves in Greek fashion, the women 'sweeping the altars with their streaming hair.' The dignified attitude of the early Roman was forgotten and the chilling effect of the formal state religion led to these outbursts of popular emotion in foreign rites in which the individual could again take his part The Roman state was forced to respond to the new needs, but in doing so it prepared the way for the even wilder worships of the East.

Apart from such occasional outbursts the general effect of the predominance of a professional priesthood was to bring the old religious forms into contempt, so that we find Claudius Pulcher daring to drown the sacred chickens (p. 155) But the disasters of the Hannibalic War re-awoke religious fears and anxiety The number of prodigies that was noticed and recorded in the books of the pontiffs testifies to the renewal of superstitious dread. The

state tried to comfort and distract the people by giving public games in accordance with Sibylline instructions, in 217 Ludi Magni and in 212 Ludi Apollinares were celebrated. After Trasimene and Flaminius' disregard of the *pax deorum* sterner remedies were taken, a *ver sacrum* was vowed and a *lectisternium* was held on a large scale.[1] Twelve pairs of gods, Greek and Roman alike, were displayed and the old distinction between native and foreign deities was disregarded: the advice of the Sibylline books and the decemvirs was esteemed higher than the old *ius divinum* of the pontifices Cannae evoked even greater religious panic, which was quietened by burying alive two Greeks and two Gauls in the Forum Boarium 'minime Romano sacro,' and by despatching an embassy to seek advice at Delphi. In 213 there was a fresh outbreak of religious emotionalism among the women, and the praetor was instructed to rid Rome of all private priests and prophets, who were undermining the state religion by introducing foreign rites. When Hasdrubal's invasion threatened, the pontiffs took special precautions to secure the *pax deorum*: twenty-seven maidens chanted a *carmen* composed by the poet Livius Andronicus and an elaborate ritual procession was staged. After Hasdrubal's defeat at Metaurus an extraordinary wave of thankfulness to heaven swept over the people. During the last stage of the war it was found in the Sibylline books that Hannibal would leave Italy if the 'Great Mother' of Phrygia was brought to Rome. So in 204 the cult-stone was shipped from Pessinus to Ostia, where it was received by Scipio Nasica and Roman matrons who escorted it to the temple of Victory on the Palatine until a temple was built for the Magna Mater in 191. Thus the first Oriental deity was officially introduced into Rome in a desperate attempt at novelty when the ordinary Greek deities had become familiar. It is unlikely that the magistrates realized at first the ecstatic and orgiastic nature of the cult, later Roman citizens were forbidden to take part

Twenty years later the introduction of the worship of Bacchus caused a serious scandal. Dionysus or Bacchus had long been recognized at Rome as Liber but it was not till 186 that the orgiastic features of the Dionysiac ritual reached Rome from southern Italy, mediated through Etruria and Campania. Revelry may have occurred at native Italian rural festivals, but the celebration of the Bacchanalia introduced drunkenness, crime and immorality of all kinds. The cult spread like wildfire until the Senate authorized the consuls to stamp it out throughout Italy.

[1] See J Heurgon, *Trois études sur le Ver Sacrum* (1957).

It was treated as an offence against the state, not against religion; as a conspiracy or rebellion against which police measures must be taken. Morality was the concern of the state rather than of Roman religion from which it was divorced. With characteristic shrewdness the Senate legalized the cult when its excesses had been suppressed· if anyone desired to continue this worship, he must obtain permission from the praetor who would seek the Senate's sanction that no more than five persons might celebrate the cult together. Death was the penalty for infraction. Worship which did not endanger public morality was a matter for individual wishes, not for the state: an important precedent was established by a state which later had to deal with Christianity.[1]

The Romans went after foreign gods and imported *externa sacra* because they desired something better than the old religious forms which had lost their meaning. But the 'enthusiastic' cults which answered the need of the individual merely stirred up emotional frenzy and moral degradation. The state tried to check the evil which it had at first encountered, but the way was open for the numerous oriental cults that came to Rome in the later Republic and the Empire. In 181 an attempt was made to introduce other religious ideas which offered the individual the hope of attaining happiness in the next world by initiation and mystic purification in this. Orphism and Pythagorean beliefs spread northwards from Magna Graecia and some forged writings were 'discovered' in the tomb of Numa The books were burnt as subversive of the state religion, but Orphic ideas were doubtless reaching Rome and Ennius' influence helped their circulation; they had, however, greater effect in the later Republic.[2]

The fusion of Greek and Roman religion, or rather, the overlaying of the old Roman beliefs with Greek mythology, was completed by the increasing influence of Roman literature. Under the spell of Greek models Roman writers, who found their early history barren of sagas of gods and heroes, took over a large part of the mythology of Greece and thus accelerated the process by which the old Latin *numina* were identified with the gods of Greece. The anthropomorphic tendency was complete: Roman

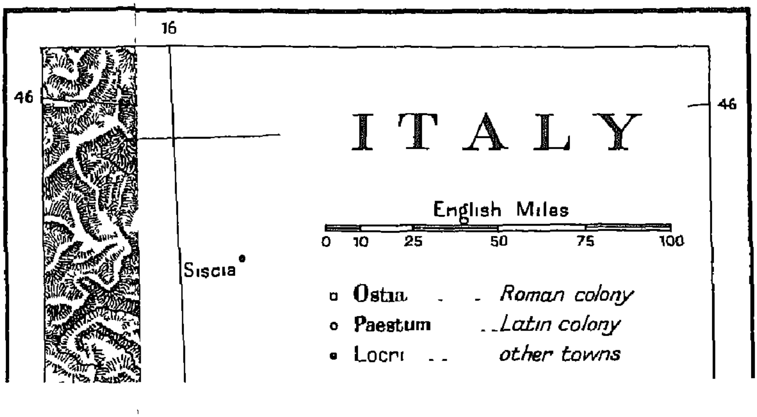
[1] Livy gives a lively, though highly-coloured, account of the scandal The so-called *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* contains the consuls' instructions to the allies see Bruns-Gradenwitz, *Fontes Iuris Romani*,[7] No. 36 Cf D. W L van Son, *Livius' Behandeling van de Bacchanalia* (1960)

[2] Cf. R S Conway, *op cit.*, ch ii, 'Orpheus in Italy'

deities, identified with their Greek counterparts in the Olympian hierarchy, were now paired off as husbands and wives, and the mythological foibles of the gods were even shown on the Roman stage. the amours of Juppiter and the misdoings of Mercury were parodied before a Roman audience in the *Amphitruo* of Plautus. And Ennius was popularizing at Rome the teaching of Euhemerus concerning the human origin of the gods, that they were merely great men deified. So complete was the fusion of this Graeco-Roman mixture that it is only comparatively recently that the native worship of early Rome has been cleared of its foreign accretions and its real nature understood One who has taken a large part of the work of reconstruction points out that at the end of the Hannibalic War the divine inhabitants of the city were as much a *colluvies nationum* as the human population itself. 'Under such circumstances neither the old City-state nor its religion could any longer continue to exist . . . In the next two centuries Rome gained the world and lost her own soul.'[1]

But the picture is not entirely black. The old Roman religion might develop into formal sacerdotalism upheld by an urban aristocracy, but its vitality was not extinguished among the common people of the countryside. Graeco-Roman mythology might give rise to widespread scepticism, but the educated could seek salvation in Greek philosophy, which now penetrated into Rome. In 173 two Epicurean philosophers were expelled from Rome and in 161 philosophers and rhetoricians in general suffered the same fate. The practical Roman did not take naturally to philosophy, mistrusting its abstract teaching, especially of those who held the object of life to be pleasure, albeit those pleasures of reflection chosen by reason rather than physical pleasures. In 159 (or 168) the Stoic Crates, delayed at Rome by an accident, started to lecture It was impossible to stem the tide from Greece In 155 the heads of the three great philosophic schools, Critolaus the Peripatetic, Diogenes the Stoic and Carneades the Academic came to Rome on a political embassy. While waiting they gave lectures and Carneades startled his respectable audience by accepting principles one day which he refuted the next and by propounding the theory that justice was a convention. This new teaching aroused the interest of the 'intellectuals' of the Scipionic circle which was joined by the Stoic Panaetius about 144 B.C. The manner in which the teaching of the Porch was adapted to

[1] Warde Fowler, *op. cit*, p. 331 On the Italian pseudo-mythology see H J Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, ch. XI.


16
46
46
ITALY
English Miles
0 10 25 50 75 100
Siscia
Ostia - - Roman colony
Paestum ..Latin colony
Locri .. other towns

Roman life is a subject which falls beyond the scope of this volume. Suffice it to add that Stoicism taught the Romans a new doctrine of the relation of man to God, and even more influential than its theological and moral theories was the fact that it offered men a new way of life. Its appeal lay largely in the possibility of the practical application of its teaching to everyday life. The comprehensiveness of the Stoic ideal exercised a profound and inspiring influence in the Roman world at a time of religious bankruptcy, and it reinforced men's moral reserves, until another religion from the Orient, very different from the earliest Eastern cults that reached Rome, brought a still broader view of the universal brotherhood of man and offered a different way of life from that laid down by the Stoic sage If the promise of the early religious experience of the Roman people was not fulfilled, at any rate the early Christian Church had to reckon with many of the phases of its development, besides receiving into its own vocabulary such words as 'religion,' 'piety,' 'saint' and 'sacrament.' Roman Stoicism made its contribution to the thought of Christianity; the organization of the old state religion impressed itself on that of the new priesthood; and even the petty *numina* of the countryside survived long enough to influence the Roman Catholic conception of the division of function among the saints and to provoke the derision of the Church Fathers.

APPENDICES

1

SOURCES AND AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD

Archaeological Material provides the basis of our knowledge of the pre-history and ethnology of Italy. The nature of Etruscan civilization and the appearance of early Rome and other Italian towns has been revealed largely by the spade. The result often confirms in a striking manner the later literary tradition which can thus be tested and controlled at many points, though elsewhere much of the early history must remain hypothetical There has been a reaction from the hypercritical and destructive attitude displayed towards early Roman history at the beginning of this century by E. Pais, who has indeed himself somewhat modified his earlier views; and this reaction is due in part to the new light shed by archaeological research. The material provided also illustrates later phases of Rome's conquests in Italy and the Mediterranean world As recent examples there may be cited the discovery of the *castrum* at Ostia which dates the Roman colony to the mid-fourth century, excavations which reveal the early prosperity of Ardea and its decline after the Samnite Wars, the Greek, Lucanian and Roman phases exemplified in the splendid fortifications and other buildings at Paestum, the Etruscan, Greek, Samnite and Roman stages in the development of Pompeii, the early growth of colonies, as Minturnae, Cosa and Alba Fucens [1] Beside the laying bare of cities and buildings archaeologists have supplemented the literary tradition by the discovery of coins (p 347 ff) and inscriptions Apart from those inscriptions which illustrate the dialects, constitutions and religious history of Italian towns, the majority which survive are concerned with Roman contacts with the Hellenistic world

Laws, Treaties, etc [2] Of these some survived long enough to be recorded by ancient historians, others have been unearthed in modern times. Examples of the former are the Twelve Tables, the *foedus Cassianum*, and Rome's early treaties with Carthage, recorded by Polybius The latter are illustrated by the surviving Forum inscription, the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 B.C. and that relating to Thespiae in 170, the decree of Aemilius Paullus, granting freedom to a small Spanish town; the letters of the Scipios to Colophon and Heraclea, the treaty with Aetolia.

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[1] For brief references to more recent work see notes on pp 6, 24, 26, 31, 285, 363.

[2] See S. Riccobono, *Fontes Iuris Ante Iustiniani*, I

Calendars and Fasti In early days the Pontifex Maximus drew up a list of days on which it was *fas* or *nefas* to transact business. This calendar gave the names and dates of the religious festivals which concerned the whole state. Examples of such calendars survive; though dating from the Empire and containing the calendar as revised by Caesar, they nevertheless reproduce the skeleton of the original calendar, which was ascribed to Numa, and form a main source of our knowledge of early religious practice. In the absence of any system of eras the year to which the calendar referred would be denoted by affixing the names of the chief magistrates. The Pontifex at first probably recorded on the calendar any outstanding event of the year, but when these events became numerous he set up in the Regia a white tablet to record the names of the magistrates and the events of the year, such as wars, triumphs, temple-foundations, eclipses and portents. These Tabulae Pontificum were probably first collected and published in eighty volumes of *Annales Maximi*, by Mucius Scaevola, the Pontifex Maximus of 130 B.C. How many other lists of magistrates existed we do not know, we hear, for example, of *libri magistratuum* on linen rolls (*libri lintei*) which an annalist, Licinius Macer, said he found in the temple of Juno Moneta. But these lists clearly formed a primary source for annalists when they first desired to reconstruct and write up the history of Rome. Many chronological tables were in circulation towards the end of the Republic; for instance, Cicero's friend Atticus compiled a *liber Annalis*. In the reign of Augustus two important lists were set up in the Forum at Rome[1] the Fasti Consulares which recorded the names of the consuls, censors, dictators, masters of the horse, decemvirs and consular tribunes from the beginning of the Republic, and secondly the Fasti Triumphales which listed the magistrates and pro-magistrates who had obtained triumphs from the time of Romulus. Of these lists we have considerable fragments called the Capitoline Fasti because they are preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori Museum on the Capitol, the missing portions can be reconstructed from other sources, such as an anonymous compiler known as the *Chronographer of 345 A D* That similar lists existed in Rome before the time of Augustus may be deduced from the discovery of a calendar and list of consuls and censors on the walls of a private house of *c.* 70 B C at Antium.[2]

The crucial question is how far the Fasti of the fifth and fourth centuries are reliable; for the later period their authenticity is not doubted. The credibility of the whole of early Roman history depends to a considerable extent upon the answer. It is admitted on all sides

[1] On the triumphal arch of Augustus (not on the walls of the Regia, as once was thought). see A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII, i.

[2] See *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII, i, p 159 ff Part of a local copy of the Fasti Triumphales was found in 1925 at Urbisaglia it covers the years 195–194 and 176–158 See *Inscriptiones Italiae*, XIII, i, p 338 ff.

that the early lists are not free from errors and falsifications Mommsen's belief in their substantial reliability was succeeded by the hypercritical attitude of Pais who denied them any value A reaction followed, led by the saner counsels of De Sanctis, and even Pais has somewhat modified his earlier views, but unanimity is far from being reached A primary consideration is the possibility of the survival of early documents after the sack of Rome in 390. It has sometimes been maintained that the old temples perished in the fire. Archaeological research has shown that this is not true in the main, though in the case of the Regia itself a verdict of 'Not Proven' must be returned.[1] And if the Gauls spared the temples they probably spared the archives and records which they contained. It is noteworthy that though Athens was burnt by the Persians in 480 and 479 a list of eponymous magistrates of the city goes back two centuries earlier. But though the probability of the survival of early records be admitted, the errors of the Fasti cannot be overlooked. Both Livy (VIII, 40) and Cicero (*Brut.* 62) tell how tradition was impaired by funeral eulogies and family pride which appropriated to itself the glory of exploits belonging to others It is said that since the plebeians did not hold the consulship until 367 all plebeian names in the Fasti before that date must be forgeries due to the class and family pride of the great plebeian families, and an occasion for the falsification is found in the *lex Ogulnia* (*c.* 300) which admitted plebeians to the college of pontiffs. This raises the question when were the Tabulae of the pontiffs begun and when were they first publicly exposed? They may not have been made public earlier than *c.* 300 when popular demand became vocal, because before then the nobility had other ways of getting any information they required. This, however, does not mean that the *annales* started then. Cicero (*de orat*, II, 12, 52) expressly says that they went back to the beginnings of the Roman state. This, however, has been denied by Beloch, on the evidence of the only genuine fragments of the *annales* which refer to an eclipse, also mentioned by Ennius, he assigns the beginning of genuine records to a little before 288, which is the date he conjectures for the eclipse which must have been the first in a series [2] But the evidence is far from satisfactory and Beloch himself can only find a few interpolations in the consular Fasti of 486–364 B.C. and has accepted the Fasti Triumphales as a useful source.[3] In the Fasti of the fifth century many names occur which were unknown in later times, there can be little reason to suppose that these are interpolations Further, since patricians and plebeians often had the

[1] T Frank (*Roman Buildings*, esp pp. 53, 78, 83) believes in its survival which is denied by L G Roberts, *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, II, p 55 ff. Cf *L'Antiquité Classique*, 1934, p. 209. See Livy, V, 49, 3, 50, 2, VI, 1, 10

[2] *Hermes*, 1922, p. 119 ff Cf *Cambr Anc. Hist*, VII, p. 320

[3] *Römische Geschichte*, p 1 ff.

same names in early times and as original patrician names sometimes passed over the plebeian families, it is not necessary to assume that all the names in the Fasti which were later plebeian need be plebeian inventions. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Fasti are substantially sound from the beginning of the fifth century and that, despite some later inventions, a reliable list of names is to be found. It is also easy to exaggerate the extent to which the lists used by the later Roman annalists differed from one another.

Literary Sources. The earliest Roman historians, Q. Fabius Pictor, L. Cincius Alimentus, Postumius Albinus and Acilius (p. 383), all wrote in Greek. They were Senators whose purpose was in part to expound and justify the Roman way of life in the light of past history to the Greek world with which Rome was now coming into contact. They recounted the legends of the Regal Period for what they were worth, but they probably did not elaborate their accounts of the first two centuries of the Republic for which reliable evidence was limited. There is little reason to suppose that men, who as consuls argued the merits of laws and treaties in the Senate or who as praetors sat in judgment in the courts, lost all their critical faculties when they came to write history They knew the value of documents and though they may have had a natural pro-Roman bias, their accounts were essentially trustworthy. The earliest writer in Latin was Cato, whose *Origines* forms a link between the work of his predecessors and that of the 'older' group of annalists, men like Cassius Hemina and Calpurnius Piso (consul 133) who began to reconstruct Roman history. The publication of the Annales Maximi by Scaevola then established the 'definitive' form of this material which was used by the 'later' annalists from Cn Gellius to the Sullan annalists (Claudius and Valerius) and Livy. These men wrote for a wider public which had become acquainted with the rhetorical histories of Greek writers and many were influenced by party interests. They wrote too on a larger scale, by making greater use of the material in the Annales Maximi, by utilizing the traditions preserved (partly orally) in the great families, and by rhetorical treatment, Gellius devoted 20 books to the events of 500–300, which Piso more soberly had recorded in two (with an average of perhaps some 12 lines to a year) Q Claudius Quadrigarius (*c.* 78) may partly have avoided this danger by starting his history with the year 390, but his contemporary Valerius Antias ran to at least 75 books of rhetorical and unreliable historical romance. In the Ciceronian age the demand for more reliable reference books was met by antiquarians who wrote commentaries and encyclopaedias on legal, constitutional and religious institutions. Their researches led to the discovery of a number of constitutional documents of considerable antiquity and value, but their object was not always purely theoretical and historical, they often sought to find precedents to justify existing procedure. Among the annalists Licinius Macer and Aelius Tubero

claimed to have undertaken documentary research, though the work of the former was influenced by democratic political interests.

We now come to the historians proper, who based their work on the annalists. Of these the greatest is Livy who, while Augustus was restoring the state, wrote an account of the Roman People from the landing of Aeneas to 9 B.C. in 142 books, of these books I–X (to 293 B.C.) and XXI–XLV (218–167) survive. The success which he achieved is due partly to his greatness as a writer, partly to his co-operation with Augustus' attempt to restore the ancient Roman virtues, for above all Livy's history is a pageant of the worthies of the Roman state His honesty and fairness stand out in contrast with the fabrications of an Antias. His value as a historian depends on the sources which he used in any given part of his narrative; where he follows Polybius or the older annalists he is trustworthy, where he uses Claudius and Valerius (as he does in a large part of the fourth and fifth decades) he is less so He recounted the legends of early Rome, but he did not mistake them for historical fact. One grave charge against him is his neglect to consult original sources and documents, he was content to use published accounts This may be explained, if not excused, when the practical difficulty of consulting unclassified and uncatalogued documents is realized, especially since the historian was writing a work about three times the length of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* For the lost books we have 'tables of contents' (*periochae*), fuller epitomes existed, of which a fragment has been found in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus lived in Rome at the same time as Livy and wrote a *Roman Antiquities* in 20 books, of which 10 survive intact, the rest in extracts The work covers the period from the foundation of Rome to 264 B.C. and was published in 7 B.C In his first book Dionysius used Greek writers, in later books the annalists, especially the more recent ones; his attitude towards his sources was uncritical. Another Greek historian of Rome is Cassius Dio, consul in 229 A D His *History of Rome* from early times down to his own consulship was completed in 80 books. The first 35 of these are lost, but we have an *Abridgement* made by Zonaras in the twelfth century A.D For the older period he used annalistic sources, which resemble Dionysius more than Livy, for the second century he made some use of Polybius

Beside annalistic accounts historians wrote monographs. Philinus of Agrigentum composed an important account of the First Punic War, which was one of the main sources used by Polybius An important monograph was the *Bellum Punicum* of Coelius Antipater (*c.* 120 B C), who used Fabius, other annalists, Silenus (a Greek historian who campaigned with Hannibal) and Polybius Coelius' work was one of Livy's main sources in his third decade, though praised by Cicero, it appears from the existing fragments to be marred by rhetorical exaggeration. Among the writers of monographs may be classed Appian, an Alexandrine Greek (*c.* 160 A D) who composed a

Roman history in 24 books, divided on a geographical principle; he deals with wars in Italy, Spain, Africa, etc., in separate books For the Hannibalic War he relied mainly on the later annalists, for the second century on Polybius and the annalistic tradition.

Of historians of the world Polybius is the most important. This statesman of the Achaean League was deported to Rome in 167 where he gained the intimate friendship of Scipio Aemilianus with whom he witnessed the fall of Carthage and perhaps Numantia Of his forty books the first five survive complete, the rest in excerpts of considerable length He realized that Rome's conquest of the Mediterranean world had given history an organic unity it had never before possessed. His theme was to show how the Romans had subdued the whole inhabited world in less than fifty-three years. His aim was truth, to attain it he eschewed the attractive rhetoric of many of his contemporaries and wrote a pragmatic account, to which he devoted the critical faculties of a trained historian and the wisdom of an experienced and widely-travelled statesman. After a sketch of the events of 264–220 he treats in detail world-history from 220 to 167; he later continued his account down to 145. He has been hailed by Mommsen as the 'sun in the field of Roman history,' and by T. R. Glover as 'the first true historian of Rome.' Of the 40 books of the *Universal History* of the Sicilian Diodorus (*c.* 30 B.C.) books I–V, XI–XX (the last from 480 to 302 B.C) survive in complete form. He is more concerned with Greek than Roman history His notices of early Roman history may derive from some chronological table, but it is quite probable that he used as his chief source one of the earlier Roman annalists, e g Fabius Pictor, and thus preserves a better tradition than Livy or Dionysius; for the period after 200 B.C. he used Polybius

Biography was first popularized at Rome by Varro. The *Lives* of Nepos (99–24 B.C) are not of great historical value, those by Plutarch are more important Plutarch does not claim the title of historian; his object is rather to point a moral and adorn a tale, but he provides some valuable material He used various sources; antiquarian studies for the lives of *Romulus* and *Numa*, Dionysius for *Coriolanus*; Fabius Pictor, Ennius and Greek historians contemporary with Pyrrhus for *Pyrrhus*; Polybius, Coelius, annalists and Livy for *Fabius*, *Marcellus* and *Aemilius Paullus*.

Finally, reference may be made to the valuable information contained in the works of writers, as Cicero and Varro, and to the far less valuable sketches and epitomes by Florus (*c.* A D. 130), Eutropius (fourth century) and Orosius (A D. 417), who mainly reproduce the Livian tradition

SOURCES

It may be found useful to append a list of some of the more important literary sources for this period. To attempt to give a

complete list, and still more to add references to the epigraphic, archaeological and numismatic material, would far exceed the scope of this short note. But the following references may help to put those readers, who do not already know the way well, on the track of some of the more important literary sources for the narrative portions of this book. Authors' names are given in full in the first reference, but are then generally abbreviated (note, L. for Livy, and P for Polybius)

Ch I, 5 The Etruscans

Appian, *Lib* ix, 66, Dionysius Halicarnassus, i, 26–30, Herodotus, i, 94, Justin, xx, 5; Pliny, *N H.* iii, 50, 51, 112 f, 133, Strabo, v, 2, 1–2, 2, 4, Tacitus, *Ann.* iv, 55; xi, 14, Thucydides, iv, 109; Livy, v, 33.

Ch II, 1 The foundation of Rome

Dionys. i, 72–4, Festus, *s.v.* Roma, Cicero, *De Repub.* ii, 3; 5–7; 10, 18, Plutarch, *Romul.* 12, Velleius Paterculus, i, 8, Solinus, i, Orosius, ii, 1.

2–5 The Seven Kings

L i, ii, 1–15, Dionys. ii–v, 36; Cic *De Rep* ii, 1–30, Plut *Romulus*; *Numa, Poplicola*, App. *Basilic.* 1–12, Dio Cassius, i–iv, Zonaras, vii, 1–12, Eutropius, i, 1–11, Florus, i, 1–2, 4.

Ch III The New Republic and the Struggle of the Orders

L ii–iv (see especially ii, 1, 8; 18, 32–5; 41–2; 52, 54–7; iii, 20, 7, 30, 7, 33–59, iv, 1; 6–8, 12–16, 24, 43–4; 54); v, 12, 7–13, Dionys. v–xi (see esp v. 19, vi, 89; ix, 41–9, x, 55–61, xi, 1–46), Cic. *De Rep.* ii, 31–37; *De Leg.* iii, 3, 8–9, 7, 16–17, 8, 19; 10, 24, Dio, iv–vi (frgs.), Zon. vii, 13–20; Tac. *Ann.* xi, 22, Asconius, *In Cornelianam*, p. 76 Cl; Diodorus,[1] xii, 24–6, Pliny, *N.H* xviii, 4.

Ch. IV, 1. The Triple Alliance

L. i, 50, ii, 19–20, 22; 25–6; 33, 40, 12–41, 1; Dionys v, 61, vi, 4–13, 95, viii, 69, Cic *Pro Balbo*, 23, 53; Polybius, iii, 22.

2. The Sabines, Aequi and Volsci

L. ii–iv (see esp ii, 16; 22, 25–6, 30–1, 33–49; 53, 58–60; 62–5, iii, 1–8, 15–18, 22–30; 42, 60–3, 66, 69–70, iv, 9–11; 26–30, 37, 43; 45–7, 51, 56–7), Dionys. ii, 49, v–xi (*passim*), Plut. *Poplicola*, 20–2, *Coriolanus*, Diodorus, xi, 40, 5, xii, 30, 6, 34, 5, 64, xiii, 42, 6, xiv, 11, 6, Dio, v (frgs.); Zon. vii, 16–18, App *Ital.* 5–7 (frgs.)

3 The duel with Veii

L ii, 42–50; iv, 17–23, 30–34, 57–61, v, 1–8, 13–32; Diodor. xi, 53, 6; xii, 80, 6–8, xiv, 16, 5; 43, 5, 93, 98, 5, 102, 4; Plut *Camillus*, 1–13, Zon. vii, 20–1, Dionys. xiii, 1–2

[1] The passages of Diodorus which refer to early Roman history are conveniently printed in *Diodors römische Annalen bis 302 a. Chr.* by A D Drachmann (1912).

4. The Gallic catastrophe

L. v, 33–49; P. ı, 6, 2–4; ıı, 14–18; Dıod. xıv, 113–17; Plut. *Camıll.* 14–30; App *Celt.* 1–9 (frgs.), Dıo, vıı, 25, Dıonys. ı, 74; xiiı, 6–10, Florus, ı, 7.

5 The recovery of Rome

L. v, 50–5; vı, 1–10, 22–33; 42, vıı, 7–27, P. ıı, 18, 6–8, Plut. *Camıll.* 31-43; Zon. vıı, 24

6, 7. Rome's wıdenıng horizon, etc

L. viı, 27, 2; 29–42, vııı, 1–14, P ııi, 22–7, Orosius, ııı, 7, Diod. xvı, 15, 45, 8; 69, 1, App. *Samn.* 1–2, Dıo, vii, 35; Zon. vıı, 26.

Ch. V. The Unıon of the Orders

L vı, 11, 14–21; 34–42 (see esp 35, 4–5 (cf. x, 13, 14 and 23, 13), 42, 11–14); vıı, 1; 15, 13, 16, 1, 17, 6, 21, 5; 22, 6–10, 27, 3–4, 41, 42, 1–2, vııı, 12, 14–16, 15, 9; 23, 12; 28, ıx, 20, 5, 29, 5–11; 30, 1–4, 33–34, 42, 1–3, 46; x, 6–9, 22, 9; *Epıt.* xı, xıı, Dıon xıv, 12, Dıod xv, 61, 1, xx, 36, Festus, p. 246M, App. *B.C.* ı, 8, Gellıus, xv, 27; Gaius, ı, 3; Dıo, vııı, 37, 2–4, Zon. vııı, 2, Plıny, *N H.* xvı, 10, 37.

Ch. VI Rome's Conquest of Italy

1–3. Rome and the Samnıtes, etc.

L vııı, 15–17; 19–27, 29–31, 36–40, ıx, 1–29, 31–2; 35–45; x, 1–5, 10–21; 25–46, *Epıt* xı, xıı, P. ıı 19–20, App. *Samn.* 4–6, Dıo, vııı; 36, 8–24, 28–32, Dıodor. xix, 10, 1–2, 65, 7, 72, 3–9, 76, 101, xx, 26, 3–4; 35, 44, 8–9, 80, 90, 3–4, 101, 4–5, Dıonys. xv–xvııı (frgs); Eutrop. ıı, 9–10, Florus, ı, 11–12, Velleıus, ı, 14, 3–6; Zon. viı, 26, 8, 1.

4–6 Pyrrhus, etc.

App. *Samn* 7–12; Dıo, ıx–x, Dıodor. xx, 104, Dıonys xix–xx; Florus, ı, 13–16; P. ııı, 25, Justın (ep. Trogı), xviiı, 1–2, Lıvy, *Epıt.* xıı–xv, Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, Velleıus, ı, 14, 7–8, Zon. vııı, 2–7.

Ch. VII The First Punıc War

P. ı, 5–64, L *Epıt.* xvı–xıx; App *Sıcıl*, 1–2, *Lıb* ı, 1–4; Dıo, xı; Dıod xxiı–xxıv (frgs.), Eutrop. ıı, 18–28; Florus, ı, 18, Oros ıv, 7–11, Zon vııı, 8–17.

Ch. VIII. The Entr'acte

2. Truceless war, Sardınıa, etc

P. ı, 65–88, ııı, 10, L. *Epıt.* xx; App *Sıc* ii, 3, Zon. vııı, 18

3. Rome and the Gauls

P ıı, 17–35, L *Epıt.* xx; Dıo, xiı, 50; Florus, i, 19–20, Zon. vııı, 18, 20.

4. The Illyrian pirates

P. ıı, 2–12, ııı, 16, 18–19, L *Epıt.* xx; App *Illyr* 2, 7–8, Dıo, xıı, 49, 53, Flor. ı, 21; Zon. vııı, 19–20.

5, 6 Spain

P ii, 1; 18, 36, iii, 10–15; 17; 20–30; 33; App. *Iberica*, 1–2, Dio, xii, 48; Diodorus, xxv, 9, Justin, xliv, Zon. viii, 19, L xxi, 1–3

Ch. IX. Hannibal's Offensive and Rome's Defensive

1, 2, 6. Italy to 209 B.C

P. iii, 33–94; 100–18, vii, 1, viii, 26–36, ix, 3–8; 22–6; 44; x, 1, L. xxi, 1–59, 61–2, xxii, 1–18, 23–61; xxiii, 1–25, 30–9, 42–9, xxiv, 1–3; 7–20, 43–9; xxv, 1–22; 40; xxvi, 1–16; 21–4; 26–40; xxvii, 1–16, App. *Han.* i–viii, 49, Dio, xiii–xv (frgs.); Eutrop. iii, 7–23; Flor. i, 22, Nepos, *Hannib.*; Oros iv, 14 ff, Plut *Fab.*, *Marcell.*, Zon viii, 21–ix, 6

3 The Scipios and Spain

P. iii, 76, 95–9; ix, 11; L. xxi, 60–1; xxii, 19–22, xxiii, 26–9, xxiv, 41–2; xxv, 32–9, App *Iber.* 3, Zon. ix, 3

4. Macedon

P. vii, 9; x, 25; 41, L. xxiii, 33, 40–1, xxiv, 40, xxvi, 24–6, xxvii, 29–33; xxviii, 5–8, xxix, 12; Zon. ix, 4.

5. Marcellus and Sicily

P. vii, 2–8, viii, 5–9, 37, ix, 10, 27, L xxiv, 4–7, 21–39; xxv, 23–31, 40, xxvi, 40; App. *Sic.* iii–v, Zon. ix, 4–5

Ch X. Scipio and Rome's Offensive

1. Scipio's conquest of Spain

P x, 2–20, 34–40; xi, 20–33; L xxvi, 17–20, 41–51, xxvii, 17–20, xxviii, 1–4; 12–38, xxix, 1–2; App. *Iber.* 4–7, Dio, xvi (frgs); Eutrop iii, 15, Zon. ix, 7–10

2 The War in Italy

P x, 32–3, xi, 1–3, L xxvii, 20–9, 33–50, xxviii, 9–12; 38–46; xxix, 5–11, 13–23, 36–8, xxx, 1–2, 18–24, 26–8, 38–45, App. *Han* viii, 50–ix, 61; Dio, xvi-xvii (frgs), Plut *Fab*, *Marcell*; Zon ix, 8–9

3, 4. The War in Africa

P. xiv, 1–10; xv, 1–19, L xxix, 3–4; 23–36, xxx, 3–17, 24, 29–38, App. *Lib.* ii, 7–ix, 66; Dio, xvii (frgs.); Eutrop. iii, 20–3, Zon ix, 12–14

Ch XI. Rome and Greece

P. xv, 20–5, xvi, 1–12, 24–35; xviii, 1–12, 18–39, 42–8, L xxxi, 1–9, 14–18; 22–47, xxxii, 1–25; 28, 32–40; xxxiii, 1–21, 27–35, xxxiv, 22–41; 48–52, App. *Maced* iv–ix, 4; Dio, xviii, 57–60, Florus, i, 23, Plut *Flamininus*; Zon. ix, 15–16, 18.

Ch. XII. Rome and Antiochus

1–2 The war in Greece

P. xviii, 49–52, xx, 3, 7–11; xxi, 1–5, L xxxiii, 38–41; xxxiv, 57; xxxv, 12–13, 15–19, 25–39; 42–51; xxxvi, 1–35, App *Syr.* i, 1–iv, 21; Florus, i, 24, Plut *Cato*, 13–14; Zon. ix, 18–19.

3–4. War and settlement in the East

P. xxi, 6–48, L. xxxvi, 41–5, xxxvii, 1–45; 52–7; 60; xxxviii, 1–41; App. *Syr.* v, 22–vii, 44, Florus, i, 27, Zon. ix, 20–1.

Ch XIII. Rome and the Eastern Mediterranean

1 The growing tension

P. xxii, 1–4, 6–15; 18–19, xxiii, 1–18; xxiv, 1–3; 6–13; xxv, 2; L. xxxix, 23–9; 33–7, 46–53; xl, 2–16, 20–4, 54–8, xli, 22–5, xlii, 5–6.

2. The Third Macedonian War

P. xxvii, 1–11; 14–16; xxviii, 3–15, xxiv, 1–11; 13–21, xxx, 6–15, 22, 29, 32, L. xlii, 25–67, xliii, 7–12, 17–23; xliv, 1–13, 16; 18; 20–46, xlv, 4; 6–9; 17–18; 26–34; App. *Mac*, xi-xix; *Illyr.* ii, 9–10, Dio, xx (frgs); Florus, i, 28, Plut. *Aem. Paullus,* Zon. ix, 22–4

3. The Hellenistic East

P xxii, 5, 16–17; xxiv, 1, 5, 14–15; xxv, 1; 4–6, xxvi, 1; xxvii, 3–4; 7, 17–20; xxviii, 1–2; 16–23; xxix, 2, 22–7; xxx, 1–5; 16–21, 23–8; 30–1; xxxi, 1–20; 30–3, xxxii, 1–12, 15–16, xxxiii, 1–7, 11–19, xxxv, 6, xxxvi, 14–15; xxxix, 7, L xli, 20; xlii, 11–17, 45, xliii, 6; xliv, 14–15; 19, xlv, 3; 10–13; 19–26; 44, *Epit.* xlvi–liii; Zon. ix, 25.

4 The end of Greek independence

P. xxxvi, 10–11, 17; xxxviii, 9–18; xxxix, 2–6; L. *Epit* xlix; lii; Florus, i, 30–2; Pausanias, vii, 11–16, Zon ix, 28, 31

Ch. XIV. Rome, Italy and the Western Mediterranean

1 The Northern Frontier

P xxxii, 9; 13, xxxiii, 8–10, L. xxxi, 2; 10, 29, xxxii, 29–31; 36–7; xxxiv, 46–8, xxxv, 3–6, 11, 22, xxxvi, 38–40, xxxix, 1–2, 20; 54–5; xl, 16; 25–8, 38, 41, 53, xli, 1–4, 10–12, 17–19; xlii, 7–9; App. *Illyr.* ii, 11, Dio, xviii, Florus, i, 26, Zon ix 15

2–4 Spain

P xxxv, 1–5, L xxxiii, 21, xxxiv, 8–21, xxxv, 1–2; 22, xxxix, 20–1; 30–1, xl, 16, 30–3, 35–6, 39–40, 47–50; xli, 26; App *Iber*, viii, 39–xvi, 39–xvi, 98, Dio, xxii–xxiii (frgs.), Florus, i, 33–4; Plut. *Cato.* 10, Zon. ix, 17.

5–7. Carthage

P xxxi, 21, xxxvi, 1–9, 16, xxxviii, 7–8; 19–22, L xxxi, 11; 19; xxxiii, 45–9, xxxiv, 60–2; xxxv, 14, xxxix, 51; xl, 17; xlii, 23–4, xlv, 13–14, *Epit* xlviii–liii; App. *Lib.* x, 67–xx, 135, Florus, i, 31; Zon ix, 18, 26–7, 29–30.

Ch. XV. Home Policy

P. vi, 11–56, L. xxxiii, 27, 6, xxxiv, 1, 45, xxxvii, 57; xxxviii, 42–60; xxxix, 8–19, 40–4, 55, xl, 19, 34, 37; 44; 51–2, xli, 9, xliii, 2–5, xlv, 15, Cic. *De Rep.* ii, 54, *De Offic.* ii, 75; *Brut.* 106, Cato, *Speeches* (frgs), Gellius, x, 3, 13.

A few bibliographical references may be added. On the reliability of the sources for early Rome see P. Fraccaro, *J R.S.*, 1957, 59 ff; on the question of ballad poetry, A Momigliano, *J R S*, 1957, 104 ff (cf. *ibid*, 1958, 56 ff, on the late work *Origo Gentis Romanae* = *Secondo contributo alla storia degli studi classici*, 1960, p 69 ff, 145 ff); on the *libri lintei*, R. M. Ogilvie, *J R.S.*, 1958, 40 ff The importance of non-Roman traditions is reflected not only in the François painting from Vulci (see p 30), but in the recently found *elogium* of an Etruscan magistrate at Tarquinii (see e.g. J. Heurgon, *Mélanges de l'école fr d Rome*, 1951, 119, *Studi Etruschi*, 1955, 73) The standard collections of the fragments of the lost historians are H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*[2] (1906-1914) and F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* (Vol. III C (1958) contains the fragments of Greek historians who dealt with Rome and Italy· see pp 845–927) For Polybius we now have the first volume of F W Walbank, *Historical Commentary of Polybius*, I (1957). On Livy see P G Walsh, *Livy his Historical Aims and Methods* (1960), and for the early books see the Budé edition by J. Bayet, Tome I (Book I), 1947, etc There are valuable surveys of recent work on the Greek historians by G T Griffith and on the Roman historians by A. H McDonald in *Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship* (1954) See also A H. McDonald, 'Fifty Years of Republican History,' *Journ. Rom Stud.*, 1960, p. 135 ff

2

CHRONOLOGY

Many of the difficulties of Roman chronology derive from the long-continued absence of a generally accepted era. The main points chosen by the Romans were the foundation of the city, the first consulships, and the sack of Rome by the Gauls Attempts to establish these dates were made by two methods, either by synchronizing them with Greek Olympiads or Athenian archonships, or by standardizing the list of Roman magistrates. By the former method the foundation of Rome was set in 752 (Cato), 751–750 (Polybius and Diodorus), 748 (Fabius) or 729–728 (Cincius); the first consulship in 508–507 by Polybius and 508 by Dionysius, and the sack of Rome in 387 by Polybius and Dionysius. The list of magistrates, however, was not quite long enough to span these periods, so that various expedients were devised by Roman antiquarians Five years of anarchy (*solitudo magistratuum*) were interpolated into the period of the Licinian laws (so Livy and Fasti; Diodorus gives only one), or the same college of magistrates was repeated (those of 391–387 repeated after the Gallic invasion by Diodorus), or four years were interpolated during which dictators and masters of the horse were the chief magistrates (in 333, 324, 309, 301, Fasti) Finally, the foundation of Rome was set in 754–753 by Atticus and Varro, this date was officially accepted and so a fixed chronology could be established *ab urbe condita*. In modern times the Varronian system is generally accepted as a convenient convention and is used in this volume, thus the sack of Rome is placed in 390 rather than more accurately in 387. The year of the foundation is usually set in 753 in order to allow only the 119 years which the Capitoline Fasti establish between the first consulship and the sack of Rome.

Though the dates from the third century can be established with adequate accuracy, the Roman calendar remained confused, because the Roman year of twelve lunar months was too short and constantly got out of gear with the solar year To counterbalance this the pontiffs used to intercalate an extra month of 22 or 23 days after February every two years. But this was not satisfactory, especially during the Hannibalic War which engrossed all attention In 191 when the Roman calendar was four months in advance of the Julian (Caesarean) calendar Acilius Glabrio passed a law regarding intercalations, but this provisional remedy was inadequate. It needed the political scandals of the last century B C. and the statesmanship of Caesar to set the matter right.

See F. W. Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius* (1957), 665 ff.

3

ITALY AND EARLY ROME

(a) *The Early Population of Italy*

The widely accepted views of Pigorini and others have recently been seriously challenged They had argued that the Indo-European dialects had been brought into Italy from across the Alps by I- E speakers, first the Terramaricoli and then the Villanovans It is now clear that the Terremare settlements were of limited and local importance only (p 6), but many scholars would dissociate the Villanovans from the I -E speakers This view finds a recent champion in M Pallottino, who has rightly insisted on breaking the close interrelationship so often postulated between language, race and culture He believes that the I -E dialects reached Italy from the east across the Adriatic, and that linguistic waves pushed the earlier non-I -E languages (Ligurian and Tyrrhenian) to the west and north The first wave from the Balkan peninsula will have been proto-Latin, which he would put even before the appearance of the Bronze Age culture in Italy, i.e before 2000 B C This was followed by an Umbro-Sabellian wave, which established itself in southern central Italy where the 'Apennine' Bronze Age culture was relatively uniform (For a criticism of this wave theory, see E. Pulgram, *op cit* , *infra*, p 225 ff.) In contrast to this area, the Apulian coast, the Lipari islands, Ischia and Sicily came into contact, through trade, with the Aegean (Mycenaean) world, and a late Bronze Age culture developed in south Italy (and Lipari) which has been called 'Ausonian ' This would correspond with the region occupied by the proto-Latin wave when it had been compressed by the Umbro-Sabellian wave Further, since there was little change in racial characteristics from Neolithic times (as G Patroni believed) and no Indo-European *race*, the I -E language will have been adopted by the inhabitants, and the division of the Italic dialects will have developed *within* Italy itself Emphasis should thus be placed on formation, rather than on derivation, of peoples, we must not look for the origin of, e g , the Latins, but determine the elements which led to the formation of national units It is noteworthy, however, that even so thorough-going an exponent of these views as Pallottino does not deny that *some* I -E penetration (with cremation) may have come from the North (cf *Relazioni*, II, p 44) But since he does deny that the Villanovans were Indo-Europeans, the question arises as to what in his view they were However, before this is considered, it would be well to give a brief glance to the Apennine culture

Unlike the more settled Bronze Age peoples in the North (Terramaricoli, etc.), the people of the Apennine culture show relatively few traces of agricultural life; they were primarily a small diffused population of pastoralists who moved between semi-permanent winter settlements on lower ground (often mere caves by watercourses) and summer pastures high in the Apennines In their later development (twelfth-century), the influence of, and contact with, the more settled Terremare and 'Urnfield' elements in Emilia, may have made these semi-nomadic pastoralists somewhat more stable This Bronze Age culture seems to have developed out of the Neolithic and flourished in three areas, as far north as Bologna, a central zone, and a third from Campania to Apulia. The evidence from the tombs at two of its centres, at Rinaldone (near Viterbo) and Gauda (at Paestum), suggests an intrusion of warriors among the pre-existing 'Mediterranean' population These may well have been small armed bands from overseas (from the Aegean world), landing on the west coast (or in Apulia cf D H. Trump, *op cit*, *infra*) and have been I-E speakers (cf. Puglisi, *La Civiltà Appenninica*, 89 ff). The semi-nomadic life of the population will have helped to spread the use of this rudimentary I-E. speech, and thus Umbro-Sabellian will have developed in the central Apennines Trump has argued that the peoples of this Apennine culture were the primary and continuing factor in the composition of the Italic peoples from Lipari to the Po.

Life in early Etruria was apparently backward, even when Bronze Age people of Apennine culture arrived after 1100 B C Then followed the occupation of the country by the Villanovans with their skill in metallurgy in bronze, and their fine weapons and pottery It has recently become clear that their social organization also was relatively very advanced their settlements at Tarquinii and Veii embraced the whole sites of the later Etruscan cities Thus eighth-century Villanovan Etruria developed very easily into Etruscan Etruria Hence Pallottino and others believe that Etruscan civilization grew naturally out of Villanovan, stimulated by Oriental and Greek influences, but without serious invasion from abroad, and that both Villanovans and Etruscans spoke a non-I-E language which was derived from the pre-I-E period of Italian pre-history

Of the three main theories of Etruscan origins, the northern, the Oriental and the autochthonous, the northern now has few supporters, and the issue lies between the other two But the question is now posed with a different emphasis Less stress is laid on provenance, and more on formation, since it is clear that this occurred on Tuscan soil from eighth to sixth centuries the problem is to disentangle the various ethnic, linguistic, political and cultural elements which fused to form the historical Etruscan people or nation But while many scholars would follow Pallottino in accepting a modified form of the autochthonous theory, others still hold strongly that the Oriental and

Greek elements in Etruscan culture are best explained not by trade and similar influences but by the arrival of warriors from the East. These invaders may not have been a large and homogeneous group who exemplified all the aspects of 'Etruscan' civilization, but coming from the East they will have established control over the cultural organization of the Villanovans and gradually merged with them, and the resultant amalgam comprised the Etruscans known to history In fact it may be safer to follow those who avoid applying the word Etruscan to any culture in Italy before the seventh century, and who prefer (if a label must be found) to dub the earlier century 'proto-Etruscan' (and even so, Villanovan elements appear to have existed by themselves as late as the beginning of the seventh century, as shown by two tombs at Tarquinii).

But how far back can any 'proto-Etruscan' period be traced, or in other words what is the earliest object in Etruria that is not Italic but Oriental? The answer appears to be some grip-tongue swords and other bronze objects of East-Mediterranean origin at Populonia, of *c* 1000 B C. (see R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Proc Prehistoric Soc* , 1956, p 126 ff) In that case the pattern of development might well be that suggested by C F C Hawkes, who has recently surveyed the whole problem of archaic cultures in Etruria (*Studi Etruschi*, XXVII, 1959, p 363 ff): navigators from the East-Mediterranean visited Sicily and S. E Italy in the late twelfth and eleventh centuries in the aftermath of the confusion of the period marked by the raids of the Peoples of the Sea. From Sicily some may have passed to N.W Etruria by 1000, where throughout the tenth and ninth centuries they will have consolidated and mingled with what became the main Villanovan population, their discovery of iron and their increasing trade will have encouraged the steady infiltration of others from abroad Thus when the Greeks, after settling on Ischia and then at Cumae, wanted to advance further up the coast (mid eighth century), there was a power in Etruria sufficiently strong to keep them out, and the wielders of that power spoke Etruscan

The field for enquiry clearly is still open. One exciting new approach is that of trying to identify race from skeletal remains and in particular by the determining of blood-groups and genetical characteristics, but as yet no very definite results have been derived from this line of enquiry

See S Puglisi, *La civiltà Appenninica* (1960); C H Trump, 'The Apennine Culture,' *Proc. Prehistoric Soc* , 1958, p 165 ff., *Civiltà del Ferro* (Bologna, 1960); M. Pallottino, *The Etruscans* (1955) and 'Le origini storiche dei populi Italici' in *Relazioni*, II, of *X Congresso Internaz. di scienze storiche* (1955), C F C Hawkes, 'The origins of the archaic cultures in Etruria,' *Studi Etruschi*, XXVII, (1959) p. 363 ff ; R. Bloch, *The Etruscans* (1958); *Ciba Foundation Symposium on Medical Biology and Etruscan Origins*, edited by G. E E. Wolstenholme and

C M O'Connor (1959), J B Ward-Perkins, 'The Problem of Etruscan Origins,' *Harvard Studies in Classical Studies*, LXIV (1959); E Pulgram, *The Tongues of Italy* (1958) Many aspects of Etruscan life are discussed in *Historia* VI, Heft i (1957).

(*b*) *Early and Regal Rome*

Reassessment of the evidence from Boni's older excavations in the Forum Sepulcretum, and new archaeological evidence from the Palatine, Forum and Capitoline, make a brief note desirable, although the resultant picture may need modifying in the future The most important results have been to reveal traces of the Iron Age Palatine settlement, to suggest that parts of the Forum were inhabited in the seventh century, to indicate the period of transition from villages to city, and to illustrate life in Etruscan Rome In 1954 an early cremation grave was found on the Palatine (behind the house of Livia), which is roughly contemporary with the Iron Age settlement (perhaps *c* 800 B.C., or 750), that was revealed by the hut foundations discovered a few years earlier (p. 24), since the burial of adults was not usual within inhabited areas, this discovery points to a very early period of limited settlement. In the Forum cemetery, which these Palatine villagers shared with the inhumers of the Esquiline and Quirinal, three more cremation graves of adults (and five of children) of *c* 650 B.C have been found near the Arch of Augustus. The co-operation of these various settlements in the Septimontium may be placed fairly early in the seventh century, and the process receives striking illustration from recent discoveries at Veii, where three Villanovan cemeteries (outside three gates of the later Etruscan city) and traces of the corresponding Villanovan settlements have been found. These small agricultural communities, grouped within the circuit of a plateau, formed a clear geographic unit, and soon coalesced into the Etruscan city, the process at Rome will have been similar (cf. J. B Ward-Perkins, *Harvard Stud Class Phil*, 1959, pp 14 and 25; *Pap Brit Sch Rome*, 1959, 78)

The dates mentioned above are, however, too low in the view of H Muller-Karpe (*Vom Anfang Roms*, 1959), who argues that the earliest material from the Alban hills and Rome should be assigned to the tenth century; the Palatine settlement will have been supplemented in the ninth century with the village on the Esquiline He also refuses to identify these two settlements with Latins and Sabines respectively, believing that the funerary differences are chronological, not ethnic, in meaning In the light of his belief that the hut-urns from Rome are slightly earlier than those of northern Europe and that striking similarities can be found between them and material from the Eastern Mediterranean (as also in many other objects, as *fibulae*), he has argued for stronger Aegean influence on early Latium than has usually been suggested. It may well be some

time before archaeologists can reach general agreement on problems of this nature

Post-holes and traces of hut-foundations found near the Arch of Augustus now provide evidence for human habitation in the Forum from *c.* 660 B C This may have been partially interrupted by flooding (*c* 625), but drainage works were undertaken, and this area, which could now be extended to the lower ground near the Equus Domitiani, was occupied by hut-dwellers from *c* 625 to 575 (so E Gjerstad) Meantime the Esquiline settlement had been thriving, there is evidence of trade with Falerii, and in the later seventh century late proto-Corinthian vases were being imported Similarly material from a ritual pit (*favissa*) on the Quirinal indicates occupation throughout the seventh century Whatever the history of the earliest occupation of the Capitol, pottery from a *favissa* indicates the existence of a sanctuary there *c* 600 B.C , the precursor of an Etruscan temple About 575 B C. a sacred area and cult were established in the Forum Boarium (the discoveries made just before 1939 near the church of Sant' Omobono have not yet been adequately published), and Etruscan and Ionian vases were being imported, in the sixth century Attic wares began to come Thus by *c* 600 Rome must have contained many workers and traders, as well as farmers, and was on the way to becoming a fair-sized town

With the end of the huts in the Forum *c* 575, the unification of Rome into a city may be regarded as achieved, and under Etruscan stimulus it began to take its place alongside the other great cities of southern Etruria Recent finds include two Etruscan inscriptions on bucchero vases, one from the slopes of the Capitol, the other on the Palatine (see M Pallottino, *The Etruscans*, 1955, plate 29A), they draw attention to the presence of Etruscan-speakers in Rome in the sixth century, some of whom lived in the Vicus Tuscus at the foot of the Palatine Many terracotta antefixes which decorated temples have been found they include a beautiful female head from the northern part of the Capitol (see e.g P. J Riis, *Etruscan Art*, 1953, plate 49) Full publication of the finds in the sacred area of Sant' Omobono will reveal more evidence of the Etruscan occupation, but the most solid surviving Etruscan monument is the great stone foundation on which the Capitoline temple of wood and terracotta once stood One of the partition walls of the *cellae* was found in 1959 see Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, III, p 171

See E Gjerstad, *Early Rome*, I (1954), II (1956) and (briefly) *Amer Journ Arch* , 1951, 172 ff., R. Bloch, *The Origins of Rome* (1960), P Romanelli, etc , *Boll. di Paletnologia Italiana*, 1954–5 On Monte Mario see *Notiz d. Scavi*, 1954 (Iron Age material, eighth–seventh centuries; Etruscan settlement *c* 600–500), G Carettoni, 'Excavations in the Forum and on the Palatine during the last Fifty Years', *J R S.*, 1960, p 192 ff

Postscript Since this edition was first sent to the printer, striking news has come regarding the earliest settlement on the site of Rome. Professor Gjerstad has found evidence near S Omobono in the Forum Boarium for a Bronze Age settlement (*c* 1500 B C ?) on the site of Rome see *Early Rome*, III (1960) p 459 ff In a cult centre, which existed here from *c*. 570 (as an altar in an enclosure), Servius Tullius built two temples (to Fortuna and Mater Matuta) which were reconstructed by Camillus and were burnt in 213 B C They were rebuilt in 212 (Livy, xxv, 7), together with a fortification wall and an *agger*, in the process their platforms were raised, and earth was brought for this purpose In this earth filling Professor Gjerstad has found a considerable amount of Apennine pottery and remains of habitation Thus a Bronze Age settlement must have existed not necessarily in the Forum Boarium itself, but more probably on the slopes of one of the neighbouring hills (perhaps the Aventine). Thus seven hundred years have been added to the pre-urban history of Rome

Reference may also be made to A Boethius, *The Golden House of Nero* (1960), which despite its title deals with aspects of Roman architecture from earliest times, especially because it champions the view that regular town-planning developed late in Italy early hill-towns may have had some regard to symmetry and orientation for public buildings but little overall planning, regular town-planning in Italy will have been inspired by Greek ideas of the fifth century onwards. The history of regular town-plans, which has now long been dissociated from any supposed connection with Terramara settlements, must now apparently be dissociated from the *disciplina Etrusca*, if in fact *old* Etruscan towns were as confused as early Rome (Etruscan Marzabotto, with its regular lay-out, is of course, relatively late)

4

THE CENTURIATE ORGANIZATION

It is generally agreed that the origin of the 'centuries' was military, but widely divergent views are held as to how and when they developed P Fraccaro *Atti del. sec Congr Naz di Studi Romani*, 1931, III, pp 91–97 = *Opuscula* II (1957), 287) has offered a convincing explanation of the manner of the development, but there is still doubt about the date Three main views, which refer the 'Servian' military reform to (1) the Regal Period, (2) 445 B C, (3) c 366 B C, may be mentioned

(1) That of Fraccaro, who distinguishes three stages (*a*) The Earliest 'Romulean' army. This consisted of three contingents of 1,000 men each under a *tribunus militum*, and three contingents of 100 cavalry (*celeres*) under a *tribunus celerum*. Each of the three Romulean tribes supplied one contingent of infantry and one of cavalry Each corps of 1,000 was divided into ten centuries corresponding to the ten curiae into which each tribe was divided. The army was thus organized on the basis of the three tribes and was arranged in Thousands and centuries of which the former was the more important. (*b*) The Servian army The old army was doubled and reorganized in the Regal Period. The first three classes of the Servian classification contained eighty, twenty and twenty centuries respectively, of which half were active fighting men (*iuniores*), half older reserves (*seniores*). Thus sixty centuries of infantry of the line were formed by the first three classes and constituted one 'levy' or legion. Though differences occur in the accounts of the equipment of the classes, it is clear that the first three classes were infantry of the line with offensive and defensive armour, while the last two classes were light-armed troops with only offensive equipment (cf. Dionys, IV, 18, 1) Thus the basis of the army was radically changed: the old Thousands (and the centuries of cavalry) were abolished, but the centuries and centurions were retained. The object of this reform was to break the connection of the military organization with the old three tribes and to establish it on the basis of the new tribes. (*c*) The Republican army. This one legion was divided into two in order that each of the newly-appointed consuls might command a separate division. The two legions were formed not by raising the numbers of soldiers, but by dividing the levy into two legions, each of 3,000 men in sixty centuries. This is shown by the structural similarity of the Servian order and the later Roman legion, which still retained sixty centuries although each

century no longer contained 100 men (sixty men in the centuries of the *hastati* and *principes*, thirty for the *triarii*). Also the twenty-five Servian centuries of *velites* correspond practically to the 2,400 *velites* which were normally assigned to a legion.

(2) The view that the 'Servian' classification belongs to the middle of the fifth century B.C. In 444 military tribunes with consular power took the place of the consuls and about the same time the censorship was instituted. Nilsson (*Journ. Rom. Stud*, 1929, p. 1 ff.) connects these measures with a reorganization of the army in order to introduce a Greek hoplite system and a classification of the citizens according to their ability to provide hoplite equipment This view is supported by T. Frank (*Econ. Survey of Ancient Rome*, I, p 19 ff), who rejects the objection often alleged, that the 193 centuries of the Servian classification implies too large a number for the Servian city or for the city of 443 the population of the latter may have been 125,000 *capita libera*.

(3) The view of De Sanctis, who accepts Fraccaro's explanation of the method of reorganization (in preference to his own earlier views in *Storia dei Romani*, II), but who rejects his dating of the 'Servian' reconstruction· see *Le Origini dell' Ordinamento Centuriato* in *Riv d. Fil*, 1933, pp 289–98 De Sanctis maintains that the Servian order cannot be earlier than the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth· if it existed in the Regal Age it would imply a population of 200 inhabitants to a square kilometre, which De Sanctis rejects as impossible. He also emphasizes the improbability that Rome could put 6,000 men into the field at so early a period He distinguishes three periods of development. (*a*) The earliest of 3,000 infantry and 300 cavalry with three praetors (this accords with his theory that three praetors and not two consuls, or praetors, took the helm as the monarchy declined). (*b*) This army, based on Thousands and the old tribes and Curiae, was gradually increased. In 444 when three military tribunes took supreme control in the state, the army still contained only 3,000 men The increase in the number of these military tribunes (three or four from 426 to 406, six from 405 to 367) implies an increase in the Thousands of the army It was at this period, sometime between 405 and 367, that the new 'Servian' order was introduced, probably immediately after the Gallic sack. (*c*) In 366, when consuls were substituted for military tribunes, the legion of 6,000 men was divided into two separate legions, each under six tribunes, six were nominated by the consuls, six elected by the People. When the number of legions and tribunes was later increased the additional tribunes were elected by the people. Fraccaro's explanation of the method of transition from one to two legions is to be followed

It is impossible to enter into a detailed discussion of these views. The chief merit of De Sanctis' argument seems to be that it explains the fluctuating number of military tribunes they varied with the

number of Thousands of men levied annually. But since one of them sometimes remained in the city, their numbers may not depend strictly on the military organization. De Sanctis also implies that the 'Servian' order was introduced after the Gallic sack; it is difficult to see how this arrangement based on sixty centuries would square with the occasional appointment of seven, eight, or nine military tribunes (and De Sanctis himself rejects Beloch's elimination of the odd numbers from the Fasti as arbitrary) Again, not all De Sanctis' arguments are irrefutable For instance, if Frank's calculations are accepted, there is no objection on the score of population to placing the Servian reform early But even if these are rejected, the existence of a given number of centuries need not imply that at any given time they all contained 100 men As De Sanctis says, a century of the census must have contained two or three times more people than a century of the legionary army Is it not then possible that, accepting Fraccaro's position, the primitive Romulean centuries were doubled by 'Servius' for census purposes, that each military century formed a part only of the census century of a full 100 rather than that the census century exceeded the military century of a full 100, and that the military centuries only gradually reached a full total which would produce an infantry of the line of 6,000 men? Other objections to De Sanctis' views have been advanced by Fraccaro [1] that he and Beloch have been forced to imagine a Comitia Centuriata earlier than the 'Servian' one, of which tradition records no trace, and that if the Servian reforms had been later than the Regal Period, their chronological position would have been mentioned (e g the decemviral legislation is not referred to Romulus or Servius!)

If one more stage is marked in the development of the army, it is possible to combine part of each of the three main views. Cato uses the expression *infra classem* which implies that at one time only one class, presumably that forming the line of battle, was recognized.[2] If this stage is placed between the 'Romulean' and 'Servian' periods, i.e. in the Regal Period of Servius himself, it would help to explain why the division of the people into classes was assigned to him. The development would then be (*a*) the Romulean 3,000 infantry in thirty centuries based on Thousands, (*b*) a reform by Servius which doubled these centuries (cf De Sanctis' old view), and recruited them on a basis of wealth from the tribes (*contra* De Sanctis), the line of battle formed the class *par excellence*, the lighter-armed troops, etc. were *infra classem*, (*c*) the development of this into the 'Servian' order with its five classes and 193 centuries, the sixty centuries of the line being recruited from the first three classes of the new organization (as suggested by Fraccaro) This might be dated to *c*. 444 when the real

[1] See *Athenaeum*, 1934, pp 57–71 = *Opuscula* II, 1957 293 ff)

[2] Gellius VI (VII), 13 See Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, p. 72 ff

hoplite army was introduced, together with the military tribunes and censors (cf. Nilsson). (*d*) the division of this organization into two legions, each with 3,000 legionaries, when the consulate was restored in 366. On this view the reform of Servius, as opposed to the full 'Servian' centuriate organization of *c.* 444, consisted of the census, the creation of twenty tribes and the establishment of two divisions, the *classis* and those *infra classem*, the sixty centuries of the *classis* were recruited from the new tribes on a basis of centuries, in contrast with the Romulean Thousands of the three primitive tribes In short, if such a view be accepted, the 'Servian' reforms go back in part to the Regal Period, in part to the middle of the fifth century.

H Mattingly has argued (*J R S* , 1937, p 99 ff) that the figures for the property qualifications of the 'Servian' classes (see p 47 above) apply only to the first century B.C and that in 169 B.C they were 125,000 *asses* (sextantial *as*) for the first class, 75,000 for the second and 4,800 for the lowest; but the fact that nothing is known about the precise qualifications for membership of the classes in regal times does not demonstrate that the classes were not in existence then

Recent views on the origin and early development of the centuriate organization have been discussed by E S. Staveley (*Historia*, 1956, p 75 ff.) who is in general agreement with Fraccaro's position. G V Sumner has argued (*A J P.*, 1960, 136 ff) that Cicero *De Republica*, II, 22, 39–40 refers throughout to the Servian organization, and that the centuries numbered 195 (rather than 193)

The Reform of the Comitia Centuriata (see p. 168 above). Three main problems arise its nature, purpose and date.

Nature Mommsen's complicated view has received some support from the discovery of the Tabula Hebana, which shows that such a system *could* work (cf G Tibiletti, *Athenaeum*, 1949, p 223 ff), this document, a *rogatio* of A.D 19 in honour of Germanicus, found at Heba (Magliano) in Etruria, shows that under Augustus temporary voting groups called centuries were formed from 33 tribes in an assembly of senators and equites which took part in the electoral process for appointing consuls and praetors But that is not to say that the reformed Comitia in the third century *did* work in the way that Mommsen envisaged see E S Staveley (*Amer. Journ Phil.*, 1953, and *Historia*, 1956, p. 112 ff.) who rejects the 373 centuries, discusses recent views and argues that the co-ordination of centuries with tribes was neither confined to the first class nor extended to all five classes, but was applied in the first and second class, with the abolition of the distinction between *seniores* and *iuniores* in the second class J J Nichols and L. R Taylor (*A J P* , 1956, p 225 ff., and 1957, p. 337 ff), however, have supported Tibiletti and Mommsen's general position For a brief summary of the evidence see F W Walbank, *Hist Comm. on Polybius*, I (1957), p 683 ff

Purpose This has been regarded by many as democratic thus

Mommsen saw the hand of Flaminius behind it (cf now E Schonbauer, *Historia*, 1953–4, p 31 ff) But if this was the purpose, the result was not democratic (cf De Sanctis, III, i, p 344), since *inter alia* the *fasti* show that in the later third century the *nobilitas* strengthened rather than relaxed its hold upon affairs Thus some would argue that the reform was promoted by the nobility to restrict the influence of the wealthy trader who was enrolled in the urban tribes (so E S Staveley, *A J A*, 1953) Cf L R Taylor (*A J P*, 1957), who believes that the nobility found the tribes easier to manipulate than the centuries· hence the reform in their interest.

Date Fresh light may be afforded by an inscription from Brindisi, an *elogium* which records the achievements of someone who 'primus senatum legit et comiti[a ordinavit],' apparently in the consulship of Aemilius Barbula (and Iunius Pera) in 230; if so, the subject may be Q Fabius Maximus who was censor in 230 (cf. G Vitucci, *Riv Fil.*, 1953, p 42 ff), and the reference may be to the reform of the Comitia Centuriata. There is, however, the possibility that the subject was a local magistrate of the Latin colony of Brundisium who was concerned with the local constitution (so E. Gabba, *Athenaeum*, 1958, p 90 ff , cf T R S Broughton, *MRR*, Suppl , 1960, p 2) and that therefore the inscription has no bearing upon the Comitia at Rome

5

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC

THE traditional view of the establishment of the Republic is enshrined in a number of legends which many historians reject as worthless, but there may be a basis of fact behind the legendary accretions Tradition associates no less than five consuls with the first year of the Republic, fitting them all in by means of violent deaths or forced retirements. It is more probable that they were connected by popular legend with the birth of liberty and that subsequently their names were included in the Fasti, than that their names were originally in the early Fasti and that later legends were devised to connect them with the establishing of the Republic. It is difficult to assert, but arbitrary to deny their historicity Three names perhaps may be removed. L. Tarquinius Collatinus as a 'doublet' of the king; Sp. Lucretius because of his connection with Lucretia, P. Valerius Publicola as a reduplication of another Valerius who also held office with a Horatius in 449 B C.[1] Of the two remaining names M. Horatius Pulvillus, who consecrated the Temple of Juppiter Capitolinus built by Tarquin, may be a 'doublet' of the consul of 449, invented in order that a Republican magistrate might share the glory with the hated tyrant. But since Polybius dates the first treaty between Rome and Carthage 'in the consulship of Brutus and Horatius,' the magistracy of Horatius, if invented, was invented early. Similarly, attempts to dispose of Junius Brutus have not been totally successful. to turn him into some kind of divinity because of the similarity of his name with Juno is absurd, while the fact that the Junii were later a plebeian family, does not preclude an original patrician stock. In addition to the reduction of the five consuls to two, another point in the traditional account needs correcting· their original title probably was *praetor* (*prae-itor*, a leader; στρατηγός in Greek writers), since they called their colleagues together they were named *praetores consules*, and later, when another praetor was established to administer justice, the adjective *consules* was used as a noun to distinguish them from the new *praetor*. But though the traditional account is encrusted with legend and has been written in the light of later developments, it need not for that reason be completely rejected

Some historians,[2] however, reject the story of the sudden fall of

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[1] The legends connected with Valerius were designed partly to explain the name Publicola and partly to glorify the Valerian *gens* which later numbered among its members a very unreliable annalist, Valerius Antias.

[2] e.g. De Sanctis, I, ch xi, E Kornemann, *Klio*, 1914, p 190 ff

Tarquin and believe that the power of the kings declined gradually as at Athens The title *rex*, like *βασιλεύς*, survived in the person of a priest-king (*rex sacrorum*), but his power was limited by the creation of three praetors who originally commanded the three military contingents of the Ramnes, Tities and Luceres Their duties were gradually differentiated and the one left in Rome to administer justice sank to an inferior position, on this view, the traditional account of the creation of the praetorship in 366 arose from the fact that the names of the third 'praetors' were first recorded from then onwards. Such a theory, which cuts clean across all that the Romans themselves firmly believed about the fall of the monarchy, does not win a ready acceptance

Other historians turn to Etruria and Italy rather than to Greece to illuminate Rome's constitutional development, but their contribution is not conclusive On the analogy of the Etruscan magistrate called *zilath* (translated into Latin as *dictator*) and of the dictator who was the chief magistrate in such Latin cities as Aricia and Lanuvium, it has been suggested that the earliest magistrate at Rome was the dictator, whose original title was *magister populi*, together with his subordinate, the *magister equitum* This view, although solving some difficulties, totally contradicts the tradition that the Roman dictatorship was an extra-ordinary non-annual magistracy In Etruria a regular sequence of office (*cursus honorum*) may have been established when the monarchy gave place to the local aristocracy, while among the Italian peoples a magistracy was shared by more than one person. The Umbrians had two Marones, the Sabines eight Octovirs, and the Oscans two Meddices But it is not certain whether any of these groups represent the principle of collegiality possibly the first pair of Octovirs had equal authority, nothing is known of the Marones, while the Oscans definitely had a Meddix Tuticus and a Lesser Meddix Thus it cannot be ascertained whether the Romans borrowed or invented the principle of two collegiate magistrates, and the comparative study of other institutions has hardly produced results sufficiently conclusive to justify the rejection of what the Romans believed concerning the nature of their earliest magistracy

Many scholars, who reject the main basis of what the Romans themselves believed about the end of the monarchy and the establishment of the consulship, have been very active in recent years in advancing their own reconstructions, but despite great ingenuity they are far from having produced a coherent picture In fact their results are so widely diversified that they may appear to demand a much greater degree of credulity than does the acceptance of the Roman tradition in its essentials For instance, K Hanell (*Das altrömische eponyme Amt*, 1946), has argued that the Romans were wrong in linking the establishment of the Republic with that of the eponymous magistracy; the latter might have existed under the monarchy, and in

Hanell's view it came into being at the same time as the adoption of the pre-Julian calendar which is to be associated with the foundation of the Capitoline temple These eponymous magistrates will have been *praetores maximi*, since praetors and dictators are postulated in the regal period as helpers and deputies respectively of the king, such conditions prevailed until the Decemvirate, when the monarchy ended. This ingenious attempt to support the evolutionary theory (cf. De Sanctis, above) has not been widely accepted, even by other scholars who are discontented with the traditional account These, although ready to accept that the end of the monarchy was sudden and revolutionary, are not willing to believe that the dual consulship was devised suddenly in 509 as an anti-monarchical safeguard it will have resulted from an evolutionary process, and prototypes of the consuls will have been, e.g , two auxiliaries of the king, legionary commanders called praetors (so A. Bernardi, *Athenaeum*, 1952, 24 ff.). Other scholars have assumed a period between the monarchy and the appearance of magistrates with *par potestas*, when one magistrate, or a college of magistrates in which one predominated, exercised control, e.g. a *praetor maximus* Further, many scholars have tried to show that dictators or *magistri populi* existed under the monarchy. These various theories have been mentioned to give some indication of the direction of recent enquiries, rather than to suggest their success Any who wish to pursue the problems further will find a most useful guide to the recent literature, together with a sane and balanced criticism of it, in E. S. Staveley, 'The Constitution of the Roman Republic, 1940–1954,' *Historia*, V (1956), 74–122, especially 90 ff.

One further matter, however, must be mentioned The recent archaeological investigations in the Forum and elsewhere suggest that there was a definite cultural change in Rome's development *c.* 475 B.C. (the importation of Attic vases ceases, and architectural terracottas disappear), when Rome will have again become a small Latin city, but there is no suggestion of any such break *c.* 510. Now the distinguished Swedish archaeologist, E Gjerstad, to whose stratigraphical work this conclusion is largely due, has tried to link this cultural break to the literary tradition; this he has done by scaling down the traditional dates of the Etruscan kings and by following his compatriot K. Hanell in putting the end of the monarchy well into the fifth century (with Servius Tullius and his *agger* in the early part of the fifth century) This attempt to find indication of constitutional change in archaeological strata, and to correlate the two strands of evidence, may seem to do too much violence to the literary tradition (cf A von Gerkan, *Rhein Museum*, 1957, 82 ff) It might be that the cultural decline after the fall of the monarchy was more gradual than has sometimes been supposed, especially in view of the number of new cults that appear between

500 and 484 (temples to Saturn in 496, Mercury in 495, Ceres, Liber and Libera in 493, and Castor and Pollux in 484) The weight of this evidence has led R Bloch to argue that after the expulsion of Tarquin and the end of the monarchy, not all Etruscan leaders left Rome but some continued to support the plebeians against the Latin landed proprietors (even helping some plebeian leaders to the consulship); when the Etruscans finally left *c* 475, the patricians reacted violently (see *Revue des Études lat* XXXVII, 1959, 118 ff). Whether all the implications of this view be accepted or not, the fall of Tarquin may well have been followed by a decade or two which could be called 'sub-Etruscan,' marked by the activities of men like Porsenna This transitionary period will have been a small reflection of the wider time of change when Etruscan power in Latium and Campania was weakening and the control of many Etruscan cities was passing from kings to oligarchies.

6

THE VALERIO-HORATIAN LAWS

ACCORDING to Livy (III, 55) the Leges Valeriae-Horatiae (1) restored the right to appeal, (2) gave *plebiscita* the force of law, (3) reaffirmed the sacrosanctity of the tribunes. Of these, the most controversial is the second measure, because if it were true it would have given the plebs legal power to realize their aims and to end the Struggle. Livy's words are 'ut quod tributim plebs iussisset, populum teneret' (III, 55), i e what was voted by the plebs should be binding on the whole people But he also says that the law of Publilius Philo of 339 B.C. laid it down 'ut plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent' (VIII, 12), while according to Gellius (XV, 27) the Lex Hortensia of 287 decreed 'ut eo iure, quod plebs statuisset, omnes Quirites tenerentur'. that is, the same law was enacted three times. Many of the theories evolved to meet the difficulty are scarcely tenable Clearly such an important law would not have continually fallen into disuse so as to require re-enacting, nor is it practical to suppose that the plebs gained power in some matters in 445, in others in 339, and in all in 287 Another suggestion is that some limiting conditions may have been omitted, for instance, that the plebs might pass resolutions which could go before the Comitia Centuriata if first approved by the Senate, that the *auctoritas patrum* was dispensed with in 339, and that in 287 reference to the Comitia was made unnecessary. According to Mommsen Livy mistook his authority and *populus* is meant instead of *plebs*, the reference then is not to the Concilium Plebis but to the Comitia Tributa which he supposes was established in 449 Since there is no evidence for any of these views De Sanctis and others regard the law of 449 as a quite unhistorical anticipation of the later law. The objection to this last view, which is by far the simplest, is that certain important laws (the Lex Canuleia of 445, the Licinio-Sextian rogations of 367 and the Leges Genuciae of 342) were passed by the plebs before 339 B C It has therefore been suggested[1] that a law of 449 did give validity to *plebiscita*, which the patricians long contended were not binding on them because enacted without their consent, and disregarded *de facto*. It is also possible that no law was passed in 449 to this effect, but that the plebs asserted their right to issue binding laws and that the other authorities were forced by circumstances to pass through the usual channels the subsequent legislation which had originated with the expressed will of the People in that case later historians might regard the measures as legally binding *plebiscita*,

[1] By Sir H Stuart Jones, *Cambr Anc Hist*, VII, p. 484

when in fact they were only resolutions of the People which were made law by the whole state, that is, they were not laws *per se.*

Of the other laws mentioned by Livy, the right of appeal is said already to have been restored by the Twelve Tables, its inclusion in the Leges Valeriae-Horatiae may be an anticipation of the Lex Valeria of 300. If it was further enacted that no magistracy should be created which was not subject to appeal, the dictatorship was probably exempt from this limitation The third law according to Livy was that the *caput* of any man who harmed the tribunes or aediles should be devoted to the gods and his goods confiscated This view, which affirms the sacrosanctity of the plebeian officers in law, may derive from a tradition designed to explain away the revolutionary character of the tribunate Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the tribune's rights, which hitherto had been based on a *lex sacrata* sworn by the plebs, were now confirmed by law Diodorus records that one of the provisions of the Valerio-Horatian laws was that ten tribunes should be chosen annually to guard the liberty of the citizens [1] Though he is obviously wrong in supposing the tribunes were first created in 449 (he has indeed already referred to their existence in 471) and though the date when their number was raised to ten was probably unknown to the Romans themselves, he may be right in supposing that the patricians in 449 first recognized in law the tribunate which they had long been forced to recognize in fact This would help to explain why the Valerio-Horatian laws were regarded as a mile-stone on the plebeian advance to success. Otherwise, especially for those who reject the view that they legalized *plebiscita*, their importance would seem obscure Such a concession may well have been won as the result of a secession.[2]

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[1] XII, 25 He adds that one of the consuls must be a plebeian and that the tribunes on pain of being burnt alive must appoint their successors before going out of office The former clause is an anticipation of fourth-century conditions, the latter is a plebeian agreement, not a legal pact between plebeians and patricians

[2] See further A. G. Roos, *Comitia Tributa-Concilium Plebis, Leges-Plebiscita* (Amsterdam, 1940), on which cf. F. E Adcock, *J R S*, 1946, p 195 ff E S Staveley (*Athenaeum*, 1955, p. 3 ff.) has argued that in 449 all measures carried by a tribal system of vote, i.e., *plebiscita* in the Concilium Plebis and *leges* in the Comitia Populi Tributa, were made valid, subject only to the *auctoritas patrum*, and that this patrician right to veto legislation was cancelled in regard to (i) the Comitia Tributa by the lex Publilia of 339, and (ii) the Concilium Plebis by the lex Hortensia of 287. He believes, however (*Historia*, 1955, 412 ff), that the right of *provocatio* was not granted in 509, and although its possible use was conceded in the Twelve Tables by the patricians to check indiscriminate use of tribunician *ius auxilii*, no magistrate was *compelled* to grant an appeal against his *coercitio* until the lex Valeria of 300 B C

7

THE EARLY TREATIES BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE

The contents of the treaties between Rome and Carthage before the First Punic War have been briefly summarized above (p. 187); but their date and number is a matter of great dispute. Polybius (III, 22 ff.) quotes three and declares that there were only three: these may be called P1, P2 and P3 P1 is dated 508–507, P2 is undated, P3 belongs to the Pyrrhic War in 279–278. Polybius also rejects as false the statement of the pro-Carthaginian Sicilian historian Philinus that there was another treaty which forbade the Romans to enter Sicily and the Carthaginians Italy. Diodorus (XVI, 69) gives only one treaty before that of 279, this he said was the first treaty. According to his chronological system it is placed in 344–343, although this may perhaps be corrected to 348. Livy records a treaty in 348, the fact of a Punic embassy at Rome in 343, another treaty in 306 and again in 279.

The first main problem is the date of P1. The Polybian date of 508 is defended concisely by H Last (*Cambr Anc. Hist*, VII, p. 859 ff.) The conditions implied by the treaty and their considerable difference from those of P2, as well as the archaic language of the treaty (Polybius says that Roman scholars found it difficult to decipher), point to the sixth-century date If this is accepted, P2 may be dated in 348 in accordance with Livy's first treaty.

Many scholars, however, reject the early date and place P1 in 348. In that case P2 is placed either in 343 (on the assumption that the Carthaginian ambassadors received a treaty in return for their complimentary gift of a golden crown weighing 25 lb) or in 306 (on the assumption that conditions had not altered sufficiently between 348 and 343 to justify a fresh treaty) However, the situation in Italy after 310 militates against placing P2 in the last decade of the fourth century The date of P3 is not disputed.

The second main problem is whether Polybius' statement that there were only three treaties must be accepted and whether his denial of the treaty recorded by Philinus is valid. Both these points, together with condition of the Roman state archives, their accessibility, completeness and reliability, are ably discussed by M. Cary ('A Forgotten Treaty between Rome and Carthage,' *Journ Rom Stud.* 1919, pp. 67–77) who makes out a very strong case for accepting the Philinus treaty and placing it in 306, (P1 is then assigned to 348 and P2 to 343). It is shown that Polybius probably had no first-hand

acquaintance with the Roman archives and that these would hardly contain a complete collection of Rome's past treaties. The Philinus treaty is also mentioned by Servius (*ad Aen*, IV, 628) who probably follows a tradition independent of Philinus Further, the treaty of 279 implies that certain barriers existed which precluded the Carthaginians from landing in Italy and the Romans from crossing to Sicily, it thus confirms the existence of an earlier treaty which put these territories out of bounds. Polybius denied its existence, but then his pro-Roman sources had good reason to overlook it The ban may have been military and political rather than commercial· compare the Ebro treaty which forbade the Carthaginians to cross the Ebro, but only *ἐπὶ πολέμῳ* (Pol, III, 30, 3). M. Cary, however, is now more sceptical about the Philinus treaty (*A History of Rome*, ch xii, n 8) and is inclined to follow F Schachermeyr (*Rheinisches Museum*, 1930, p. 350 ff.), who believes it is a misunderstanding of the pact of 279 which he assumes to have been a 'gentlemen's agreement'· the Carthaginians received an informal assurance of a free hand in Sicily

It is impossible here to enter into details or to refer to all modern theories, e.g. the elaborate suggestion of A. Piganiol, (*Musée belge*, 1923, pp 177–88) that Polybius has inverted the order of the first two treaties and that P2 belongs to 348 and P1 to *circa* 327. The present writer is inclined to accept the Philinus treaty of 306, but to place P2 in 348 and P1 in 508 Once it is admitted that the number of treaties has not been irrevocably fixed by Polybius' *ex cathedra* statement, it is impossible to determine the precise number. It is probable that Carthage had treaties with Etruscan Rome and would seek to maintain relations with the new Republic If it is thought that the phrase 'quarto renovatum' which Livy applies to 279 means literally '*renewed* a fourth time,' then a treaty may well be placed in 343, making five in all· in 508, 348, 343, 306 and 279 But more important than the precise number is the fact that the early treaties were commercial, and the last two political

R. L. Beaumont (*J R.S.*, 1939, p 74 ff.) has argued in support of 508 for P1 which he believes, in the light of his interpretation of Polybius' *καλὸν ἀκρωτήριον*, forbade the Romans to sail southward of Carthage, but did not interdict the west (which was done in P2)

See now F W. Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius* (1957), pp 337–355. Also A Aymard, *Rev. Ét Anc*, 1957 (P 1 and 2, fourth century), G. Nenci, *Historia*, 1958, F Hampl, *Rhein Mus*, 1958 (P 1, 348).

8

HANNIBAL IN ITALY, METAURUS AND ZAMA

THE first three years of the Hannibalic War have provoked much discussion. They are fully documented, for we have Polybius' account as well as Livy's, which in part derives, directly or through an intermediary, from it. Unfortunately these two accounts, which in places supplement each other, often conflict. Hence there has arisen a large modern literature dealing with the problems, both literary and topographical, stimulated in part by the intrinsic interest of the details of the campaigns themselves which reveal the mind of one of the world's greatest soldiers. All that can be attempted here is to mention a few of the problems and put the reader on the track of modern discussions. The bibliography of the *Cambr. Anc. Hist.* will be a standby to all, while Kromayer-Veith's *Schlachten-Atlas* is invaluable both for the clearness of its maps and plans and its brief descriptions which summarize and bring up to date their earlier monumental work, *Antike Schlachtfelder*, III, (1912). Some of these maps are conveniently reproduced in the *Loeb* edition of Livy. F W Walbank, *Historical Commentary on Polybius*, I (1957), is indispensable for 218–216

Hannibal crosses the Alps For a discussion and summary of modern views, see respectively De Sanctis, III, ii, pp 65–83, and Kromayer's *Atlas*, col. 13 It will be sufficient to name the more probable passes and their advocates (cf. the bibliographies of De Sanctis and *Cambr. Anc Hist*, VIII, p. 725) (1) Little St. Bernard. Niebuhr, Mommsen, Lehmann, Viedebantt (2) Mt. Cenis Napoleon, Osiander, with the variant of Col du Clapier Azan, Colin, Wilkinson. (3) Mt Genèvre Neumann, Fuchs, Marindin, De Sanctis; with the variant of Col de Malaure Bonus. (4) Monte Viso (Monviso: Col d'Argentière and variants). Freshfield (See further, p 440)

Trebia. Scipio's movements after Ticinus have caused much difficulty, partly owing to Livy's inferior account which places the battle on the right of the river. The account given in the text follows De Sanctis and Kromayer. When Scipio had recrossed the Po (presumably at Placentia, according to Lehmann, *Hist Zeitschr*, 1916, p. 101 ff., a little further west, and according to Fuchs near Pavia) he camped *περὶ πόλιν Πλακεντίαν* (Pol., III, 66, 9) on the east or west of the Trebia? Topography and strategy suggest on the west; i e. the left bank, some way off at Stradella; Lehmann and Fuchs place the camp nearer Placentia at Rottofreno, but this is in the open plain. The old view of Grundy (*Journ Phil*, 1896, p 88; *Class Rev.*, 1896, p. 284) though rejected by later critics (e.g. Kromayer) has been revived by Beloch ('Die Schlacht a d. Trebia,' *Hist. Zeitschr.*, 1915),

who places Scipio's camp on the east bank of the Trebia. This view alters the whole topography of the battle which followed; according to it, after the desertion of his allies Scipio then withdrew and camped on the left of the river, while Hannibal encamped on the right and the battle was fought on the right bank. Scipio's retreat over the Trebia becomes, on this theory, an advance, while Beloch even regards it as a doublet of his retreat after the battle of Ticinus. The view has been rejected by De Sanctis, Lehmann, and Kromayer, and the old view that Scipio camped with Sempronius on the right, Hannibal on the left bank and that the battle was fought on the left bank also may be retained Laqueur's theories (*Polybius*, p. 99) are not happy, see De Sanctis' criticism (p 98). Tenney Frank (*Journ Rom. Stud.*, 1919, p 202 ff) believes that Placentia before it was refounded in 190 was near Stradella a theory which solves many difficulties, but is supported by no evidence. It may be added that Livy (XXI, 57–59) gives a long account of campaigning during the winter, but this may safely be rejected as reduplication

Hannibal crosses the Apennines. The route suggested in the text is supported by Kromayer (*Schlachtfelder*, III, pp. 104–47) and De Sanctis (III, ii, pp. 104–9). It involves the supposition that there were then marshes between Pistoia and Florence, which is highly probable The four days mentioned by Polybius present a difficulty, which is not insuperable Routes further north and west are too long and too near the sea and would lead through marshes which were impassable for ancient armies before the land was drained, routes further east were not marshy and would bring Hannibal too near Flaminius at Arretium. The marshes were probably subject to flood, and Veith refers to similar conditions suffered by the Austrians at Muzakja in Albania in the winters of 1916–18

Trasimene The various hypotheses suggested for the actual site of the battle all agree that it was on the north shore of Trasimene; but various positions are chosen. (1) Borghetto-Passignano This view has been adopted in the above text see Fuchs (*Wien Stud.*, 1904, p 134), Pareti (*Riv di Fil*, 1912, p 383), De Sanctis (p 109) and Hallward (*Cambr. Anc. Hist*). (2) Passignano-Monte Colognola· here the mountains are much nearer the sea. The view of Henderson (*Journ Phil* , 1897; 1899), Kromayer and Walbank, criticized by De Sanctis (3) Borghetto-Tuoro, a very confined space—see Grundy (*Journ Phil.*, 1896, p. 83, 1897, p. 273), Reuss (*Klio*, 1906, p. 226), M Caspari (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, 1910, p. 417). (4) Up the river Sanguineto This improbable view presupposes that Flaminius was not surprised on the march by Hannibal, but saw the enemy above the Sanguineto and advanced against him in battle formation—see Sadée (Klio, 1909, p. 48) and Lehmann (*Jahresber d phil. Vereins Berlin*, 1915, p. 81)

Cannae Few battles of the ancient world have provoked more discussion than Cannae. As regards the battlefield, two main solutions

are offered. (1) It lay on the north, i.e left bank of the Aufidus, with the Romans facing roughly east and the Carthaginians west This is the view of Delbruck, De Sanctis and Hallward An improbable variant, with the armies almost north and south, was proposed by Lehmann (*Klio*, 1917, p. 162), though later retracted (*Klio*, 1930, p. 71) Judeich (*Hist Zeitschr.*, 1927, p. 1) places the armies facing north-west and south-east, criticized by Kromayer (*Schlachtfeld* , IV, p 611). (2) It lay on the south bank, i e the right This school falls into two divisions (*a*) those who place the battle to the west of Cannae, with the armies facing very roughly north and south; this view is very improbable It is proposed with individual variations by Arnold, Hesselbarth and Reusch (who alters the course of Aufidus) and recently by Lehmann in his recantation (*Klio*, 1930). (*b*) those who place the battle east of Cannae with the Romans backing the sea some three miles distant. This view, adopted in the text above, is that of Kromayer (proposed in *Schlachtfeld* , III, and defended in IV, and *Atlas*), Kahrstedt, Cornelius, etc The discovery of a large cemetery south of the Aufidus (*Arch. Anzeiger*, 1938, p 717, M Gervasio, *Iapigia*, IX) seemed to have established that the battle was fought on the south bank, but these burials may be medieval (see H H Scullard, *Historia*, 1955, p 474 f; F. Bertocchi, *Rendic Ac. d Lincei*, xv, p 337) For full discussions of Cannae, see especially Kromayer, De Sanctis and Walbank *Polybius*, 435 ff Cornelius' *Cannae; das militarische u das literarische Problem* (*Klio*, Beiheft XXVI, 1932) contains much of interest, but his main contention is untenable· namely, that in the Polybian account the Romans broke through the Gallic-Spanish line and were caught behind that line by the Africans held in reserve. The Gallic line bent but did not break, nor were the Africans a reserve

Metaurus. The battlefield is uncertain and the fixing of it affects the strategy attributed to Hasdrubal Two main theories may be distinguished. (*a*) the Romans camped near Fanum Fortunae (Fano) and the battle was fought on the north of the Metaurus, then Hasdrubal's march by night was an attempt to reach central Italy, (*b*) the Romans and Carthaginians camped near Sena Gallica (Senigallia) and the battle was fought south of the Metaurus, in this case Hasdrubal's march was a retreat either to North Italy or to reach a defensive position beyond the Metaurus. A third solution, that of Kahrstedt, seeks to cut the Gordian knot by rejecting the night march as an annalistic invention, the battle would then have been fought near the camps, but this is very improbable. Of the two main views the first has been adopted in the above text. The chief objection to it is that Livy places the camps at Sena, but this hardly excludes the district around Sena. It is impossible here to enter into the controversy, but the main exponents may be listed (for details see the bibliographies in Kromayer-Veith, *Schlachtfelder*, III, p. 424 ff., and *Cambr. Anc.*

Hist, VIII) (*a*) North of Metaurus, moving westwards from Fano Vaudoncourt (La Lucrezia), De Sanctis (M. Sterpeti), Lehmann (Calmazzo), Tarducci (San Silvestro). (*b*) South of Metaurus. Pitalluga and Oehler and with slight variations Kromayer (San Angelo), Bottini-Massa (Cerasa), Marcolini (M. Maggiore) and recently in two pamphlets, G Rossi (Montebello) to which A. Bianchini has replied (Tombacchia and Vago Colle) Cf G. Buroni, *Le diverse tesi sulla battaglia del Metauro* (1953).

Zama. The decisive battle of the Hannibalic War, traditionally known as Zama, has more recently been dubbed Naraggara (e.g. by De Sanctis) or Margaron (by Veith), although this is only to exchange one uncertainty for another The ancient accounts of the battle bristle with difficulties regarding the topography, strategy, tactics, numbers, chronology, etc. The account given in the text is based on the present writer's views as expressed in *Scipio Africanus*. For a criticism of some of these views, cf. P. Fraccaro (*Athenaeum*, IX, 1931, pp 428–38) who would seem to smooth over the difficulties in Polybius' account somewhat too easily. Two traditions are extant, the better one of Polybius and Livy, the inferior one of Appian and Dio, the latter finds an advocate in Saumagne In matters of strategy and tactics it is not chiefly the facts which are questioned, but the motives of the leaders Polybius' authority must be final in questions of fact, but it appears legitimate to assign motives from the data which he gives when he does not do so himself, or even to suppose that the motives he does supply may be wrong—for his account presents difficulties and contradictions which necessitate some criticism. The account given above adheres closely to Polybius in facts and attempts to avoid the supposition of a gap in the present text of Polybius (as Veith) or an alteration in his order of the movements in the battle (as De Sanctis).

To discuss any of the difficulties would unduly extend this note. But it may be mentioned that there was more than one Zama in north Africa in antiquity, one perhaps lay at Sidi Abd el Djedidi in the east, and one or two more at Jama and Seba Biar in the west (possibly these last two, Zama Major and Zama Regia, were one and the same).[1] The western Zama was the place where Hannibal encamped, but not the site of the battle. Similarly, Scipio camped at Naraggara (Livy, Polybius gives Margaron, which is otherwise unknown) but no suitable battlefield can be found there. The most probable site is that suggested by Veith (*Schlachten Atlas*, col 40; *Schlachtfelder*, IV, p. 626 ff.) in the

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[1] Ksar Toual Zouameul, 4½ miles east of Seba Biar, where Ch. Saumagne had thought to locate Zama Regia (see *Revue archéologique*, XX, 1942–3, p. 178), has now been explored by L Déroche, who identifies Ksar Toual with Vicus Maracitanus and believes that Zama Regia must still be identified with Jama or Seba Biar, the latter being slightly more probable (see *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1948, p 55 ff.)

plain of Draa-el-Metnan some eight miles from El Kef and about half-way between Naraggara and Zama (Seba Biar). A visit to this site has confirmed the present writer in his belief in its suitability on physical as well as on literary grounds. Most of the modern literature on the subject is criticized by Veith, *Schlachtfelder*, III, p. 599 ff. (1912), and IV, p. 626 ff. (1931), although, curiously the latter neglects the detailed and valuable account of De Sanctis, III, ii, pp. 549–55; 583–616. See further F. G. Moore, *Loeb Livy*, vol VIII, p 543

Hannibal crosses the Alps (continued from p. 436).

More recent work is listed and discussed by F W. Walbank, *Hist Comm. on Polybius*, I (1957), 382 ff. The views of Sir Gavin de Beer (*Alps and Elephants*, 1955), more ingenious than convincing, are discussed critically by Walbank (*J R S.*, 1956) and A H McDonald (*Alpine Journal*, 1956) E Meyer (*Museum Helveticum*, 1958, 227 ff) argues for the Col du Clapier.

9

THE CAUSES OF THE SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR

THE theory of M Holleaux (that the effective cause of the war was the Senate's sudden realization of the threat of Philip and Antiochus which was revealed when the Pergamene and Rhodian envoys reported the kings' pact at Rome see above, p. 234 ff.) has more recently received powerful support from G. T Griffith (*Cambr. Hist Journ*, 1935), A H. McDonald and F. W. Walbank (*Journ Rom. Stud*, 1937) and F. W. Walbank (*Philip V*). One weakness in Holleaux' view that Rome was frightened into preventative action is that Philip was relatively weak, but G. T. Griffith has demonstrated that Philip's action in rebuilding his fleet, with which he gained Caria and the Rhodian Peraea and defeated the Rhodians at Lade and again technically at Chios, might well seem a direct threat to Rome and to foreshadow the possibility of a Syro-Macedonian invasion of Italy.

The attempt of D Magie (*Journ. Rom. Stud*, 1939, p. 32 ff) to reject the Syro-Macedonian pact as a fabrication of Rhodian propaganda, designed to frighten Rome, which deceived both Rome and Polybius, is not completely convincing In any case the report of the pact, whether it was fact or fiction, will have had the same effect on the Senate and have played the same part in precipitating Roman intervention

Another difficult question is that of the influence of Athens on Roman policy The view of E Bickermann (*Rev Phil.*, 1935, p 59 ff, 161 ff; cf also D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, p. 744 ff) that the Peace of Phoenice was a *κοινὴ εἰρήνη* which included Athens and that therefore Philip's subsequent attack on Athens involved Rome in a legal obligation to aid Athens since Rome had guaranteed the security of all the signatories, has been rejected by J. A. O. Larsen (*Class. Phil.*, 1937, p. 15 ff.) and McDonald and Walbank (*op. cit*). The view in the Livian tradition (e g Livy, XXXI, 1, 10) that Athens appealed directly to Rome for help *before* the summer of 200 (which De Sanctis attempted to defend against the criticisms of Holleaux see the first edition of this book, p. 463 f.) may be rejected (see F W. Walbank *Philip V*, p. 311 ff.). In any case such an appeal would not have affected the legal aspect of Roman diplomacy, though it might have influenced Roman sentiment. New light, however, has been thrown upon an Athenian appeal *during* the summer of 200 by the publication of a decree in honour of the Athenian statesman and ambassador, Cephisodorus (see B D Meritt, *Hesperia*, 1936, p. 419 ff and A H McDonald, *op. cit.* 198 ff. Cf. Pausanias, I, 36, 5). If Cephisodorus

reached Rome just before the second meeting of the Comitia (McDonald believes that it was just after, but despite Livy, XXXI, 9, 1 the evidence hardly seems conclusive), his appeal, while not affecting the legal aspect of Rome's procedure, would have afforded the Senate an additional argument with which to persuade the People to declare war; at the same time it would help to explain the impression which the Athenian appeal made on the later annalistic tradition.

The Livian tradition concerning Rome and Macedon in the years 205–200 has been generally rejected since the attack made upon it by Holleaux, but it has recently found a champion in J P. V D Balsdon (*J R S* , 1954, p 30 ff), who argues for its general reliability Thus he accepts the Athenian complaints lodged at Rome as a factor in inducing the Romans to go to war, and also Livy's account of a Roman embassy to Greece in 203 to investigate complaints against Philip's alleged marauding in Greece since 205 (on this also cf *Class Qu* , 1953, 162 ff. But S. I Oost, *Cl Ph* , 1959, p 159 ff , argues against any infringement of the Peace of Phoenice by Philip) Balsdon's general interpretation, except as regards Athens, has not been accepted by E. Badian (*Foreign Clientelae* (1958), 62 ff., cf 63 n 3), who is inclined (*Latomus*, 1958, 208 ff.) to reject even the account of the Roman rebuff to the Aetolian embassy (see p 231 n 1, above) on the ground that Livy, XXXI, 29, 4, is, in his view, annalistic and not Polybian But like Balsdon, Badian believes that the Romans did not abandon all interest in Greece after the Peace of Phoenice, and he finds the key to Roman policy in the Illyrian situation Senators, who knew Greece, would realize that 'Illyria would only be safe when Macedon had been humbled' (*Foreign Client* , 66) Rome's ultimatum was designed to this end, which would be achieved either peacefully if Philip accepted or by war if Philip rejected it. Without legal justification Rome extended her traditional practice, took her new Greek 'friends' under her protection, and delivered the ultimatum on their behalf, but in order to secure her own purpose which was conditioned by fear and hatred of Philip

Beatrice Ferro ('Le Origini della II guerra Macedonica,' *Atti dell' Accademia di sc. lett e arti di Palermo*, XIX, 1958–9, publ 1960, pp 1–156) has argued for the following order of events battle of Lade, Philip's move against Pergamum, Attalus' hostility, battle of Chios. Thus Attalus was not technically an aggressor, and did not declare war on Philip until his kingdom was invaded. Philip's attack on Pergamum could therefore offer the Romans a *casus belli* (on the assumption that Attalus was an ally), though Rome's motives in going to war were naturally deeper than the mere desire to help Attalus

10

ROME AND THE AUTONOMY OF GREEK CITIES

WHEN the Romans based their policy of intervention in Greece upon a proclamation of 'freedom' for the Greek cities (cf. pp 240 ff., 244 f), they were using a word with a long and somewhat ambiguous history. Freedom or autonomy had been a catchword of the kings who succeeded Alexander the Great. Although in theory it meant complete sovereignty (and in practice it sometimes did, as at Rhodes), it often in fact involved only a privileged status granted to cities by kings rather than real independence Theoretically it involved the continuance of the city's constitution, the absence of a garrison and immunity from regular taxation, but in practice it generally fell short of such concessions (cf e.g. 'those of the autonomous cities which formerly paid tribute to Antiochus,' Polyb , XXI, 46) It was this royal conception of freedom in the main that Rome adopted *vis-à-vis* the cities of the Hellenistic world (cf. A H. M Jones, *Anatolian Studies presented to W. H. Buckler*, 103 ff).

That intervention on the principle of autonomy was justified was not denied by e g Philip of Macedon. At a meeting of the Achaean League (200–199) he counter-attacked Roman charges not by refusing to admit the validity of such intervention in principle, but by asserting that the Romans had no right to act upon such a principle in view of their treatment of the Italian Confederacy, especially of Rhegium, Tarentum and Capua To this charge the Roman envoy put up a spirited reply (see Livy, XXXI, 29–31).

Rome's claim to extend this principle to the Greek cities of Asia Minor (cf p. 248) was complicated by the fact that so many of these cities had at one time or another been subjected to foreign conquerors (e g Persia) and had temporarily been robbed of their freedom, in particular the political relationship of these autonomous cities to the kings of Syria has formed the subject of much discussion Their status of freedom has sometimes been interpreted as a grant dependent upon the unilateral act of the monarch, and hence revocable and to be renewed at each accession it was based on the conqueror's right to dispose of 'territory won by the spear' (cf E Bickermann, *Institutions des Séleucides*, 106 f , 133 f., *Hermes*, LXVII, 50 ff , M Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Econ Hist. of Hellenistic World*, e g. 153, 525–30, 1343 n. 15, 1347 n 25) The view of E Bickermann (*Rev. ét. gr* , 1934, 346) that Alexander as conqueror of Asia arbitrarily gave autonomy to the Greek cities of Asia Minor has been refuted by W W Tarn (*Alexander the Great*, II (1948), 199 ff.), who shows that Alexander treated them

as free allies and restored their original freedom which *de iure* they had never lost (these cities were not parties to the Peace of Antalcidas); he merely removed the obstacle of Persian rule and thus allowed the exercise of free rights which were still there. Those who accept this view will be less ready to follow Bickermann in his belief that Antiochus III laid claim to the possession of the Greek cities by right of conquest since they had formed part of the empire of Lysimachus. Rather, their independence which had been recognized by Alexander was confirmed by Antiochus I when he declared all Greek cities 'free, autonomous and ungarrisoned' This was the policy of Alexander's successors, pursued in however an opportunist spirit, until it was abandoned by Antiochus III when he started on a career of active aggression (cf D Magie, *The Greek Political Experience*, 174 ff , *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, p. 825 ff.). But theory and practice often varied, and although 'there certainly was a difference between genuine freedom (independence) and bogus freedom (under royal protection), it depended on the *de facto* situation, and I question whether the kings ever gave it precise legal formulation—it was to their interest to maintain the ambiguity of the term ἐλευθερία' (A H M. Jones, *The Greek City*, p. 315 n 8).

E Badian (*Foreign Clientelae*, 69 ff) has argued that 'freedom for the Greeks' is not a new idea in Roman diplomacy, but a development of her earlier methods (e.g towards the Illyrian coast), and he shows how the idea developed between 200 and 196 (in 200 Philip was to stop attacking the Greeks, in 198 to withdraw from Greece, then in 196 came the full declaration). But see A. H McDonald, *J R S* , 1959, 149

II

THE BATTLE OF PYDNA

THE battle of Pydna presents many difficulties Polybius' account (XXIX, 15–17) is very fragmentary, while there is a large lacuna in Livy's (XLIV, 33–42). See Kromayer, *Schlachtfelder*, II, p. 294 ff.; criticism by Ed. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 465 ff.; reply by Kromayer, *Schlachtfelder*, IV, p 601 ff., and *Atlas*, col. 48 ff.; De Sanctis, IV, I, p 322 ff The date is fixed by an eclipse of the moon on the night of June 21st (cf. De Sanctis, pp. 369–76) [1] Kromayer places Perseus' camp eight miles south of Pydna between the Pelikas and Mavroneri. He supposes that the Romans as well as the Macedonians withdrew to their camp at midday before the battle, because otherwise their advance-guard by the river would be unnecessary. Yet it may have been necessary to protect their right wing from the possibility of being outflanked. Meyer's view is that the Romans remained in battle array all day and that Perseus succeeded in attacking them suddenly in this position. Even if the first statement is admitted, the second can hardly withstand Kromayer's criticism; the Romans were not taken by surprise when Perseus attacked More recently Kromayer has changed his ground by suggesting that the Roman army did not advance from its camp into battle line at all in the morning, and it is certainly easier to support this by absence of reference in our sources than it is to find definite reference to a Roman advance

[1] This date (rather than the autumn) is confirmed by an inscription, discovered in the Agora at Athens, which contains the earliest known reference to the battle· see *Hesperia*, 1934, p. 18 ff.; 1936, p 389 ff , n 17. Livy (XLIV, 37) dated the eclipse to 3rd September, hence it has been argued (cf De Sanctis) that the calendar was at this time some $2\frac{1}{2}$ months out of line with the solar year, i e that 3 September on the contemporary calendar = 21 June (Julian calendar) This view has been challenged by S. I Oost, *Cl. Phil*, 1953, 217 ff., but defended by P. Meloni, *Latomus*, 1954, 553 ff

12

ROMAN CAMPS IN SPAIN

An interesting light is thrown on the wars in Spain by the survival of numerous Roman camps, particularly at and around Numantia. Our knowledge of these derives mainly from the researches and labours of Professor Schulten who had devoted his life to the study of the Spanish Peninsula, its ethnology and its earlier contacts with Rome.[1] In particular, Schulten's excavations at Numantia, conducted from 1905 to 1912, have revolutionized modern knowledge of Republican castrametation and of Rome's Spanish wars. Before 1905 the only camps known belonged to the time of the Roman Empire, knowledge of Republican camps derived chiefly from Polybius' detailed description (VI, 27 ff.) But now the earliest known camp dates back to 217 B.C., and while those of Scipio at Numantia do not quite conform to the type described by Polybius, that of Nobilior at Renieblas does The results of Schulten's excavations are contained in the four monumental volumes of *Numantia die Ergebnisse der Ausgraben*· vol. I, Introductory, ethnology and early Celtiberian wars, II, The town of Numantia, III, Scipio's camps; IV, The camps at Renieblas The reader of these volumes will be impressed with the practical genius of the Roman people. They did not excel in certain branches of art, but the Roman camp in the military sphere, no less than the Roman constitution in the civil sphere, was a work of art As early as 280 B C. King Pyrrhus could exclaim in wonder, 'The camps of the barbarians are not barbarian,' and his remark is now shown to be true.

It may be convenient to append a list of camps which belong to our period·

217 Camp of the Scipios at Almenara, near Saguntum.
206 Camp of Scipio at Ilipa [2]

[1] A brief account of Prof. Schulten's life-work is given in R. Grosse's *Deutsche Altertumsforschung in Spanien* (1929), this booklet contains a valuable bibliography and an historical and ethnological Überblick. Popular sketches by Schulten will be found in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 'Romische Lager in Spanien,' Feb , 1928, 'Archaeologische Probleme in Spanien,' Sept , 1929, 'Die Stadt Numantia,' Feb , 1930 See also Schulten, *Archaologischer Anzeiger*, 1933, pp 513–66

[2] See H H Scullard, *Journ Rom. Stud* , 1936, p 19 ff , A Schulten, *Arch Anzeiger*, 1940, p. 114 ff., 1943, p. 51 ff. The site of the camp seems assured, even if the earth walls on the site are not ancient

c. 195 Cato's campaign Camps at Emporiae (?),[1] Aguilar, Alpanesque (near Segontia) and Renieblas I and summer Camp II.

153 Summer camp of Nobilior at Almazan.

153 Nobilior's camp at Renieblas III (Camps IV and V belong to the war with Sertorius)

152 Marcellus' camp at Numantia on Castillejo I

141–140 Pompeius' camp at Numantia on Castillejo II

139 Servilius Caepio's camp near Caceres—Castra Servilia (later camps near Caceres from Sertorian War)

138 Brutus' camp at Viseu in Portugal

134 Scipio's seven camps around Numantia.

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[1] A. Schulten, *Arch Anzeiger*, 1940, p 75 ff

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

This table is designed to emphasize some of the outstanding events in early Roman history The Varronian dating (p. 415) has been followed Prior to 390 B C many of the dates are merely traditional and some of the facts (e.g. the foundation of colonies) are not above suspicion.

A. THE REGAL PERIOD

GROWTH OF ROME

c. 800(?) B C	Roma Quadrata, settlement on Palatine.
c 750–670	Septimontium; union of settlers of Palatine, Velia, Fagutal, Cispius, Oppius, and Caelius
7th cent.	City of the Four Regions, addition of Quirinal, Viminal, and part of Forum
7th cent end	Last Forum burials.
6th cent.	'Servian' City, including Capitol and Esquiline.

TRADITIONAL DATES

753–716	Romulus
715–673	Numa Pompilius Established cult of Vesta, etc.
673–642	Tullus Hostilius. Destruction of Alba Longa
642–617	Ancus Marcius. Extension of Rome's power to coast.
616–579	L Tarquinius Priscus Forum drained
578–535	Servius Tullius 'Servian' organization begun. Treaty with Latins Temple of Diana on Aventine.
534–510	L Tarquinus Superbus. Capitoline temple Treaty with Gabii. Ager Romanus extended to *c*. 350 sq. miles

B FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE GALLIC SACK

509	**Fall of monarchy;** institution of two annual magistrates. First treaty with Carthage
508 ?	War with Porsenna (who captures Rome ?)
505	Migration of Claudii to Rome.
501	First dictator appointed
496	Battle of Lake Regillus fought by Rome against Latin League.
495	Latin colony at Signia
494	First secession, plebeians assert their rights (or 471). Latin colony at Velitrae.

493	**Treaty of Spurius Cassius with the Latins.**
492	Corn imported from Cumae.
	Latin colony at Norba.
491	Raid of Coriolanus
486	Sp Cassius proposes agrarian law
	Treaty of Rome with Hernici.
	Wars with Aequi and Volsci intermittently for fifty years.
484	Latins recover Tusculum from Aequi and Volsci.
483–474	War with Veii
477	Battle of the Cremera
471	**Lex Publilia Voleronis.** Concilium Plebis and tribunes officially recognized.
462	Agitation of Terentilius Harsa
459 ?	Tribunes raised to ten.
458 ?	Minucius defeated by Aequi at Mt Algidus
	Aequi defeated by Cincinnatus
456	Lex Icilia de Aventino publicando
451–450	The decemvirates. **Publication of the XII Tables.**
449	Secession of the plebs. **Valerio-Horatian Laws.** Rights of tribunes legally defined
447	Quaestors elected by the People Comitia Tributa Populi perhaps instituted
445	**Lex Canuleia. Military Tribunes with Consular Power replace consulship.**
444	Treaty with Ardea
443	**Censorship established**
442	Latin colony at Ardea ?
439	Minucius deals with corn-supply of Rome
431	**Decisive defeat of Aequi and Volsci on the Algidus.**
428–425	Rome wins Fidenae from Veii
421	**Quaestorships raised to four: opened to plebs.**
418	Roman garrison at Labici
409	Three quaestors plebeians.
406	Anxur reduced
404	Velitrae receives garrison
399	Lectisternium decreed.
396	Military pay introduced.
	Fall of Veii. Peace with Volsci.
393	Latin colony at Circeii
390 ?	Latin colony at Sutrium
390	**Battle of Allia. Gauls sack Rome** (387 acc. to Polybius.)

C THE CONQUEST OF ITALY

388	Aequi defeated at Bola
387	Creation of four rustic tribes on ager Veiens (making total of 25)
386–385	Latins, Volsci and Hernici defeated
385	Latin colony at Satricum
383 ?	Latin colony at Nepete.
382	Latin colony at Setia.
381	Tusculum pacified.
378	'Servian' Wall begun.
377	Latins defeated after their capture of Satricum.
	Licinius and Sextius start their agitation
367	**Laws of Licinius and Sextius passed. Consulship restored.** Creation of curule aedileship
366	**First plebeian consul. Creation of praetorship.** Curule aedileship to alternate annually between patricians and plebs.
361	Romans capture Ferentinum.
359	Tarquinii revolts.
358	Hernici re-admitted to alliance **Renewal of treaty with Latins.** Two new tribes created on land from Antium (total 27).
357	Government tax on manumission. Rate of interest fixed
	Falerii revolts Gallic raid on Latium.
356	**First plebeian dictator.**
354	**Alliance of Rome and Samnites**
353	Caere defeated 100 years' truce· receives half-citizenship.
352	Quinqueviri mensarii established.
351	**First plebeian censor.**
	Tarquinii and Falerii reduced forty years' truce.
348	Renewal of Rome's treaty with Carthage.
346	Gallic raid checked Defeat of Antium and Satricum.
343	Falerii receives permanent alliance.
	Latin attack on Paeligni.
343–341	**First Samnite War** (very doubtful).
342	Military mutiny and secession. **Leges Genuciae.**
340–338	**Latin revolt.**
339	**Leges Publiliae.**
338	**Latin League dissolved.** Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum, Pedum and Tusculum receive full citizenship. Fundi, Formiae, Cumae, Capua, etc., receive half-citizenship. Roman colony at Antium. Land confiscated from Velitrae.
337	**First plebeian praetor.**

336 Teanum granted alliance.

334 Latin colony at Cales

332 Acerrae receives half-citizenship Two new tribes created in Latium (total 29)
Rome's treaty with Tarentum (or 303)

332–331 Rome makes thirty years' truce with Senones

c 330 Roman alliance with Fabrateria and Frusino

329 Privernum captured and receives half-citizenship.
Roman colony at Tarracina (Anxur).

328 Latin colony at Fregellae

326 **First use of prorogatio imperii. Lex Poetilia** concerning debt (313).
Roman alliance with Neapolis, Nuceria and the Apulians
Rome captures Rufrium and Allifae

326–304 **Second Samnite War.**

321 Roman defeat at **Caudine Forks.** Peace. Rome surrenders Fregellae

318 Two tribes created in northern Campania (total 31)
Alliance with Teanum (Apuli) and Canusium
Roman prefects sent to Capua and Cumae.

316 Samnite War renewed

315 Luceria captured Samnite victory at Lautulae Revolt of Capua and Aurunci to Samnites

314 Roman victory at Tarracina Capua and Aurunci reduced Latin colony at Luceria

313 (or 312) Fregellae and Sora recaptured. Nola and Calatia made allies Latin colonies at Suessa Aurunca, Pontia, Saticula, Interamna.

312 **Censorship of Appius Claudius.**
Romans capture Peltuinum and Allifae Via Appia started.

311 **Duoviri navales appointed.**

310 Naval landing at Pompeii fails Roman advance into Etruria. Roman treaties with Cortona, Perusia, Arretium

308 Alliance with Tarquinii renewed for forty years Alliance with Camerinum and Ocriculum

307 Revolt of the Hernici

306 Anagnia stormed, receives half-citizenship.
'Philinus' ' treaty with Carthage.

304 Repeal of reform of Appius Claudius **Flavius publishes the 'legis actiones.'**
Aequi defeated Samnite War ended. Alliance with Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Frentani

303	Latin colony at Alba Fucens (or 300) and Sora. Half-citizenship to Arpinum and Trebula
302	Latin colony at Carsioli (or 298) Alliance with Vestini.
300	Lex Valeria de provocatione **Lex Ogulnia,** opening Priestly Colleges to plebeians.
299	Two new tribes, Aniensis and Terentina (total 33). Latin colony at Narnia (Nequinum) Alliance with Picentes Gallic raid in Roman territory.
298–290	**Third Samnite War.**
298	Rome captures Taurasia, Cisauna, Boviaum Vetus, and Aufidena.
296	Samnite raid in ager Falernus Roman colonies at Minturnae and Sinuessa.
295	Roman victory over Samnites, Gauls and Umbrians at **Sentinum.**
294	Forty years' treaty with Volsinii, Perusia, Arretium. Samnite victory near Luceria.
293	Lex Maenia Roman victory over Samnites at Aquilonia.
292	Falerii reduced, truce.
291	Venusia stormed. Latin colony there.
290	Peace with Samnites. Sabines granted half-citizenship. Latin colony at Hadria and Roman (?) colony at Castrum Novum Piceni
287	**Lex Hortensia.**
284	Senones defeat Metellus at Arretium. Revolt of Vulci, Volsinii, and some Samnites and Lucanians. Senones driven out of ager Gallicus. Roman colony at Sena
283	**Boii defeated at Lake Vadimo.**
282	Boii defeated near Populonia, Roman garrisons sent to Thurii, Rhegium and Locri. **Roman fleet attacked by Tarentines.**
281	Roman embassy at Tarentum
280	Alliance with Vulci, Volsinii, Rusellae, Vetulonia, Populonia, Volaterrae, and Tarquinii.
280–275	**War with Pyrrhus.**
280	Pyrrhus lands in Italy, and defeats Romans at Heraclea. (Winter) Negotiations with Pyrrhus.
279	Battle of Asculum.
278	Peace negotiations fail Rome's treaty with Carthage. Pyrrhus leaves Italy
276	Pyrrhus returns to Italy.
275	**Pyrrhus defeated** near Malventum, returns to Greece
273	Latin colonies at Paestum and Cosa. Caere mulcted of some territory. Roman friendship with Egypt.

272	Livius Andronicus brought to Rome.
	Alliance with Velia, Heraclea, Thurii, Metapontum. Surrender of Tarentum.
270	Capture of Rhegium.
269	Revolt of Picentes.
268	Picentes reduced half-citizenship. **Sabines receive full citizenship.** Latin colonies at Beneventum and Ariminum
	Capture of Sarsina.
267	War with Sallentini. Capture of Brundisium
266	Apulia and Messapia reduced to alliance.
264	First gladiatorial show at Rome
	Latin colony at Firmum Capture of Volsinii.
263	Latin colony at Aesernia.

D THE FIRST AND SECOND PUNIC WARS

264–241	**First Punic War.**
264	Roman alliance with Mamertines. **Roman army lands in Sicily.**
263	Hiero becomes Roman ally.
262	Capture of Agrigentum
260	**Naval victory off Mylae.**
259	Roman occupation of Corsica
258	Naval victory off Sulci.
257	Naval victory off Tyndaris.
256	Naval victory off Ecnomus **Regulus lands in Africa.**
255	Defeat of Regulus' army Naval victory off Cape Hermaeum.
	Roman fleet wrecked off Pachynus
254	Romans capture Panormus
253	Roman fleet wrecked off Palinurus.
250	Victory at Panormus Siege of Lilybaeum
249	Claudius' naval defeat at Drepana Roman transport fleet wrecked.
247	Hamilcar Barca starts Carthaginian offensive in Sicily.
246	Latin colony at Brundisium.
243	Roman fleet built from voluntary loans.
242	**Institution of praetor peregrinus.**
241	**Naval victory off Aegates Insulae. Peace. Roman occupation of Sicily.** Falerii reduced. Latin colony at Spoletium. Two tribes created in Picenum (total 35).
241 ?	**Reform of the Comitia Centuriata.**
238–225	Occupation and reduction of Corsica and Sardinia
238–230	Intermittent campaigns against the Ligurians

236	First play of Naevius.
	Gallic raids in the North.
235–234	Temple of Janus closed.
232	**Distribution of ager Gallicus carried by Flaminius.**
231	Roman embassy to Hamilcar in Spain.
229–228	**First Illyrian War. Roman protectorate established on the Illyrian coast.**
228	Roman envoys in Greece
227	**Praetorships raised to four. Sicily and Sardinia under praetors.**
226	Roman embassy to Hasdrubal in Spain; **Ebro treaty.**
225	**Invading Gauls defeated at Telamon.**
223	Flaminius defeats Insubres
222	Battle of Clastidium, Insubres surrender
221–220	**North-eastern frontier secured to Julian Alps.**
c 221	Saguntines appeal to Rome.
220	Construction of Via Flaminia.
219	**Second Illyrian War;** Demetrius defeated
	(aut) **Hannibal storms Saguntum.**
218 ?	**Lex Claudia.**
	Latin colonies at Placentia and Cremona
	Roman ultimatum to Carthage **War declared** (spring)
218–201	**Second Punic War.**
218	Hannibal in North Italy. Battles of Ticinus and Trebia.
217	Roman naval victory off the Ebro. Battle of Lake Trasimene.
216	**Battle of Cannae.** Revolts in central Italy, and of Capua.
215	Tributum doubled.
	Hannibal in South Italy. Hasdrubal defeated at Dertosa.
	Alliance of Carthage with Philip and Syracuse.
214	Roman successes in Spain.
214–205	**First Macedonian War.**
213	Hannibal occupies Tarentum Roman siege of Syracuse
212	Siege of Capua.
	Ludi Apollinares introduced
211	Hannibal's march on Rome. Fall of Capua and Syracuse. Roman alliance with Aetolia
	The Scipios defeated in Spain
210	Twelve Latin colonies refuse contingents. Fall of Agrigentum. Scipio Africanus lands in Spain
209	Recapture of Tarentum Capture of New Carthage
208	Death of Marcellus Battle of Baecula
207	**Hasdrubal defeated at Metaurus.**

206 Battle of Ilipa **Final reduction of Spain.** Aetolians make peace with Philip.
205 Scipio in Sicily. Peace of Phoenice (or 204).
204 Ennius brought to Rome. Cult-stone of Mother Goddess brought from Asia Minor.
Scipio lands in Africa.
203 Syphax defeated. Battle of the Great Plains Armistice broken Defeat of Mago Hannibal recalled in the winter
202 First prose history of Rome by Fabius Pictor.
Scipio's victory at Zama (aut.).
201 **Peace.** Masinissa king of Greater Numidia **Carthage becomes a client state.** Appeal of Attalus and Rhodes.

E. EXTENSION OF EMPIRE

200–196 **Second Macedonian War.**
200 War declared on Philip. Insubres sack Placentia
199 Lex Porcia, limiting imperium of governors. Death of Naevius.
198 Flamininus' victory at the Aous. Achaeans join Rome.
197 **Praetorships raised to six. Spain organized as two provinces.**
Cethegus defeats Insubres **Battle of Cynoscephalae.** Peace between Philip and Rome (winter) Revolt of Turdetani in Spain.
196 Final defeat of Insubres by Marcellus **Flamininus' proclamation at Corinth.** Appeal of Smyrna to Senate.
195 Repeal of Lex Oppia Lex Porcia, forbidding scourging of citizens.
Hannibal exiled. **Masinissa starts his raids on Punic territory.** Cato in Spain. War against Nabis
194 Roman colonies at Volturnum, Liternum, Puteoli, Salernum, Pyrgi, Sipontum, Tempsa, Croton, Buxentum.
Lusitani defeated; war drags on intermittently.
Evacuation of Greece.
193 Latin colony at Copia.
192–189 **War with Antiochus.**
192 Latin colony at Vibo. The Apuani checked. War declared on Antiochus, who lands in Greece (Oct)
191 Lex Acilia, concerning the calendar
Boii defeated by Scipio Nasica Antiochus defeated at

Thermopylae. War in Aetolia. Antiochus' fleet defeated off Corycus.

190 Placentia and Cremona resettled The Scipios in Greece
Antiochus' fleet defeated at Side and Myonnesus

189 Libertini enrolled in rustic tribes
Latin colony at Bononia Campanians enrolled as citizens Fall of Ambracia Peace with Aetolia
Defeat of Antiochus at Magnesia. Manlius raids Galatia

188 Full citizenship granted to Arpinum, Formiae, Fundi
Treaty of Apamea. **Settlement of Asia.**

187 Government liquidates war-debt **Attacks on Scipios.**
Non-citizens expelled from Rome
Via Aemilia and Via Flaminia

186 Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus
Ligurians defeat Philippus

184 Cato censor Death of Plautus Exile of Scipio Africanus
Roman colonies at Potentia, Pisaurum Philip sends Demetrius to Rome

183 Lex Furia Testamentaria. Death of Scipio Africanus.
Roman colonies at Parma, Mutina, Saturnia

181 Lex Baebia Lex Orchia (sumptuary)
Latin colony at Aquileia. Roman colony at Graviscae.
Ingauni defeated. End of Achaeo-Spartan quarrel
Revolt in Corsica and Sardinia.

181–179 **First Celtiberian War.**

180 **Lex Villia Annalis.**
Latin colony at Luca Apuani defeated. Foundation of Graccuris in Spain.

179 Accession of Perseus.

178 Expedition against Istri

177 **Latins expelled from Rome.**
Roman colony at Luna Annexation of Istria

177–176 Sardinia reduced

173 Latins expelled from Rome. Two Epicurean philosophers expelled
Envoys sent to arbitrate between Masinissa and Carthage

172–167 **Third Macedonian War.**

171 **Two plebeian consuls. Temporary court de repetundis.**
Latin colony at Carteia in Spain

169 Lex Voconia Freedmen confined to one urban tribe.
Quarrel between Senate and Equites

168 **Defeat of Perseus at Pydna.** Romans capture Scodra
Antiochus checked Delos declared a free port
Foundation of Corduba in Spain (or 151).

167	**Tributum discontinued.** Perseus' library brought to Rome. Epirus plundered **Macedon divided into four, Illyria into three protectorates. 1,000 Achaeans deported to Italy.**
166–159	Production of Terence's Comedies
163	Final reduction of Corsica
161	Lex Fannia (sumptuary) Expulsion of Greek philosophers.
	Treaty with Jews.
159	Law against bribery.
157–155	Roman campaigns in Dalmatia and Pannonia
155	Carneades in Rome
154	Oxybian Ligurians defeated.
154–138	**Lusitanian War.**
153–151	**Second Celtiberian War.**
151	Carthage declares war on Masinissa. Return of Achaean exiles to Greece
c 150	Lex Aelia Fufia. **Lex Aebutia,** establishing a formulary system of legal procedure.
149–146	**Third Punic War.**
149	**Permanent court de repetundis** (lex Calpurnia)
	Publication of Cato's *Origines*
	Siege of Carthage begun **Rising of Andriscus in Macedon.**
148	Via Postumia
147	Viriathus successful.
	Macedonia becomes a province
146	**Destruction of Carthage. Africa becomes a province.**
	War between Rome and Achaeans **Sack of Corinth.**
143–133	**Third Celtiberian, or Numantine War.**
139	Death of Viriathus
133	**Fall of Numantia.**

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